North Carolina State Library



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2012 with funding from
LYRASIS Members and Sloan Foundation

http://archive.org/details/northcarolinahis1947nort

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

ISSUED QUARTERLY

Volume XXIV Numbers 1-4

JANUARY-OCTOBER

1947

PUBLISHED BY

STATE DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY

Corner of Edenton and Salisbury streets

RALEIGH, N. C.

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

Published by the State Department of Archives and History
Raleigh, N. C.

CHRISTOPHER CRITTENDEN, *Editor*
DAVID LEROY CORBITT, *Managing Editor*

ADVISORY EDITORIAL BOARD

ROBERT DIGGES WIMBERLY CONNOR — WALTER CLINTON JACKSON
ADELAIDE LISETTA FRIES

STATE DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY

ROBERT DIGGES WIMBERLY CONNOR, *Chairman*
JAMES ALLAN DUNN — CLARENCE WILBUR GRIFFIN
WILLIAM THOMAS LAPRADE — MRS. SADIE SMATHERS PATTON
GERTRUDE SPRAGUE CARRAWAY — MCDANIEL LEWIS
CHRISTOPHER CRITTENDEN, *Director*

This review was established in January, 1924, as a medium of publication and discussion of history in North Carolina. It is issued to other institutions by exchange, but to the general public by subscription only. The regular price is $2.00 per year. To members of the State Literary and Historical Association there is a special price of $1.00 per year. Back numbers may be procured at the regular price of $2.00 per volume, or $.50 per number.

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORIAL REVIEW

TABLE OF CONTENTS

VOLUME XXIV

NUMBER 1, JANUARY, 1947

THE NORTH CAROLINA STATE BOARD OF PUBLIC WELFARE 1

A. LAURANCE AYDLETT

THE LOUISA RAILROAD, 1836-1850 35

CHARLES W. TURNER

HENRY HARRISSE ON COLLEGIATE EDUCATION 58

EDGAR W. KNIGHT

BOOK REVIEWS 112

DAVIS'S *Correspondence of Thomas Jefferson and Francis Walker Gilmer, 1814-1826*—By RICHARD L. MORTON; RANDALL'S *Lincoln and the South*—By J. G. DE ROULHAC HAMILTON; KLINGBERG'S *Carolina Chronicle. The Papers of Commissary Gideon Johnston, 1707-1716*—By H. SHELTON SMITH; *Theory and Practice in Historical Study: A Report of the Committee on Historiography*—By A. R. NEWSOME.

HISTORICAL NEWS 120

82054

NUMBER 2, APRIL, 1947

NORTH CAROLINA BAPTIST AND SLAVERY 135
WILLIE GRIER TODD

MOBILIZATION OF NEGRO LABOR FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF VIRGINIA AND NORTH CAROLINA, 1861-1865 160
TINSLEY LEE SPRAGGINS

PAPERS FROM THE FORTY-SIXTH ANNUAL SESSION OF THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, DECEMBER 6, 1946

INTRODUCTION 198
MRS. ERNEST A. BRANCH

AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY 200
ROBERT BURTON HOUSE

AGITATION AGAINST THE AMERICAN TOBACCO COMPANY IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1890-1911 207
NANNIE MAY TILLEY

NORTH CAROLINA BOOKS AND AUTHORS OF THE YEAR: A REVIEW 224
LEGETTE BLYTHE

A SEMI-CENTENNIAL SURVEY OF NORTH CAROLINA'S INTELLECTUAL PROGRESS 235
EDWIN MIMS

NORTH CAROLINA BIBLIOGRAPHY, 1945-1946 258
MARY LINDSAY THORNTON

BOOK REVIEWS 266

HAYS'S *Hero of Hornet's Nest—A Biography of Elijah Clark, 1733-1799*—By PAUL MURRAY; *Tennessee Old and New, Sesquicentennial Edition, 1796-1946*—By JAMES W. PATTON; DYER'S *Zachary Taylor*—By ROBERT H. WOODY; SPECK'S *The Iroquois, A Study in Cultural Evolution*—By DOUGLAS L. RIGHTS; HANNA'S *Recommended Readings on Florida*—By DOROTHY DODD; CLARK'S *Three Score Years and Ten, A Narrative of the First Seventy Years of Eli Lilly and Company, 1876-1946*—By ALICE BARNWELL KEITH.

HISTORICAL NEWS 274

NUMBER 3, JULY, 1947

ASBURY DICKINS (1780-1861): A CAREER IN GOVERNMENT SERVICE 281

RUTH KETRING NUERMBERGER

JAMES DUNWOODY BULLOCH AND THE CONFEDERATE NAVY 315

WILLIAM P. ROBERTS

ALFRED MORDECAI'S OBSERVATIONS OF EUROPEAN LIFE ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO 367

JAMES A. PADGETT

BOOK REVIEWS 403

LORANT'S *The New World. The First Pictures of America...*—By R. D. W. CONNOR; TURRENTINE'S *A Romance of Education*—By WILLIAM ALEXANDER MABRY; BATTLE'S *Memories of an Old-Time Tar Heel*—By M. L. SKAGGS; DANIELS'S *The Wilson Era: Years of War and After, 1917-1923*—By FRANCIS B. SIMKINS; CRENSHAW'S *The Slave States in the Presidential Election of 1860*—By HENRY T. SHANKS; WRIGHT'S *An Essay Upon the Government of the English Plantations on the Continent of America, 1701*—By ROBERT E. MOODY; GRIFFIN'S *A Guide to Manuscripts Relating to American History in British Depositories Reproduced for the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress*—By CHRISTOPHER CRITTENDEN.

HISTORICAL NEWS 417

NUMBER 4, OCTOBER 1947

THE TOE RIVER VALLEY TO 1865 423
JASON BASIL DEYTON

THE VIRGINIA SOUTHWESTERN RAILROAD SYSTEM AT WAR, 1861-1865 467
CHARLES W. TURNER

CARACAS EXILE 485
NANCY JANE LUCAS

JOURNAL OF THE SURRY COUNTY (N. C.) AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY 494
NANNIE MAY TILLEY

BOOK REVIEWS 532

RIGHTS'S *The American Indian in North Carolina*—By F. G. SPECK; PASCHAL'S *A History of Printing in North Carolina, A Detailed Account of the Pioneer Printers, 1749-1800, and of the Edwards & Broughton Company, 1871-1946*—By ARCHIBALD HENDERSON; *Books from Chapel Hill, A Complete Catalogue,1923-1945*—By MARCUS M. WILKERSON; DANIELS'S *Shirt-Sleeve Diplomat*—By J. FRED RIPPY; PATTON'S *The Story of Henderson County*—By D. J. WHITENER; KIBLER'S *Benjamin F. Perry: South Carolina Unionist*—By FRANCES B. SIMKINS; NELSON'S *The Fourteenth Amendment and the Negro since 1820*—By TINSLEY L. SPRAGGINS; TANSIL'S *The Congressional Career of Thomas Francis Bayard, 1865-1885*—By FLETCHER M. GREEN; DANIELS'S *Frontier on the Potomac*—By LEGETTE BLYTHE; BRIGHAM'S *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820*—By D. L. CORBITT; *Florida Becomes A State*—By CECIL JOHNSON.

HISTORICAL NEWS 554

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOLUME XXIV JANUARY, 1947 NUMBER 1

THE NORTH CAROLINA STATE BOARD OF PUBLIC WELFARE

By A. LAURANCE AYDLETT

Martial law ruled the people of North Carolina just after the close of the Civil War. The economic, political, and social life of the populace was upset by the recent conflict, and the losses enforced on them by legislative action and military commandeering began to be felt after a few months. Government was administered by the military under the Reconstruction acts and the laws under which the state had operated before the war were outmoded by secession and by occupation as a rebel territory until a framework of government acceptable to Congress could be set up.

During this period various sections of the state and many of its citizens had forced upon them, through daily contact with the unfortunate of their communities, the realization that something should be done to alleviate many social and economic conditions.

In the North Carolina constitution of 1776 there had been no provision for care of the commonwealth's unfortunate and underprivileged citizens. Not until the months approached for the drafting of a new document of that nature could much be done about the omissions. But the time came for the election of delegates to draft for the state a new basic law, and here and there prospective delegates were interested in bettering the social structure of North Carolina.

The constitutional convention opened on January 14, 1868, and three days later the "committee appointed to consider and report upon the best mode of proceeding to frame a Constitution and Civil Government according to the Acts of Congress" recom-

mended that among the standing committees there be one "On Punishment and Penal Institutions." [1]

On January 23 the convention adopted a resolution offered by Albion W. Tourgee striking out the word "and" in the committee title and adding "and Public Charities" and requiring that all matters pertaining to public charities be referred to this committee.[2] The report of the committee on punishment, penal institutions, and public charities was received by the convention on February 11 and passed its third reading on March 10 by a 79 to 11 vote.[3] Thus the report of the committee became a part of the state constitution.

On March 13, a few days before the close of the convention, the committee on miscellaneous provisions brought in a report offering a new section to its previously submitted report providing that "officers in the Militia, Justices of the Peace, Commmissioners of Public Charities and Commissioners appointed for special purposes shall not be considered officers within the meaning of this section," applying to that section of the proposed constitution preventing double office holding.[4]

The committee report that became the foundation for Article XI of the 1868 constitution as submitted to the convention was modified primarily in the second section dealing with types of punishment recognized and permissible for certain crimes.

As quoted here, the report includes in italics convention changes made by additional wording while the portions enclosed in brackets represent those parts of the original committee report deleted before adoption. As originally written sections 4 and 5 were mandatory upon the General Assembly before substitution of the permissive *may* for the *shall* as used by the committee on penal institutions.

The report was as follows:

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PUNISHMENT, PENAL INSTITUTIONS AND PUBLIC CHARITIES

The Committee on Punishment, Penal Institutions and Public Charities would submit to the consideration of the Convention the following report:

---

[1] *Journal of the Constitutional Convention of the State of North Carolina at its Session, 1868*, p. 29. (Hereinafter cited as *Journal of the Convention.*)
[2] *Journal of the Convention*, p. 57.
[3] *Journal of the Convention*, pp. 384-385.
[4] *Journal of the Convention*, p. 442.

ARTICLE

SECTION 1. The following punishments *only* shall be known to the laws of this State, viz: Death, imprisonment, *with or without hard labor,* fines, removal from office and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit, under this State.

SEC. 2. The objects of punishments being not only to satisfy justice, but also to reform the offender, and thus prevent crime, [it shall not be allowed to inflict any cruel or unusual punishments; and wilful] murder *and also arson, burglary and rape only, if the General Assembly may so enact, shall be punishable* [only shall be liable to be punished] with death [, while branding, cropping, whipping and the pillory, shall never be allowed].

SEC. 3. The General Assembly shall, at its first meeting, make provision for the erection and conduction of a State's prison or penitentiary at some central and accessible point within the State.

SEC. 4. The General Assembly *may* provide for the erection of Houses of Correction, where vagrants and persons guilty of misdemeanors shall be restrained and usefully employed.

SEC. 5. A House *or Houses* of Refuge *may* also be established at an early period for the juvenile offender, where, under proper supervision, they may be reclaimed from vicious habits and fitted for the duties of citizens.

SEC. 6. It shall be required by competent legislation that the structure and superintendence of the penal institutions of the State, the County Jails, and city police prisons, secure the health and comfort of the prisoners, and male and female convicts be never confined in the same room or cell.

SEC. 7. Beneficient provisions for the poor, the unfortunate and orphan, being one of the first duties of a civilized and christian State, the General Assembly shall, at its first session, appoint and define the duties of a Board of Public Charities, to whom shall be entrusted the management of all charitable and penal State institutions, and who shall annually report to the Governor upon their condition, with suggestions for their improvement.

SEC. 8. There shall also, as soon as practicable, be measures devised by the State for the establishment of one or more orphan houses, where orphans of the poor shall be cared for, educated, and taught some business or trade.

SEC. 9. It shall be the duty of the Legislature, at an early date, to devise means for the education of idiots and the care of inebriates.

SEC. 10. The General Assembly shall provide that all the deaf-mutes, the blind, and the insane of the State shall be cared for at the charge of the State.[5]

---

[5] *Public Laws, 1879,* cc. 254, 268, 314.

SEC. 11. It shall be steadily kept in view by the Legislature and the Board of Public Charities that all penal and charitable institutions should be made as nearly self-supporting as is consistent with the purposes of their creation.

G. William Welker, *Chairman*
G. W. Bradley
S. W. Watts
R. T. Long
J. S. Parker
W. A. B. Murphy
Milton Hobbs
T. L. L. Cox
Willie Daniel
Clinton D. Pearson
Bryant Lee
J. H. Duckworth
Andrew J. Glover[6]

With the foundation stone provided by the constitutional enactment, the next step was up to the first session of the General Assembly after the adoption of the constitution and that body ratified on April 10, 1869, the first statute setting up the Board of Public Charities.[7]

Without naming the membership the act provided for a Board of five members to serve for terms ranging from one to five years with appointments to vacancies to be made by the governor. The new Board was required to hold meetings on the first Tuesday in January, April, July, and October and might meet at any other time it found necessary but received no compensation for its services except traveling expenses.

Upon the Board fell the duties of investigation and supervision of the whole system of charitable and penal institutions in the state; of recommending such changes in the interest of economy and efficiency as it considered necessary; of studying insanity, idiocy, and physical infirmity; and of considering the general condition of the state as affected by crimes, vagrancy, and pauperism. The Board could require its members to make personal visits to determine the condition of county jails and almshouses and the methods of care and treatment of the inmates.

Yet there still remained the question of who was to compose the membership of the new Board and a resolution was adopted naming Dr. Eugene Grissom, G. W. Welker, Dr. William Barrow,

---

[6] *Journal of the Convention*, p. 292 ff.
[7] *Public Laws, 1868-69*, c. 170.

Dr. G. W. Blacknall, and George W. Gahagan as the first Board of Public Charities.

With both the statute and the appointing resolution failing to specify which member of the Board was to serve or for what term, it fell to the members themselves to settle this formality and when the group met in Raleigh on May 20, 1869, they decided that question by lot. Gahagan drew the one-year term; Blacknall, two years; Welker, three years; Grissom, four years, and William Barrow, five years. Welker was chosen president of the Board and W. J. Palmer was named secretary.[8]

The Board began its work by sending out questionnaires in order to obtain information on jails and almshouses and the number of insane and idiots in the counties. It appointed Dr. Blacknall to visit as many of the local institutions as possible. In addition to his North Carolina visitations, Dr. Blacknall inspected similar institutions in northern and eastern states.

At the beginning of its task, the Board of Public Charities, composed as it was of men of social vision, had the difficult assignment of evaluating in its true perspective a system that had long existed as a result of a philosophy foreign to theirs and foreign to the new practice they sought to bring about.

Dr. Blacknall, in his report to the Board as special agent, which was included in the Board's *First Annual Report* in 1870, wrote:

> Our prisons seem to have been established rather to intimidate and deter, than to reform. They punish, but do not, in but few instances, correct. The convict should be surrounded with every good influence possible, such as religious instruction, and the reading of books — having as their object a good moral influence — and, above all, the frequent visits of ministers of the gospel, whose duty, I must think, it is to pay some attention to these people, and try to put them in a way of reformation. As a general thing our jails are miserably constructed, and there is little or no attention paid to the division and classification of prisoners. Every offender, or even one accused of crime — the boy of twelve, put in for a street fight, or some slight misdemeanor, and the hardened criminal, deep dyed in infamy, are all thrown together in filth and idleness, thereby making the jail a

[8] Board of Public Charities, *First Annual Report, 1870*, p. 5.

seminary of crime and corruption. And once an inmate, ten to one, if the person is not irretrievably lost, and with ideas instilled into their minds which will cause them to discard everything good and follow in the footsteps of some abandoned and god-forsaken jail associate! Therefore I would strenuously recommend, in every case where it is practicable, that great care should be exercised in classifying prisoners, and that special rules and requirements be forwarded immediately to every jailor in the State, as many are of the opinion that muscle alone, and not brain, is all that is necessary for the good management of jails.

I find that another great evil appertaining to the affairs of our prisons — is that the accommodations and appropriations provided for prisoners by the public contemplate scarce anything beyond the bare necessaries of life and secure confinement. And when this has been done jail-keepers and the community at large think they have done their duty; and thus it is we find no effort at the reformation of prisoners, and no attempts at improvement or discipline; no provision for moral or religious instruction corresponding with what intelligent and christian sentiment might expect, and public opinion should demand. That there is this lamentable indifference and culpable neglect on the part of our citizens, in reference to their duty in connection with the proper care and management of prisoners, no right minded, liberal man can deny.[9]

At that time, Dr. Blacknall continued in his report, there were from 400 to 500 insane persons confined in jails and poorhouses, or kept at home without proper medical and curative care while awaiting admission to the already overcrowded state institution for the mentally ill.

Of the county homes of that period, Dr. Blacknall said: "Most of them are not only a disgrace to the State, but a sin against humanity; and to make them what they should be, a radical change must be brought about." The buildings were fast falling to pieces, he reported, and were insufficient in size and number with bedding and clothes in bad condition. These institutions, he said, should be visited and "direct information and instruction given those in authority, as to the general management of the institutions and the care of those under their charge, and many other things necessary for their guidance." [10]

---

[9] *First Annual Report*, pp. 104-105.
[10] *First Annual Report*, p. 103.

The Board was operating without funds. The act setting up the Board provided only that the members were to receive traveling expenses and even this was denied after a few months. At the time of the first annual report (February 10, 1870) the Board's secretary reported expenses totaling $21.00 of which $8.50 was for postage and $12.50 for printing. Stationery was furnished by the Secretary of State.[11]

In following out its constitutional duty of reporting to the General Assembly, the Board singled out the most glaring injustices in the penal system as a starting point for any changes to be made by the legislative body. It pointed out inefficiency of punishment in the penitentiary when persons were sentenced for very short periods, and recommended that where crimes did not justify terms of as much as six months or more the prisoner be sentenced to the county jail. Short terms, in the Board's opinion, did not have any appreciable effect on the convict nor was he confined for a sufficient duration to be taught a trade or to read and write.[12]

The inequality of sentences was then singled out as a problem needing immediate attention. Giving examples of this practice the Board pointed to instances of five-year sentences being given for arson and for stealing four pieces of meat, and one case of burglary drawing thirty years while another drew only one year.[13] The Board also emphasized the "brutal treatment" and "cruel neglect" of persons in county institutions for the poor and county prisons and jails.

Records of this period are meager. After the first annual report in 1870, there seem to be no reports available and the Board appears to have kept no minutes until it was revived in 1889 after being practically inactive for 19 years. Some information can be had, however, through the legislative procedures and minor changes and appointments during this inactive period.

While the Board under its statutory charter had the power to require reports and statistics from county officials and officers of state institutions, no penalty was attached if such persons failed or refused to comply with the Board's request. In an

---

[11] *First Annual Report*, p. 29.
[12] *First Annual Report*, p. 18.
[13] *First Annual Report*, p. 19.

attempt to place more authority behind the Board's constitutional duty of acquiring this information, Senator Welker introduced a bill requiring the commissioners of the several counties to report statistics of their jails and poorhouses to the Board of Public Charities.[14]

This enactment made it a misdemeanor for any official to neglect or refuse to comply with the Board's request for information when proper forms were furnished by the Board. It represented the last constructive legislation affecting the supervising Board of the state's charitable and penal institutions that passed both houses of the assembly for the next twenty years. From this time on, for a while, the General Assembly contented itself with filling vacancies in the Board's membership, and eventually even this recognition was lost. Except for the single senate attempt in the session of 1873-74 to provide funds for the Board's expenses, the period of quiescence began with the session of 1870-71 which sorely crippled the Board by removing provision for payment of travel expenses to attend meetings.[15]

An undated manuscript, later copied by typewriter with the copy also undated, in the first book of minutes of the Board of Public Charities after it became active again in 1889, so that formal and continuous records were kept, mentioned the 1870-71 act in this manner:

> This amendment limited the expenses to one annual meeting. There was no provision for the collecting of statistics etc., or for printing the same. This practically destroyed the Board as it so hampered the work. It remained inactive from 1879 to 1889 through failure to elect by the Legislature or to fill vacancies as they occurred by the successive Governors until the investigations in progress at the State Hospital at Raleigh drew the attention of Governor Daniel G. Fowle to the need of the Board. He looked into the case and complying with the Constitutional requirement and the Legislative act, appointed the following gentlemen to the vacancies then existing: Messrs. E. Burke Haywood, President; Lawrence I. Haughton, Esq.; James P. Sawyer, Esq.; Dr. Charles Duffy, Jr.; and Capt. W. A. Bobbitt. The Board met at the Capitol on the first Tuesday in October, 1889, duly organized and elected C. B. Denson, Secretary. These gentlemen examined the law and found that in the present state of the law no appropriation was available for printing and other expenses necessary to secure data

[14] *Public Laws, 1869-70,* c. 153.
[15] *Public Laws, 1870-71,* c. 106.

from all the counties of the state in reference to their penal and charitable institutions. It was then decided to assign the state institutions to the several members and also the county institutions of their residence. The Secretary was instructed to prepare suitable inquiries to be used in the investigation of the institutions, etc. In short the Board went to work "to make brick without straw," determined to do their part. They defrayed the postage expenses, etc., for two years until the Legislature of 1891 Chapter 491, provided for the Board as follows 'That the Board of Public Charities shall receive no compensation for their services except their actual expenses, which, with all office expenses and the printing of all necessary blanks shall be paid by the State Treasurer upon the warrant of the Auditor.

A brief period of living under the post-Civil War constitution showed the people of North Carolina there were many places in which the basic law of the state could be bettered and consequently the General Assembly by act of March 19, 1875, called a convention for revision of the document. Of the numerous proposed ordinances to amend Article 11 of the 1868 constitution, only one change was accepted, and that added to the first section of the article, as it now reads, all but the first sentence which had composed the whole of the section in 1868. This additional provision dealt with the farming out of convicts and placed restrictions upon the classes of convicts so employed and upon their custody and control.

When the Board met a year later it welcomed to membership Dr. James T. Reid of McDowell County, who had been appointed by the governor to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of James P. Sawyer. In the intervening twelve months the Board members and the secretary had made a few investigations of state and county institutions, while the secretary had held considerable correspondence with other states in an attempt to devise for North Carolina the best possible plan of social welfare.[16]

The General Assembly of 1891 repealed the former statutory limitation of expenses of the Board to one meeting a year and permitted actual expenses in attending meetings, office expenses, and the cost of printing and mailing necessary blanks.[17]

The plan of obtaining the services of three public-spirited

---

[16] Minutes of the Board, Oct. 11, 1890.
[17] *Public Laws, 1891,* c. 491.

citizens in each county for the inspection of all local institutions was developed at this time. Blanks for reporting the conditions of institutions and methods of care and treatment of inmates were to be sent periodically to these boards of visitors by the secretary of the state board.

In 1891 Dr. Haywood resigned as chairman of the Board of Public Charities after having given twenty-four years to public service, and Dr. Duffy was named chairman.[18] Wesley N. Jones of Wake County was named as successor to Dr. Haywood.

That the problem of juvenile delinquency, upon which so much public attention has been focused in recent months, is not by any means new is witnessed by the fact that as early as 1891 the Board recognized "the need of considering some plan for the reclamation of juvenile offenders throughout the state."

Upon the resignation of W. A. Bobbitt, William A. Blair of Forsyth County was named to the Board in December, 1891.[19] Thus began a career of service to the people of the state that has continued without a break until the present. Now about eighty-seven years of age, Colonel Blair, as he is known throughout the state, continues to serve as chairman of the State Board of Public Welfare and attends meetings regularly.

Considerable correspondence was had during this period "in reference to irregularities in the management of county jails and homes and the results attained—also of reform in workhouse treatment—of some scheme for the establishment of a State Reform or Industrial School or Farm for Juvenile Offenders now sent to the Penitentiary or to county jails. . . ." The Board was endeavoring to standardize and modernize the "construction and control of jails and homes." It was decided to circularize the counties ". . . in reference to the treatment of prisoners, in all respects, and the management of the poor;—also to embody such conclusions in regard to the construction of buildings, and the providing of such conveniences for the health and comfort of the inmates in homes and prisoners in jails, as experience indicates. . . ."

Commissioners Jones, Haughton, and Blair and Secretary Denson were named as a committee to draft legislation provid-

[18] Minutes of the Board, June 6, 1891.
[19] Minutes of the Board, December 30, 1891.

ing for "a Reform or Industrial School for Juvenile Offenders; to the end that they may be removed from the Penitentiary or county jails, and subjected to direct reforming influences. . . ." The early attempt to establish a reform school by the Board of Public Charities was supported by the North Carolina Teachers' Assembly, the Farmers' Alliance, the Eastern and Western Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and by various public discussions of the project. It had also been recommended by officials of the State Penitentiary.

Seventeen years were to elapse, however, before this first effort toward rehabilitation of the delinquent youth of North Carolina was to culminate in the opening of the first juvenile correctional institution. Fifty-two years were to intervene before similar schools were established so that equal facilities were available for both sexes and both races of North Carolina's youth.

Commissioner J. T. Reid having died, Dr. T. B. Twitty of Rutherford County was named to his post, but resigned and was succeeded in turn by Major S. W. Reid of Mecklenburg County.

The Board sought also to correct the then common practice of locking up in the same room or same cell with hardened criminals serving sentence those arrested for inability to give bond or pay small fines.[20] Much of the space devoted to reporting the Board's activities of this period was given to suggestions for future improvements, calling attention of the public to North Carolina's lag in the various programs of public welfare and urging remedial measures as early as possible.

The year 1896 was "a year of remarkable expansion and improvement in nearly all our institutions for the relief of human suffering," [21] but the Board was still concerned because youthful offenders, sixteen years of age and younger, continued to be confined in the state penitentiary. "The question has been pressed for some years of the separation of convicts 16 years old and under from those older and more hardened in crime, and the division of their time between school-room duties and manual task work. It has been held impracticable, because under the law it was necessary to aim to render the institution self-supporting."

---

[20] *Annual Report, 1893*, p. 15.
[21] *Annual Report, 1896*, p. 5.

Yet, "for the first time in its history the penitentiary has been rendered self-supporting." [22]

A study made in 1896 by the secretary to the Board showed that North Carolina was far behind the other states in provisions for the care of, and pensions paid to, Confederate veterans.[23]

The Board's efforts were gradually improving conditions in county homes and jails through the willingness of local boards of visitors to continue their gratuitious service to the welfare of the people of their community. The report of 1896[24] said: "It should be noted that in counties where the visiting Board consists of men of experience in this work, who promptly and regularly have been performing these duties for years past, the standard of health, cleanliness and comfort gradually rises, and a degree of attention that seemed satisfactory at first comes to be considered almost neglect, after the educative influences of attention to this important subject." Better management was now in advance of better quarters in most sections of the state.

Legislation suggested for the General Assembly urged uniform registration books for county homes, jails, and workhouses; that clothing be furnished indigent prisoners by the county commissioners, obligatory when demanded by the county health superintendent; the abolition of the "odious practice of letting the care of the poor of the county to the lowest bidder"; quarterly visits by a member of the board of county commissioners to all the poor, wholly or chiefly provided for by the board; and a juvenile correctional school.[25]

Commissioner Haughton, one of the original appointees to the Board upon reorganization in 1889, died in 1898, his last public service being attendance at a meeting of the Board.

The Board's report of 1897-98[26] portrays the advance made by the state in accommodations for care of the mentally ill. ". . . less than twenty years ago the average number of the insane provided for in North Carolina was about two hundred and fifty crowded into one building constructed for 224 patients. Now the three admirable hospitals for the insane accommodate 1,537

---

[22] *Annual Report, 1896,* p. 13.
[23] *Annual Report, 1896,* pp. 15-20.
[24] *Annual Report, 1896,* p. 23.
[25] *Annual Report, 1896,* p. 60.
[26] *Annual Report, 1897-98,* p. 152.

patients, and the whole number under treatment the past year exceeds this by several hundred. It may be fairly estimated that nearly or quite two thousand persons will receive the benefit of the latest modern treatment of insanity in the coming year in our State. This means that North Carolina is treating eight times as many of the insane for about three times the cost of the original number."

Through the work of the Board in bettering the condition of the mentally ill by process of suggestion, by focusing public attention on needed improvements, and by obtaining cooperation of superintendents of the institutions in making the needed changes, North Carolina had come into the limelight of national attention. Other states began communicating with North Carolina to learn the details of its program for the care of the unfortunate,[27] while only a few years previously Secretary Denson had had to call upon other localities for information as to advances of the time in public welfare. Comparable progress had been made in care of the orphan and the deaf, dumb, and blind children of the state.[28] Yet then, as now, there was the continual need for more funds and more of the various types of facilities.

The Board still stressed the need for a juvenile correctional institution and called attention to the need of the Confederate veterans' home for greater assistance. State aid to the latter had deteriorated to such an extent that private donations had become necessary for its "rescue from destruction." A movement was under way to establish a school for the state's feebleminded children, who were crowding the county homes as the mentally ill had formerly done.[29]

Early in the twentieth century the Board began to work for the introduction of a parole system in the penitentiary.[30] New members on the Board in 1901 were Edgar L. Haughton of Jones County and William F. Craig of McDowell County. Commissioner S. W. Reid had died in 1900.

Captain Denson died after serving fourteen years as secretary to the Board and was succeeded by Miss Daisy Denson, his daughter, who had been named assistant secretary just before

---

[27] *Annual Report, 1897-98,* p. 52.
[28] *Annual Report, 1897-98,* p. 155.
[29] *Annual Report, 1897-98,* p. 156.
[30] *Annual Report, 1901,* p. 177.

her father's death. In 1904 new faces on the Board included those of Cary J. Hunter of Wake County and A. C. McAlister of Randolph County. Dr. Duffy resigned as chairman and W. A. Blair of Winston-Salem was named chairman on October 4, 1904. Colonel Blair has continued to serve in that capacity until the present time. Commissioner Wesley N. Jones resigned from the Board.

At this period a movement was under way in the state to draft a group of laws dealing with youthful delinquents and providing for juvenile courts and a probation system and to this movement the Board gave its full support.[31] In 1903 the first private child-placing agency came into being with the founding of the North Carolina Children's Home Society at Greensboro.

In January, 1904, the Board had its first regular office space assigned, a room on the second floor of the Capitol. The office work had previously been carried on in the secretary's personal quarters. At this period the Board began to push more strongly for a law requiring compulsory education of deaf and blind children, many of the parents of whom were refusing to give their offspring proper schooling to offset their physical handicap.[32] In 1906 the Board was trying to eliminate the practice in county prison camps of confining white and Negro prisoners in the same room at night.[33]

In 1907 the work of twenty years for the establishment of a juvenile correctional institution was rewarded by passage of legislation creating the Stonewall Jackson Manual Training and Industrial School, to be located at Concord.[34] For years the Board had also joined in the fight against tuberculosis and the 1907 General Assembly provided for the establishment of the North Carolina Sanatorium for the Treatment of Tuberculosis[35] and required segregation of tubercular prisoners in the State Prison, county convict camps, and county jails. The first compulsory school attendance law for deaf and blind children was also passed.[36] "The Legislature of 1907 has given a wonderful impetus to the charities and corrections, and the brightest page

---

31 *Annual Report, 1903*, p. 11.
32 *Special Report, 1905-06*, p. 10.
33 Minutes of the Board, p. 161.
34 *Public Laws, 1907*, c. 501; *Annual Report, 1907*, p. 7.
35 *Public Laws, 1907*, c. 974.
36 *Public Laws, 1907*, c. 894.

in their history was written by it," the Board said in its 1907 report.[37]

The *Proceedings of the 34th National Conference of Charities and Corrections,* which met at Minneapolis in 1907, took recognition of the state's progress in social welfare in the following words: "From a few States, notably Illinois, Indiana, Massachusetts and North Carolina, where there has been more than ordinary interest aroused in charities and correction during the past year, the reports are longer than usual. In each case the interest appears to justify the length of the reports." [38]

In 1908 the Board lost Commissioners Craig and Haughton by death and Joseph G. Brown of Wake County and Henry C. Dockery of Richmond County became new members. The *Revisal of 1905* had changed the term of Board members to two years,[39] but the General Assembly in 1909 reverted to the old term of six years in electing the Board that year.[40] It also permitted the Board or the secretary or some official appointed by the Board to be reimbursed for actual expenses incurred in making inspections of the various charitable and penal institutions.[41] Previously the Board could make inspections only at the time of regular meetings, some of which were held in cities other than Raleigh in order to facilitate such inspections, or at the convenience of the individual members.

In 1909 the Assembly also enacted laws requiring separation of white and Negro prisoners,[42] which the Board had recommended for a considerable time. Hanging as a means of execution was abolished and electrocution was substituted, thus taking from public view the deaths of condemned criminals. Tubercular prisoners also were to be segregated from others.[43] The first legislation for Negro delinquents came in 1909, but no appropriation was provided for an institution. In this year the Board recommended the employment of a regular inspector for institutions because the increased volume of the work occupied all the secretary's time. It recommended a central executive body for control

---

37 *Annual Report, 1907,* p. 10.
38 *Annual Report, 1907,* p. 132.
39 *Public Laws, 1909,* c. 85.
40 *Public Laws, 1909,* c. 500.
41 *Public Laws, 1909,* c. 899.
42 *Public Laws, 1909,* c. 832.
43 *Public Laws, 1909,* c. 567.

of the county prison camps. It was at this time that the Board suggested private contributions in establishing an orthopedic hospital in view of the drain made upon state resources by other charitable institutions. The list of recommendations for improvement in the state's facilities, care, and services for various special groups in its population was of considerable length in the 1909 report,[44] embodying in all a total of seventeen suggestions.

The Board had worked long for the establishment of a school for the state's feeble-minded children and was rewarded in 1911 by action of the General Assembly in providing for this institution.[45] For the first time also it was provided by statute that felons and misdemeanants should be clothed differently, the stripes being alloted exclusively to the former class. The Board had long condemned as inhumane and humiliating the old practice whereby those incarcerated in jail for minor offenses had to wear the same prison uniform as the more serious offenders. The prevalence of pellagra in the state's institutions at this period was severely scored. The Board felt, moreover, that it should be given the power to certify child-caring institutions of the state in view of the increasing number of these establishments and of the care with which they should be managed.[46]

Among the suggestions the Board was making in 1912[47] that later came into being through legislative enactment were registration of all births and deaths, a Legislative Reference Library, a probation law for juvenile and adult offenders, a Board of Parole to replace the conditional pardon law which many persons of the time thought unsuitable, an oral hygiene program in children's institutions, a Confederate widows' home, commutation of sentences for good behavior on the part of all prisoners as well as those in the state prison, and accompaniment by a woman for women patients admitted to the state hospitals.

Upon the death of Commissioner Henry C. Dockery, J. A. McAulay of Montgomery County was appointed to the Board and took his seat in 1912.[48] Joseph G. Brown accepted another

---

[44] *Annual Report, 1909*, pp. 11-20.
[45] *Public Laws, 1911*, c. 87.
[46] *Annual Report, 1911*, pp. 12, 17
[47] Minutes of the Board, p. 11.
[48] Minutes of the Board, p. 211.

office upon expiration of his term and Charles W. Horne of Johnston County was named in his place.[49]

February 11 and 12, 1913, saw the birth of the State Conference for Social Service in Raleigh with the Board of Public Charities attending and proud of the culmination of long years of struggle to bring about such an organization. In November of that year the Board was also proud to cooperate in the founding of the State Mental Hygiene Society. Eight of the Board's twenty-five recommendations of 1912 were met by the General Assembly of 1913.[50] The Board had many times called attention to the necessity of removing the State School for the Blind from the crowded downtown section of Raleigh to a space on the outskirts where the students could have more outdoor life. This, too, was provided in 1913 with an appropriation sufficient to purchase the new site.[51]

At the beginning of World War I the people of the state were becoming far more conscious of public welfare than ever before. Perhaps the new organization recently formed spread through the communities more quickly the ideals for which the Board of Public Charities had been working for years.

The first law for the protection of children came with the 1915 act[52] providing for probation of youthful offenders under the age of eighteen in the courts of the state. This was later superseded by the 1919 legislation setting up the system of juvenile courts under which the state is now operating.[53]

The Board began working in 1916 with a conference committee of the State Conference for Social Service looking to enlargement of the powers and duties of the Board and vastly expanding the program of public welfare. In this year Commissioner A. C. McAlister died and was succeeded by his son A. W. McAlister of Guilford County, who thus began a career of public service second only to that of Commissioner Blair. A. W. McAlister continued as a member of the Board from December, 1916, until he resigned because of ill health in August, 1944.

Since the General Assembly of 1917 had acceded to the request of the Board of Public Charities and the State Conference for

---

[49] Minutes of the Board, p. 215.
[50] *Annual Report, 1913*, p. 10.
[51] *Annual Report, 1913*, p. 11.
[52] *Public Laws, 1915*, c. 222.
[53] *Public Laws, 1919*, c. 97.

Social Service for enlargement of the powers and responsibilities of the Board, the last meeting of the Board of Public Charities was held on April 2, 1917.[54] Members of the Board at this time consisted of Chairman W. A. Blair, Vice-Chairman Cary J. Hunter, J. A. McAulay, A. W. McAlister, and Charles W. Horne. Commissioner Horne decided, however, that he could no longer serve on the Board.

The new act[55] increased the Board membership from five to seven, and changed the name to Board of Charities and Public Welfare. All the old members were named by the General Assembly to succeed themselves. It was provided that at least one of the members of the new Board be a woman. To membership were appointed Mrs. Walter F. Woodward of Wilson County and Mrs. J. F. Hill of Durham County. Mrs. Hill could not accept her appointment and the Rev. Livingston Johnson of Nash County was named by the governor.[56] Mrs. Thomas W. Lingle of Orange County was named for the second vacancy.

One trouble faced the Board immediately—the bill carrying an appropriation for the work, while having passed the senate, through an oversight, was left on the calendar of the house at adjournment. Thus the Board had no immediate funds for operation. This lack was remedied by the Board by borrowing funds from Raleigh banks until the next session of the General Assembly could reimburse it for the operating expenses.[57] The Board first asked for $5,000 and later borrowed a like amount, the total being refunded by the legislature of 1919.

In the 1917 act reorganizing the Board, it was given the majority of the responsibilities it possesses today. It was required to inspect and report on the "whole system of the charitable and penal institutions of the state"; to study enumerated social problems and promote the welfare of dependent and neglected children; to inspect and report on private child-caring institutions;[58] to compel testimony of witnesses; to issue bulletins; to employ as Commissioner of Public Welfare a person with social work training; to recommend social legislation; to encourage employ-

---

[54] Minutes of the Board, I, 232.
[55] *Public Laws, 1917*, c. 170.
[56] Minutes of the Board, p. 234.
[57] Minutes of the Board, II, 2, 7.
[58] *Public Laws, 1925*, c. 90.

ment of county welfare superintendents; and to attend social work meetings.

This statute changed the old county board of visitors into an official county boards of charities and public welfare, allowing this board to be appointed by the board of county commissioners. This method of appointment was changed in 1919 to appointment of the county board by the State Board.[59] Licensing provisions for child-caring institutions were added to the Board's authority by the 1919 act.

The reorganization authority set up the post of county superintendent of public welfare. He would act as agent of the State Board in the counties; control administration of the poor funds under direction of the county commissioners; look after patients discharged from state hospitals; have oversight of all prisoners on parole or probation and of all dependent and neglected children; promote recreation in the county; assist in finding employment for unemployed persons; and make any investigations in the county asked by the State Board.

The State Board of Charities and Public Welfare was also given instructions to pay special attention to mental illness; to inspect all county homes, jails, and prison camps; and to pass upon the qualifications of county superintendents.

The State Board now began to seek a qualified person to serve as executive officer of the new program North Carolina was initiating. It obtained the services of Roland F. Beasley, a native North Carolinian and publisher of a newspaper at Monroe. Beasley entered office on October 1, 1917, as the state's first Commissioner of Public Welfare. The board membership at this time consisted of Commissioners Blair, McAlister, Hunter, Mrs. Lingle, Mrs. Woodard, and the Rev. M. L. Kesler of Davidson County. Miss Denson continued to serve with the Board as secretary to the commissioner until her resignation in July, 1921.[60]

The Board's ideals of long years' standing were boosted in other ways by the session of 1917. A State Home and Industrial School for Girls was established at Samarcand;[61] the North Carolina Orthopedic Hospital for crippled children was set up

[59] *Public Laws, 1919*, c. 46.
[60] Minutes of the Board, II, 27.
[61] *Public Laws, 1917*, c. 255.

at Gastonia;[62] and sweeping reforms in the treatment, housing, health, and handling of prisoners were enacted.[63]

The Board felt that "three marked tendencies" existed in the developing program of the period covered by the end of World War I and the opening of the second decade of the century. "They are: (1) the tendency to find the facts and interpret them in organized criticism and publicity, (2) the tendency for communities to control community conditions, and (3) the use of trained experts." [64]

The juvenile court law was now in effect[65] and getting this work under way required a great portion of the time of the Board and the commissioner. To aid in the children's work a separate Division of Child Welfare was set up.[66] Mrs. Clarence A. (Kate Burr) Johnson, later to succeed Beasley as commissioner, was chosen to head the children's work. The University of North Carolina and the North Carolina College for Women set up a social work school and a department of community service respectively. At the University "more than a score" of county welfare superintendents attended a six weeks' course which became the first of the annual public welfare institutes that have continued without a break to the present time.[67] In all this the State Board of Charities and Public Welfare had a hand. At this period Mrs. J. W. Pless of McDowell County had succeeded J. A. McAulay on the Board.

In March, 1920, Commissioner Beasley retired to return to his publishing business and the Board chose Mrs. Johnson, head of the Division of Child Welfare, as the new commissioner who entered office in July of that year. Miss Daisy Denson, who had served as secretary to both the old and the new boards for 18 years, also retired. Thus a full new staff, increased in number, was necessary to begin the heavier duties undertaken in 1920.

With the increased staff the office set-up of the Board was reorganized into five bureaus: County Organization, Child Welfare, Institutional Supervision, Mental Health and Hygiene, and Promotion and Education. Thus the agency early started on the

---

62 *Public Laws, 1917*, c. 199.
63 *Public Laws, 1917*, c. 286.
64 *Annual Report, 1919-20*, p. 5.
65 *Public Laws, 1919*, c. 97.
66 *Annual Report, 1919-20*, p. 7.
67 *Annual Report, 1919-20*, p. 6.

road that led to the national developments in public welfare a little more than 10 years later.

Early in the 1920's the board set out to convince the people of the state that something could and should be done about many of the unfavorable social conditions which continued to exist. For that matter the whole country was becoming more social-minded with 41 of the states now having official machinery for public welfare work.[68]

In mentioning the changes in the spirit of public welfare work taking place all over the nation as well as in North Carolina the biennial report of this period said: "Chief among these is the emphasis which is now being laid upon the idea of prevention rather than temporary alleviation and palliation as the most important aspect of social work. Public welfare work now tends to look ahead. . . . Another highly important forward step in public welfare work has been the growth of the idea of the advantage of rehabilitation rather than retribution in dealing with criminals, correction rather than undiscriminating punishment. . . . The key to successful public welfare work is expressed in the familiar adage that 'an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure'." [69]

The Board said in speaking of the difficulties of gaining wide acceptance of a general public welfare program: "The first difficulty is the attitude of a great number of people who see in every public office created an extra burden to them as taxpayers, and an easy berth for some one. . . . Another difficulty to overcome is the necessity for shattering pleasant traditions, that have been carefully nurtured and extensively believed, if we are to be honest with the public and with our own convictions. . . . Then there is a minimum danger of too much centralization of power. . . . Another great handicap in organizing the public welfare work has been the wide gap between our progressive social legislation and our facilities for carrying out the same. . . . The last difficulty to be mentioned is probably the most serious one of all — the need for trained workers to carry out the program and

---

[68] *Biennial Report, 1920-22*, p. 8.
[69] *Biennial Report, 1920-22*, pp. 9, 10.

plan of the State department, and overcoming this difficulty will include to a large extent the solving of all other." [70]

While a far cry from the welfare staffs of the present time, by the middle of 1922 there were forty-six counties with full-time welfare superintendents, eleven with part-time officers, and the remaining forty-three required the superintendent of schools to serve also as welfare head.[71] "From May 1, 1921, when a systematic keeping of records was established, to June 30, 1922, the end of the fiscal year, approximately 10,000 children came under the supervision of Superintendents of Public Welfare and Judges of the Juvenile Courts." [72]

The General Assembly of 1923 acceded to the Board's request and passed the mothers' aid law[73] carrying an appropriation of $50,000 to be spent by the Board in those counties wishing to participate by putting up half the amount of the aid given in that locality. This was a forerunner of the broader and more liberal plan of aid to dependent children in their own homes that came nearly a decade and a half later in the beginning of the public assistance program. The mothers' aid plan had been in operation in several states for some time and the Board had felt strongly the need for such legislation in North Carolina in helping mothers take care of their families in their own homes.

From the standpoint of additional institutional facilities, the 1923 Assembly provided for tubercular prisoners at the North Carolina Sanatorium[74] and also for the establishment of the Eastern Carolina Training School for youthful white delinquents.[75] The Board had long been suggesting both of these facilities.

In that same year charges preferred by the head of the Prison Relief Society, an organization with headquarters at Washington, D. C., against conditions at the state prison were the motivating factor in an investigation that resulted later in the year in prison reforms.

"Certain improvements in the state penitentiary such as the abolition of flogging and the dark cell were noted" by the Board at its October 9 meeting that year and during the summer

70 *Biennial Report, 1920-22,* pp. 12-15.
71 *Biennial Report, 1920-22,* p. 16.
72 *Biennial Report, 1920-22,* p. 4.
73 *Public Laws, 1923,* c. 260.
74 *Public Laws, 1923,* c. 127.
75 *Public Laws, 1923,* c. 254.

Governor Morrison requested county authorities to abolish the lash.[76] Commissioner Cary J. Hunter having died, the Rev. W. L. Hutchins of Davidson County was appointed to the Board in 1923.

In 1924 the Board began specialized work in four selected counties of North Carolina with the aid of a $30,000 grant from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Fund payable in equal installments over a period of three years. It was this fund that allowed the Board, the first in the entire South, to establish on January 1, 1925, its Division of Work Among Negroes with two formal objectives: "Intelligent study of Negro life with its social problems, and the developing of programs in the community through the stimulating of cooperative self-help effort on the part of the Negroes. . . . North Carolina was the first state in the Union to attempt, in a very concrete manner, the active promotion of a public welfare program for Negroes." [77]

The terms as members of the Board of Rev. M. L. Kesler, Mrs. J. W. Pless, and Mrs. T. W. Lingle having expired in 1925, Governor McLean named the Rev. Charles H. Durham of Robeson County, Mrs. Joseph A. Brown of Columbus County, and Mrs. Herbert F. Seawell of Moore County as their successors. In this year, too, the Board was given more spacious quarters in the Agriculture Building.

The state's prison camps in 1925 were coming in for serious and continual criticism from all quarters because of the deaths of prisoners confined in them and the alleged inhumanities wreaked upon the convicts by camp supervisors. The Board's agents made many special investigations of these charges, along with investigations of improper operation of other institutions[78] and these eventually brought about many changes in the handling of county convicts.

By 1925 there were fifty-seven counties having organized welfare departments, forty-six with full-time superintendents and eleven with part-time workers. Superintendents of schools handled the welfare work in the other forty-three counties. The six larger and more populous counties had expanded staffs to

---

[76] *Biennial Report, 1922-24*, p. 68.
[77] *Biennial Report, 1924-26*, p. 100.
[78] *Biennial Report, 1924-26*, p. 12.

provide services of one or more workers assigned to probation for boys and girls and for work among Negroes. Guilford County had established a branch office in High Point.[79]

In 1925 the Board divided the state into six districts in which were to be held annual meetings of county officials, social workers, and interested citizens in furtherance of the general program.[80] These meetings were held continuously in each district until travel difficulties of World War II made temporary suspension necessary. In this year, too, was begun the series of annual public welfare institutes for Negro social workers in North Carolina which are still being held.[81]

Mrs. Walter C. Crowell of Union County and D. Colin Barnes of Hertford County were named to the Board in 1927, but Barnes soon resigned and in 1928 was replaced by A. H. James of Scotland County. Dr. C. H. Durham resigned and was succeeded by Dr. Henry F. Long of Iredell County.

The 1927 Assembly provided for the founding of the Farm Colony for women[82] and also appropriated $2,000 toward the operation of Efland Home for Negro Girls, which the Federation of Negro Women's Clubs had opened for the care of delinquent girls of that race. Nearly twenty years were to intervene before the state finally opened its own institution for Negro girls. The state government from 1927 until 1939 continued to contribute a small amount to the operation of the Efland Home, which finally closed its doors for lack of proper support.

A Division of School Attendance was created in the State Board in April, 1928, through aid from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Fund to help carry out the statutory responsibility of welfare superintendents as chief attendance enforcement officers in the counties.[83] After completing its demonstration projects in the school attendance field, this division was eliminated in the State Board in July, 1931.[84]

The 1929 General Assembly passed the first eugenical sterilization law for mental defectives[85] in the history of the state, a measure long suggested by the Welfare Board, but the statute

[79] *Biennial Report, 1924-26,* p. 68.
[80] *Biennial Report, 1924-26,* p. 76.
[81] *Biennial Report, 1924-26,* p. 110.
[82] *Public Laws, 1927,* c. 219.
[83] *Biennial Report, 1926-28,* p. 18.
[84] *Biennial Report, 1930-32,* p. 13.
[85] *Public Laws, 1929,* c. 34.

was declared unconstitutional by the North Carolina Supreme Court.[86] The defect of having no provision for right of appeal was remedied, however, in 1933[87] when the sterilization law was rewritten.

In 1930 Mrs. Johnson resigned as commissioner and was succeeded by Mrs. W. T. Bost,[88] who was to continue in office for slightly more than fourteen years. L. R. Varser of Robeson County was named to the Board in 1931, succeeding Dr. Long, and the Rev. Edwin McNeill Poteat succeeded A. H. James in the same year. This year also saw the taking over by the state of all county prisoners for work on the public roads,[89] a measure advocated years earlier by the Welfare Board. Since the funds from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Fund would no longer be available for carrying on the work of the unit of work among Negroes, the state appropriations to the Board were increased for this purpose.

In this period of depression the General Assembly also set up the first fund for boarding care of children in private homes with $5,000 being allotted for this purpose yearly, and $50,000 was appropriated for continuing mother's aid.[90] In its report for the biennium the Board pointed out the value of social work as a safety valve for the country with the responsibilities of the profession vastly increased because of depression and unemployment.

Several staff members of the State Board of Charities and Public Welfare during the depression years[91] were giving part of their time to the work of the governor's Council on Unemployment and Relief and the Board worked hard to have relief expenditures in the counties handled through the welfare offices rather than to have separate establishments set up.

Since the Board supervised all state charitable, penal, and

---

86 Brewer *v.* Valk, 204 NC, 186; 167 SE, 638.
87 *Public Laws, 1933*, c. 224.
88 Minutes of the Board, vol. II, February 25, 1930.
89 *Public Laws, 1931*, c. 145.
90 *Public Laws, 1931*, c. 429.
91 Because the whole state budget expenditures had to be severely curtailed, the State Board of Charities and Public Welfare almost lost its entire program in the 1933 General Assembly. The recommended appropriation for board operation was $30,610. The Bowie substitute appropriations bill would have reduced this amount to $4,250 and would have practically abolished the work of the department. When the bill was later considered, R. Gregg Cherry, who was one of the introducers of the bill, had the appropriation raised to $27,990. In final form the figure was set at $28,360. The substitute bill also would have cut out all mothers' aid funds, but these were later returned. Minutes of the Board, vol. II, March 17, 1933.

correctional institutions, it began in 1932 to publish the biennial reports of the individual establishments in a single volume. The institutions and their reports had grown so much in recent years that detailed statistical reports could not be included in the State Board's volume. The practice of the Board in publishing reports for the institutions has been continued since that time.

In 1935 the Board's responsibility was greatly increased through changes in the adoption law making it the central registration point for complete information on all adoption proceedings.[92] At this time the Social Security Act was before Congress and the North Carolina agency was debating the part it would doubtless have in its administration.

The Emergency Relief Administration, which took care of many of the economic and employment needs of numerous unemployed of the state as the nation worked its way out of the depression years, was liquidated in December, 1935. Certain of its administrative and supervisory phases were continued, however, and a federal grant of $225,000 to the State Board of Charities and Public Welfare permitted it to assume these duties. The Board was named the sponsor of the state-wide project for surplus commodity distribution, and became the state social service agency charged with certifying applicants to the Works Progress Administration, the Resettlement Administration, the Civilian Conservation Corps, the National Youth Administration, and other federal agencies. In order to handle these increased duties a new division was set up by the Board known as the Division of Field Social Work with representatives assigned to certain areas as liaison between the state office and the local welfare departments and relief offices.[93]

The Social Security Act was passed by Congress in 1935 and part of its provisions were quickly taken advantage of in North Carolina. The program of Child Welfare Services, not requiring state fund participation, came into the state in April, 1936, when special workers were employed in the child welfare division to handle this program. Other special children's workers were employed in certain counties to be paid from federal funds. It was in the development of plans for this program that the Child

[92] *Public Laws, 1935*, c. 243.
[93] *Biennial Report, 1934-36*, pp. 8, 9, 113-118.

Welfare Advisory Committee became a permanent organization with its formal beginning dating from June 25, 1936. The committee is composed of social workers and representatives of organizations working with children throughout the state and has continued functioning to the present time.[94]

The state mental institutions were further provided for in the 1935 General Assembly which approved a $500,000 bond issue for permanent improvements, this being supplemented by federal funds for expansion of the physical plants.[95] A better system of parole of prisoners from the State Prison System was also enacted[96] with the new legislation making the Commissioner of Public Welfare a member of the Advisory Board of Paroles.

The increase in the pressure of work handled by the State Department of Public Welfare at this period made necessary a staff of more than double the number employed a few months previously. With the close of 1936, the State Board of Charities and Public Welfare was ready with bills for the coming legislature giving it a share in administration of the public assistance program in North Carolina which would require state financial participation to make use of federal funds available under the Social Security Act. This new program was to complete the pattern conceived at the time of the 1917 reorganization with a strong welfare program in each county of the state and an enlarged state office supervising the work in the counties.

In preparing to take advantage of the public assistance program inaugurated by the national government, North Carolina was in the position of having two agencies concerned with the three categories of old age assistance, aid to dependent children, and aid to the blind. In 1935 the General Assembly had set up the State Commission for the Blind to handle rehabilitation work among citizens with that handicap.[97] The program of financial assistance to needy blind persons was added to its duties.[98]

The other two categories, old age assistance and aid to dependent children, were allotted to the State Board of Charities and

---

[94] *Biennial Report, 1934-36*, p. 63.
[95] *Public Laws, 1935*, c. 439.
[96] *Public Laws, 1935*, c. 414.
[97] *Public Laws, 1935*, c. 53.
[98] *Public Laws, 1937*, c. 124.

Public Welfare by the same legislature.[99] Up until now there was not a full-time welfare department in each of the 100 counties, but provisions of the federal act and the large numbers of needy aged and dependent children to be cared for made such a resource necessary. Thirty-one counties had to be organized with full-time superintendents instead of using the school head as part-time welfare worker in preparation for the coming expansion of social security.[100] A change was made, too, in the appointment of local welfare boards which previously had been named entirely by the State Board. The new legislation[101] called for the appointment of one member of the local board by the state organization, one by the board of county commissioners, and the third to be selected by these two appointees. In the event of disagreement as to the third board member, the appointment was to be made by the resident judge of the superior court of the district in which the county was situated.

To take care of the public assistance program the statute created in the State Board of Charities and Public Welfare a Division of Public Assistance, the only unit of service in the state welfare agency having statutory designation.[102] The increase in field work caused by inauguration of public assistance on July 1, 1937, necessitated the development of a special division of casework training and family rehabilitation to take care of the certifying services for surplus commodities, WPA and NYA.[103] This unit later became the staff development service.

The Board had long been suggesting a system of probation for adult offenders to match the probation offered youthful delinquents, but until 1937 the legislature had not provided the necessary machinery. In that year, however, the State Probation Commission was created and a staff was provided to operate the system as a state agency.[104]

The Board's auditing division was established in 1937 with the inauguration of the public assistance program while its statistical service was set up as a unit when the certifying services came into existence early in 1936. In 1937 N. E. Pepper of Stokes

---

99 *Public Laws, 1937*, c. 288.
100 *Biennial Report, 1936-39*, p. 163.
101 *Public Laws, 1937*, c. 319.
102 *Public Laws, 1937*, c. 288, s. 1.
103 *Biennial Report, 1936-38*, p. 88.
104 *Public Laws, 1937*, c. 132.

County, and Miss Carrie McLean of Mecklenburg County were appointed to the State Board, serving respectively until 1941 and 1942. John A. Oates of Cumberland County succeeded Commissioner Pepper and Mrs. R. H. Latham of Buncombe County succeeded Miss McLean.

Prior to its move to its present quarters in the State Education Building in December, 1938, the state welfare agency was operating in several different downtown buildings in Raleigh in addition to the space provided in the State Agriculture Building.

"The present quarters embracing nearly the whole of the fifth floor of the largest state office building represent the fourth home of the department since it was established. During the years following the legislature of 1869 when the work of the department was handled entirely by the secretary to the old Board of Public Charities, office space was allotted in the Capitol. Even after reorganization of the old Board into the present State Board of Charities and Public Welfare by the 1917 General Assembly to provide for a commissioner to direct the administrative work of the department, the Capitol still provided office space for four years until the first move in December, 1921.

"This change placed the department on the third floor of the brick building formerly standing at the head of Fayetteville Street on part of the site now occupied by the building housing the Supreme Court and department of justice. This was the site of Peter Casso's famous inn of Raleigh's first days as the capital of North Carolina.

"Five years later, in the early fall of 1926, the department moved into the building provided for the department of agriculture where it stayed for twelve years, the longest time it has occupied any quarters since leaving the capitol building." [105]

A bill was presented to the 1941 General Assembly calling for the establishment of the state training school for Negro girls for which the Board had so long been agitating. Considerable favorable sentiment resulted but the press of other items caused the bill to be shelved in favor of a resolution authorizing the governor to appoint a commission to study the proposal for the training school.[106] The commission was appointed and assisted

[105] *Biennial Report, 1938-40*, p. 15
[106] *Public Laws, 1941*, House Resolution No. 683.

in securing passage by the 1943 General Assembly of the act setting up the school for Negro girls in temporary quarters until after the war.[107]

In 1941 also there was created the Merit System Council under which the welfare agency along with several other state departments was to operate its personnel and staff.[108] This was the first approach to anything like a civil service system in the state government and was required because of recent amendments to the Social Security Act.

The advent of the war and increased employment soon eliminated all need for certification of persons to federal work agencies, such as CCC, WPA, and NYA, and they passed out of the picture. Replacing the duties and responsibilities once accorded these programs came the service to prospective selectees claiming dependency by their families. In this work the state and county welfare departments spent much time. Other problems of the war were the influx of young girls and women into the military areas and the preparation of plans for evacuation of civilians in event of enemy action.[109]

The General Assembly of 1943 passed much social legislation. All the state's mental institutions were placed under a unified Hospitals Board of Control instead of having separate advisory boards for each establishment as in the past.[110] This legislation also provided for a general business manager and a general superintendent of mental hygiene for all institutions and laid the basis for operation of future mental hygiene clinics.

The state's correctional institutions were likewise given a single supervisory board with the act providing for the Board of Corrections and Training.[111] This act set up a commissioner of corrections and a general business manager for these institutions and permitted these two offices to be combined at the discretion of the new board. The Negro girls' school was established and brought under the control of the Board of Corrections and Training.

Because the war was commencing to eliminate surplus farm products and the government was calling for increased produc-

[107] *Public Laws, 1943*, c. 381.
[108] *Public Laws, 1941*, c. 378.
[109] *Biennial Report, 1940-42*, pp. 8-12.
[110] *Public Laws, 1943*, c. 136.
[111] *Public Laws, 1943*, c. 776.

tion from farmers, the surplus commodity distribution program was liquidated in mid-1943.[112] The school lunch program was the only feature of this work continued during the war and supervision of this project was properly transferred from the welfare agency to the education authorities.

On June 1, 1944, Mrs. W. T. Bost retired as commissioner of public welfare after having given fourteen years and two months to the service of the people of the state. She was succeeded by Dr. Ellen Winston, former head of the Meredith College sociology department and former consultant for several federal agencies in educational and social welfare fields.[113]

Much social progress seems to result in North Carolina during or just after war periods. Continuing this trend the 1945 General Assembly acceded to a long-time request by many state organizations to raise the compulsory school attendance age from fourteen to sixteen years. Although the legislation for this purpose provided for a gradual process of increasing the attendance age with certain exemptions during the war, the provision was to become permanent after the cessation of hostilities.[114]

This legislature also completely revamped and modernized the laws providing for admission to mental hospitals, eliminating all of the outmoded terminology applied to mental ailments in the earlier statute.[115] A revision was also made in the law relating to the Hospitals Board of Control.[116]

In 1943 the governor appointed a State Recreation Committee as a part of the State Council for Defense and working under the state OCD set-up. This was given statutory basis in 1945 with the creation of the North Carolina Recreation Commission, the first such organization in any state in the country.[117]

This legislature, too, changed the name of the state welfare agency from State Board of Charities and Public Welfare to State Board of Public Welfare, thus making North Carolina in complete accord with modern social thinking of social service as genuinely public welfare and not as charity.[118]

---

112 *Biennial Report, 1942-44,* p. 87.
113 *Biennial Report, 1942-44,* p. 15. In 1944 A. W. McAlister resigned after his lengthy service on the Board and was succeeded by Frank A. Daniels of Raleigh.
114 *Public Laws, 1945,* c. 826.
115 *Session Laws, 1945,* c. 952.
116 *Session Laws, 1945,* c. 952.
117 *Session Laws, 1945,* c. 757.
118 *Session Laws, 1945,* c. 43.

Among other 1945 legislative enactments were changes in the public assistance laws permitting North Carolina to take immediate advantage of any broadening of Federal social security statutes which will raise maximum grants that may be paid families of dependent children and permitting assistance to be paid children until 18 years of age regardless of whether or not they are still in school. Many counties sought and obtained special acts permitting new limits on taxation for purposes of general relief and a general act permitted up to five cents for this purpose in addition to the former levy of five cents so that ten cents became the new maximum that may be levied for general relief purposes.

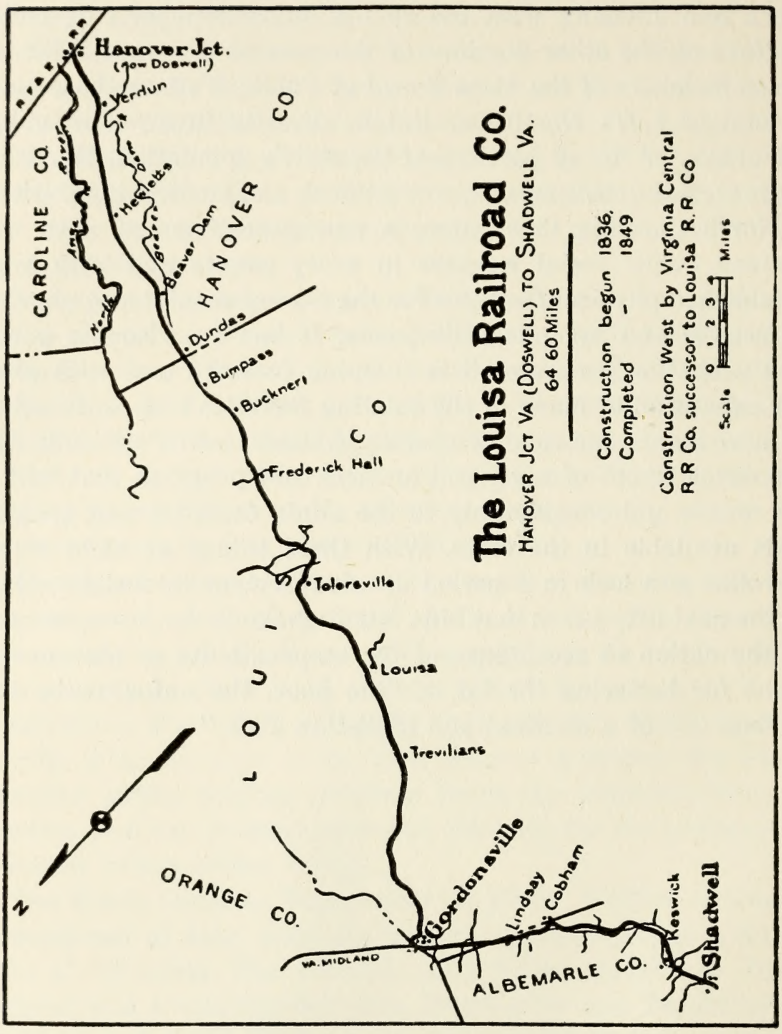
A program for expanding boarding home care for aged and infirm clients was inaugurated at this time with the homes to be inspected and licensed by the State Board of Public Welfare. In the field of child welfare two bills in the specialized field of adoption clarified certain aspects of consent to adoption and inheritance rights of the child, and an altered birth certificate bearing the new name of the child was directed to be sent to the county of the adoptive parents' residence.

The same legislature set up a state medical care program, laid the basis for a hospital to treat spastic children, and placed as top priority in the postwar building program the much-needed enlargement at Caswell Training School. Cancer control and tuberculosis preventive measures were enacted. Within a few months after the close of the 1945 General Assembly the North Carolina public welfare program faced the responsibilities of meeting postwar readjustment and planning for the problems of a return to peace-time living.

The North Carolina Department of Public Welfare currently is composed of four divisions and six special services working with all divisions. The divisions are: Public Assistance, Institutional and Protective Services, Psychiatric and Psychological Services, and Child Welfare. Special services include Accounts and Audits, Statistical Service, Information Service, Staff Development, Personnel and County Organization, and the unit of work among Negroes. Another service is that of field social work which acts as liaison between the state office and the county welfare departments.

In normal times when both state and county offices have full staffs there are 770 persons actively engaged in administration of the state's welfare program. In addition, 300 citizens in the counties act as local boards, administering the public assistance work and advising with the county superintendents of public welfare on the other portions of the general program. With the seven members of the State Board of Public Welfare these make a total of 1,077 North Carolinians directly involved in public social service for all portions of the state's population. Hundreds more staff the state mental, correctional, and medical institutions.

North Carolina thus enters a new peacetime era with well trained public social workers in every county and with long-established physical facilities for the care of mental and physical defectives and juvenile delinquents. It has an adequate parole and probation program; it is stepping forward now with plans for expansion of many of the existing facilities and construction of new plants for care of spastic children, senile patients, and the development of a general medical care program that will in its course add considerably to the clinic facilities and hospital beds available in the state. With these things at hand North Carolina can look to a period of advancement in social welfare in the next fifty years that bids fair to make it the foremost state in the nation in acceptance of the responsibility of the government for bettering the lot of "the poor, the unfortunate, and orphan . . . of a civilized and Christian state."


The Louisa Railroad Co.
HANOVER JCT VA (DOSWELL) TO SHADWELL VA.
64 60 Miles
Construction begun 1836.
Completed - 1849
Construction West by Virginia Central
R R Co. successor to Louisa R. R Co
Scale 0 1 2 3 4 Miles
Hanover Jct.
(now Doswell)
Yerdun
Hewletts
Beaver Dam
Dundas
Bumpass
Buckner
Frederick Hall
Tolersville
Louisa
Trevilians
Gordonsville
Lindsay
Cobham
Keswick
Shadwell
CAROLINE CO.
HANOVER CO
LOUISA CO
ORANGE CO.
ALBEMARLE CO.
VA. MIDLAND
N

THE LOUISA RAILROAD, 1836-1850*

By CHARLES W. TURNER

The transportation history of the seaboard states has been treated only very generally so far. Intensive studies of local and state efforts to solve this problem must be made first before the full story can be told with any degree of accuracy. The following article is an attempt to show how the people in central Virginia tried to solve their transportation problem with the use of the steamhorses early in the nineteenth century.

River transportation was proving inadequate before Virginia became a state of the Union in 1778. The trade centers had developed mainly in the Tidewater area where this form of transportation was available, while the inhabitants of the western half of the state found themselves landlocked without any navigable river affording an outlet to the sea. Justices of the peace of the various counties had been empowered by the house of burgesses to select overseers to build and maintain such county roads as were necessary, but these were poorly maintained and were trails leading around trees and through streams, so that carriages frequently became stuck in the red mud. South of Petersburg the soil was low, sandy, and damp, and the roads were impassable for vehicles for a good portion of the year. By 1800 a number of private companies had been chartered to build roads and canals throughout the state. As late as 1830 none of these had effectively solved the transportation problems of any section of the state, and farmers of the western Piedmont and mountain areas still employed the "Walk Away" method of driving the livestock to the eastern markets. Improved transportation would mean a new day for this part of the state.

By the 'twenties the citizens of eastern Virginia had come to feel that railroads would solve the transportation difficulty. They had watched with much interest in the newspapers the railroad experiments in Great Britain and in the northern states, and group meetings were held in the Tidewater towns planning railroad schemes for themselves. When representatives of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company had addressed the Virginia assembly in 1827 requesting a charter from the state, a charter

* For the vital part which this railroad played in the Confederate military strategy, see: Charles W. Turner, "The Virginia Central Railroad at War, 1861-1865," *The Journal of Southern History*, XII (1946), 510-533.

was granted this company; and within the next decade the assembly was chartering such "home grown" lines as the Petersburg, the Portsmouth and Roanoke, the Fredericksburg and Potomac, and the Winchester and Potomac railroad companies. Local schemes providing for short north-south roads were the first to be undertaken; but with the coming of state aid, east-west lines were gradually planned. The extension and consolidation of lines was hindered by several influences: first, the lack of broad vision to see the great value of railroads to the western sections of the state; second, the absence of available capital to invest in these slow-paying projects; and finally, the fact that coastwise and canal transportation in a measure met the needs of many Virginians so that they were reluctant to provide further competition. Furthermore, the delay in railroad development in western Virginia resulted from the dislike of eastern Virginians for the Baltimore and Ohio which was extending its lines in that area and draining off Virginia trade to Baltimore. The assembly was very slow to charter other lines which would only feed into that out-of-state or "foreign" line as it was called, and keen rivalry developed between the eastern and western halves of the state over this problem.

When the state became interested in the demand for internal improvements in the early nineteenth century, a Board of Public Works was created to supervise the undertakings. It was nothing unusual for the state to engage in industry and public works, for a grape vineyard, salt works, and gun factory were operated in the early years of the state. Now, in 1816, the Board, with a civil engineer and his corps, conducted surveys and subscribed financially to transportation projects of the state. The personnel of the Board were political figures and were stockholders directly interested in one or more of the projects who would be anxious to further the success of a particular project. The Board was endowed with the stock then held by the state in turnpikes and canal companies and that stock which the state had accumulated in the Bank of Virginia, and the rule was established that the Board should subscribe to two-fifths of the capital of a particular company chartered to build various types of transportation for the state. This sum was increased to three-fifths in the 'fifties. One

of the companies receiving this aid on such terms in the thirties was the Louisa Railroad.[1]

The Louisa Railroad, one of the first railroads in the east to strike west and to scale the Alleghany Mountains, was started by the people of Louisa County, in central Virginia, with substantial state support, for the purpose of supplying a landlocked area in the Piedmont region with better transportation facilities. The following needs would be met: (1) handle the travel and trade of Louisa County located more than thirty miles from navigable water, carrying out tobacco and wheat in exchange for manufactured products, (2) connect with the stage lines which had regular routes over turnpikes running through Charlottesville and Gordonsville, and (3) provide a new means of investment and occupation for a rural people. This line was destined to become a part of the Virginia Central of the mid-nineteenth century and of the present Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad.

There was much agitation prior to 1836 for a railroad that would extend from the neighborhood near Taylorsville via Louisa Courthouse to the stagecoach road leading from Charlottesville to Fredericksburg. Later it was proposed to extend this railroad into northwestern Virginia. A connection with the turnpike from Charlottesville would be made at Gordonsville, and thus some business was assured at the outset.[2] Louisa citizens interested in the railroad met at Louisa Courthouse, September 14, 1835, where it was found that $590 had been raised to pay for the necessary surveys of possible routes, and the motion was passed to survey routes on both sides of the Little River.[3] Whereupon Moncure Robinson, a well-known civil engineer of the state, surveyed the routes early in 1836 and reported that the most suitable route was on the ridge between the Little and North Anna rivers and that no rock excavation would be required. The aggregate cost of preparation of a proper roadbed from Taylorsville to Gordonsville was estimated at $516,281.[4]

---

[1] H. D. Dozier, *A History of the Atlantic Coastline Railroad*, pp. 1-21; Joseph Martin, *A New and Comprehensive Gazetteer of Virginia*, pp. 95-100; B. H. Meyer and C. E. McGill, *Transportation in the United States before 1860*, p. 260.

[2] *Richmond Enquirer*, September 22, November 20, 1835.

[3] *Richmond Enquirer*, September 22, 1835.

[4] Moncure Robinson, *Report upon Surveys for the Louisa Railroad.* (A copy is in the Virginia State Library, Richmond.)

In the General Assembly of 1835-36, the bill to establish the Louisa Railroad Company was passed, after an amendment of the senate to make the terminus Newark instead of Gordonsville had been defeated. Frederick Harris, soon to be first president of the company, introduced the bill in the house of delegates.[5] The charter, dated February 18, 1836, provided for the opening of stockbooks at various points along the proposed route. The initial capital to be raised was $300,000, sold in $100 shares; the subscribers might pay as little as $10 down on each share, and the company would begin operation when 1,000 shares had been sold.[6]

The Louisa Company was supervised by a president and five directors, who selected a secretary, treasury, superintendent of transportation, depot agents, and overseers of shops and upkeep of roadbed. The president and three directors were elected by a majority vote of the stockholders annually, and these officials had charge of seeing that the railroad was built. If funds proved insufficient, they had the power to borrow money and issue certificates convertible into stock.[7] Their main duties were to construct, repair, and maintain the railroad, although certain special duties were placed upon them from time to time, such as the appointment of special boards, the purchase of supplies, and representation of the company before the assembly. Since the Board of Public Works appointed two of the five directors, this gave the state an important part in the affairs of the company. Later when the state had the privilege of appointing three of the Board of Directors, it might well have assumed a directing hand in Louisa Railroad affairs.[8] The company accepted this relation and seemed to show no fear of state control. In fact, the state appears to have worked closely with the railroad in its efforts to extend and exerted little or no restraining force on the actions of the company. This resulted no doubt from the fact that the company realized that without state aid its finances would not be sufficient. Furthermore, the members of the Board of Public Works and assemblymen were owners of large blocks of stock in the Louisa Company.

---

5 *Virginia Advocate* (Charlottesville), February 10, 1836.
6 *Charter of the Louisa Railroad Company* (copy in Virginia State Library), p. 4.
7 *Charter of the Louisa Railroad Company*, pp. 6-7.
8 *Charter of the Louisa Railroad Company*, p. 6.

The regular stockholder's meetings were held annually, and in addition many special sessions were called during the first years where a majority of the stockholders were required to be present before business could be transacted. At these meetings the president's report was given on the condition of the railroad, recommendations for improving the road were suggested, the usual officials were elected, and copies of proceedings were sent to the Board of Public Works and to the newspapers.

Captain Frederick Harris of Fredrick Hall, who had served in the General Assembly, was chosen first president of the railroad, and he was felt to be qualified having shown great interest in the work and having appeared to be an active, zealous, and efficient manager of his own affairs.[9] To him much credit is due for the early success of the company. In 1841 he resigned and was succeeded by Charles Y. Kimbrough, a former legislator and a large stockholder. The only other president who served the railroad while it was known as the Louisa Railroad Company was Edmund Fontaine of Beaverdam, re-elected annually from 1845 to 1865.[10] The members of the Board of Directors were local figures who lived along the line. Few changes in the Board's personnel were made during the period.[11] John H. Hopkins was appointed by the president and directors as chief engineer. Since he had served in the same capacity for the Richmond, Fredericksburg, and Potomac Company, the officials felt that he would be qualified. A superintendent of transportation was also selected;[12] and after the depots were established the agents were selected to handle the business at various stops to see that the fees and freight were collected, to keep the public informed of schedules, and to handle the mail.

An engineering corps was hired to locate the route for the first section from Taylorsville to Frederick Hall by the summer of 1836,[13] and these men worked with Hopkins and the company contractor in actually building the line. More than 400 slaves worked on the first stretch under the supervision of overseers.[14]

---

[9] *Richmond Enquirer*, June 24, 1836.
[10] Malcolm Harris, *History of Louisa County, Virginia* (Richmond: Dietz Press, 1937), p. 78.
[11] The first directors were: James M. Morris, Peter Scales, Thomas Johnson, C. Y. Kimbrough, and Charles Thompson, Jr. *Richmond Enquirer*, June 24, 1836; August 8, 1837.
[12] *Richmond Enquirer*, June 21, 1836.
[13] *Richmond Enquirer*, June 30, 1836.
[14] *Richmond Enquirer*, October 9, 11, 1836; *Richmond Whig*, April 18, 1837.

The company purchased some slaves and hired others from their masters. People along the route often donated their personal help, use of their slaves, and tools. After the original stretch was completed, contracting companies took over the job of building, though the company regularly had to hire help for repair.[15] When the company began to carry out its own transporting, it hired overseers, laborers, carpenters, stone masons, blacksmiths, and mechanics who were employed in the machine shops.[16]

The railroad company was granted the privilege to enter private property, where it laid rails and sequestered local building materials purchased from the owner at a fair price. Should there be any disagreement over charges paid on materials so secured, a board of five local persons, selected by the company and Board of Public Works, would decide on the question of damages to be paid. If the tracks intersected a road, the company was required to provide a safe means of passing over its tracks.[17] The construction of the railroad was to begin within two years and was to be completed within ten years,[18] while dividends were to be declared after ten miles of the line was completed. No other railroad was to be allowed the right to build a parallel railroad to compete with the Louisa Company and in return the company must give safe and satisfactory service, with no undue preference shown favored customers. The charges were to be eight cents per person per mile and ten cents per ton for freight.[19]

According to the charter the company might purchase rolling stock and carry out its own transporting or contract with another railroad line to perform the service. The expense of construction was greater than had been anticipated; therefore, an act was passed by the General Assembly in March, 1837, allowing the Richmond, Fredericksburg, and Potomac Railroad Company to use its rolling stock over the Louisa line and the R. F. and P. Company would subscribe to $60,000 worth of shares in the Louisa Company.[20] By November the terms were

---

[15] *Twenty-Eighth and Twenty-Ninth Annual Report of Board of Public Works to the General Assembly of Virginia*, p. 72.
[16] *Thirty-Second and Thirty-Third Annual Report of Board of Public Works to the General Assembly of Virginia*, pp. 432-433.
[17] *Charter of the Louisa Railroad Company*, p. 8.
[18] *Charter of the Louisa Railroad Company*, p. 16.
[19] *Charter of the Louisa Railroad Company*, pp. 14-16.
[20] *Charter of the Louisa Railroad Company*, p. 20.

decided upon between the two railroads, whereby the Louisa line agreed to keep up the roadbed, for which the company would receive half of the receipts from the transportation of the mails and freight and two-thirds of the passenger fares. The R. F. and P. Company for providing engines and cars and carrying out transportation would receive half from the freight and mails and one-third from the passenger fares.[21] When a new agreement was made in 1845, after the Board of Public Works acted as mediator, the R. F. and P. Company agreed to provide the rolling stock, officers, agents, and hands for the train, depots, water stations and shops, together with oil and wood, in return for one-half of the gross income from the passenger, freight, and mail receipts plus $15,000 annually.[22] During 1846-47 much dissatisfaction over this dependence on the F. R. and P. Company was shown. Many felt that the Louisa Railroad was paying too much for the job. The contract was set aside July 1, 1847, and from then on the Louisa Company did its own transporting.[23] The R. F. and P. Company agreed to allow the Louisa Company's cars to be attached to the R. F. and P. cars from Taylorsville to Richmond at the rate of three-fourths of a cent per mile; the Louisa Company would pay $1,000 per year for advertising, keeping accounts, collecting freight and passenger fees to the R. F. and P.; all cars would be repaired in Richmond; settlements would be made quarterly; and freight charges were fixed at four cents per mile. The charge for lime and marl by the ton was only three cents a mile, however, in order to encourage its use.[24] The R. F. and P. Company appeared irked at this separation and refused to sell the Louisa Company new or used equipment to help it get started.

At the first stockholder's meeting in June, 1836, surveys were studied and the financial report showed that $150,000 worth of stock had been sold. There was overwhelming sentiment in favor of laying the tracks to Newark; but continuation to Gordonsville depended upon the interest and support of the counties of Albemarle, Culpeper, Madison, and Rockingham. This ex-

---

21 *Richmond Enquirer*, November 17, 1837.
22 *Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Meeting of the Stockholders of the Louisa Railroad Company*, pp. 16-17.
23 J. P. Nelson, *History of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad Company*.
24 *Thirty-Third Annual Report of Board of Public Works to the General Assembly of Virginia*, pp. 405-406.

tension was further encouraged when the General Assembly authorized the Board of Public Works to purchase two-fifths of the new capital necessary for continuance of the tracks as far as Gordonsville.[25] There was a popular desire to have the Louisa line completed. The people along the right-of-way helped to secure timber and homes were kept busy preparing food for the laborers. A few, however, opposed the project and refused to sell their materials. One man declared that his neighbor's mules were good enough to do his hauling.[26]

After the route had been fixed on the northern side of the river, the tracks were laid from Taylorsville (Doswell) to Frederick Hall by December 20, 1837. The route proved cheaper and the soil firmer. The event was marked at Frederick Hall by a great celebration. The first engine and three cars left Richmond on the R. F. and P. rails at nine o'clock in the morning and at one o'clock in the afternoon; they arrived at Frederick Hall with a band playing and the colors flying with notables aboard.[27] Lieutenant Governor W. F. McFarland and others were chief speakers of the day. Thus the first section of twenty-one miles in length was officially opened.

By December 1, 1838, an extension of twelve miles to Louisa Courthouse was ready for operation,[28] and stockbooks were opened to receive funds for the planned extension to Gordonsville, while Orange County citizens interested in the railroad project were requested to meet with the Louisa stockholders. At this point there developed the first controversy as to whether the railroad should be run from Louisa to Gordonsville, which was twelve miles west, or whether it should take a more southern route heading directly towards Charlottesville. President Harris called a meeting of the stockholders for July 20, 1938, to consider extension to the former place.[29] In the meantime, some who favored the Charlottesville route assembled at the Albemarle County courthouse for the purpose of considering the new extension. Those who attended the second meeting resolved to prevail on citizens to buy stock in the Louisa Company and

---

[25] *Richmond Enquirer*, February 22, 1837.
[26] Harris, *History of Louisa County*, p. 146.
[27] *Richmond Enquirer*, December 22, 1837.
[28] *Richmond Enquirer*, August 5, 1839.
[29] *Richmond Enquirer*, June 19, 1838.

to encourage the assembly to pass an act authorizing the Charlottesville extension. Before closing a committee was appointed to meet with the Louisa stockholders on July 20. Stock was being sold at this time for a six-mile extension west of Louisa to Newark for which some 200 shares of stock had to be sold to meet the cost of $8,000 per mile. This fact was brought to the attention of the stockholders at the Louisa Courthouse meeting. A large crowd heard Governor James Barbour speak in favor of the Gordonsville extension, and President Harris agreed with him when a vote was taken and the Gordonsville route won.[30]

The assembly, by an act of March 27, 1839, authorized the extension to Gordonsville, for which $300,000 worth of stock was allowed to be sold, with the state taking its usual two-fifths. It was felt the extension would accomplish two ends: increase the profits of the commonwealth and the stockholders and be a convenience to the counties of Albemarle, Green, Orange, Madison, Culpeper, Louisa, and Spottsylvania.[31]

Several years later upon reaching Gordonsville, January 1, 1840, the company was ready to continue toward Charlottesville and in 1842 stock was being sold for that extension.[32] The construction of this extension from Gordonsville was slow as a result of the lack of interest in that section, however, and as late as April, 1848, invitations for sealed proposals for superstructure, grading, and masonry for a final section of this extension were to be granted.[33]

Extension beyond Charlottesville had been agreed upon as early as 1841, for which the assembly permitted the company a $500,000 increase in capital stock. Harris, in an appeal to the stockholders, mentioned the unlimited resources to be tapped in the new era, such as those from which the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad had benefited. Furthermore, Harris called a meeting of interested persons to assemble at Harrisonburg in 1845. The group met and urged the extension of the Louisa line to their city.[34] The company having agreed to this exten-

---

[30] *Richmond Enquirer*, June 19, 1938.
[31] *Charter of the Louisa Railroad Company*, p. 23.
[32] *Richmond Enquirer*, December 8, 1942.
[33] *Thirty-Third and Thirty-Fourth Annual Report of Board of Public Works to the General Assembly of Virginia*, pp. 343-350.
[34] *Thirtieth and Thirty-First Annual Report of Board of Public Works to the General Assembly of Virginia*, pp. 62-69, 334.

sion, the next problem was the choice of a route across the Blue Ridge. The choice lay between the Powell's Gap or the Rockfish Gap, and each route had its supporters who were busy raising stock for the extension.[35] In the newspapers of the day, arguments were presented for both routes. When William A. Kuper, a civil engineer of Frederick Hall, had made surveys of both routes for the company, he declared the Powell's Gap route was steeper and required too much costly detouring. He concluded his report by stating:

> Let me add in conclusion, that your road is to occupy a prominent place in the scale of public improvement, and is destined to effect a complete revolution in the prosperity of Virginia, in developing its agricultural and mining wealth, and in developing a community of feeling and interests uniting the two grand divisions of the state.[36]

The eastern stockholders of Richmond and Hanover fought for the Powell's Gap route and only gave in when a majority of the stockholders favored the Rockfish Gap route by a vote of 1,048 to 78.[37] Although the General Assembly, March 5, 1849, provided for extension to a point near Waynesboro, which the company accepted,[38] the grading had been done only as far as Woodville, eight miles west of Charlottesville, by 1850, and several years would have been required to complete a tunnel through the Blue Ridge.[39]

The Richmond, Fredericksburg, and Potomac Railroad Company was carrying out the transportation for the company and the line from Taylorsville to Richmond belonged to that company; but when the Louisa Company began handling its own transportation in 1847, the cry for extension to Richmond began to be raised. Many felt the company was too dependent on the R. F. and P. Company, that the capital city might well afford two railroad lines, and that the proposed extension would benefit farmers in Caroline, Hanover, and King William counties.[40] The R. F. and P. Company opposed this move and declared it

---

[35] *Richmond Enquirer*, August 4, 1847.
[36] *Richmond Enquirer*, September 13, 1847.
[37] *Richmond Enquirer*, September 10, 1847; *Thirty-Second and Thirty-Third Annual Report of Board of Public Works to the General Assembly of Virginia*, p. 67.
[38] *Charter of The Louisa Railroad Company*, p. 29.
[39] *Thirty-Fourth and Thirty-Fifth Annual Report of the Board of Public Works to the General Assembly of Virginia*, pp. 125-129.
[40] *Thirty-Second and Thirty-Third Annual Report of the Board of Public Works to the General Assembly of Virginia*, pp. 424-428.

had sole right by its charter to run its rails into Richmond.[41] Nevertheless, the assembly by an act of March 27, 1848, authorized a stock increase of $200,000 in order that the eastern extension of the Louisa road might be made.

The R. F. and P. sought an injunction to stop this eastern extension. Judge Clopton of the circuit court refused to grant the injunction, saying the assembly had the right to empower the defendant to extend its road to Richmond and that it did not impair the obligation of contract as the plaintiff charged.[42] The case was appealed in 1849 to the Supreme Court of Appeals, which favored the Louisa Company. Still not appeased, the R. F. and P. Company took the case to the Supreme Court of the United States during the fall term of 1851. The judgment of the lower courts was affirmed and it was stated that the privilege or the monopoly guaranteed to the R. F. and P. Company was that of transporting passengers between Richmond and Washington, but that the assembly did not part with the power to authorize the construction of railroads between Richmond and Fredericksburg for other purposes. Secondly, a grant of franchise to one company to construct a railroad or canal is not infringed by authorizing another railroad or canal to be laid across it.[43] The defeated company raised its rates on the section between Taylorsville and Richmond, while the Louisa Company urged its patrons to use the stage between the two points. The eastern extension was not actually completed until 1851. In 1850 the name of the company was changed to the Virginia Central Company, for the rails were being laid beyond the bounds of the County of Louisa. By that date the total length was 64.6 miles.[44]

The financial and service records of the Louisa Railroad Company are of special interest. They show how a rural people invested in a scheme not destined to connect large cities, but rather to head west offering them a place for investment and a new means of transportation. According to the charter the capital stock of the company was $300,000 to be sold at $100 a share. As early as June, 1836, $159,000 of this amount had been sold, and

---

41 *Charter of the Louisa Railroad Company*, p. 29.
42 *Richmond Whig*, April 27, 1849.
43 *U. S. Supreme Court*, 13, Howard, 71.
44 *Thirty-Fourth and Thirty-Fifth Annual Report of the Board of Public Works to the General Assembly of Virginia*, pp. 434-439.

by 1845 $800,000 had been purchased.[45] Further extensions had required that the assembly allow the company to increase its capitalization. The state was accustomed to taking two-fifths of the stock of railroad companies, and that was done in this case. In the 'fifties the state increased this to three-fifths. Some of the first stock went slowly and more funds were required. In order to facilitate the sale, persons who had bought stock prior to October 15, 1836, were required to pay only three dollars per share in cash payments, while those who had subscribed after that date were required to pay five dollars.[46] A month later the president and directors were demanding $20 per share in order to complete the first sections.[47]

The state's share was taken out of the Internal Improvements Fund, which consisted of funds accumulating from internal improvement projects already in operation, and from the federal grant of a portion of the surplus revenue. Should the amount in hand be insufficient to purchase the two-fifths of the capital stock of the company, the General Assembly passed a second act (1837) providing that the Board of Public Works could borrow on the credit of the state at a rate of interest not exceeding six per cent a year. The total amount borrowed, to be paid to the treasurer of the company, was not to exceed $120,000. If the state's portion of the railroad dividends more than paid for the interest on the loan, the remaining funds would be used by the state to purchase stock certificates in the railroad. Furthermore, the company was required to use all funds secured the first two years, beginning January 1, 1837, for actual construction.[48] So slowly did the cash come in that the company threatened to charge interest on its delinquent stock.[49] All the funds of the Louisa Company were deposited in the Farmers' Bank of Virginia, at Richmond.

Though the General Assembly passed an act to increase the stock by $300,000 for the Charlottesville extension, the effects of the panic of 1837 were so severe that not a dollar was subscribed for six months, and the stock actually fell in value to 30 or 40

---

[45] *Charter of the Louisa Railroad Company.*
[46] *Richmond Enquirer,* June 24, 1836.
[47] *Richmond Enquirer,* September 27, 1836.
[48] *Charter of the Louisa Railroad Company,* pp. 16-19.
[49] *Richmond Enquirer,* May 2, August 4, 8, 1837.

cents on the dollar.[50] As late as July 20, 1838, the stockholders were informed that it was necessary to sell 200 additional shares to enable the Gordonsville extension to be finished, leaving out of consideration the tremendous cost of the Charlottesville extension farther on.[51]

The capital stock subscribed by March 11, 1839, was $415,000; of this total $226,000 was owned by individuals, while $189,000 was owned by the state.[52] The company had to take action against delinquent stockholders, and such notices as the following appeared in a newspaper of the day:

> February 4, 1840
> At 12:30 o'clock
> Merchants' Coffee House
> A sale of 20 shares of
> Delinquent stock will
> be made to the highest
> bidder for current notes.[53]

For the eastern extension $200,000 additional was allowed and the sum was accumulated in three forms: one-third invested in the stock of the company, one-third in bonds payable in ten years, and one-third in cash.[54] This is the second and last case recorded of the Louisa Company being forced to borrow money during its existence, 1836-1850. If one adds the total funds subscribed, including the amounts contributed by counties beyond the Rockfish Gap, the total stock subscription by 1850 was $1,500,000.[55]

The cost of the first stretch between Taylorsville and Newark was estimated at $516,282, and this estimate proved nearly correct for grading, masonry, timber, superstructure, depots, fixtures, spikes, splicing plates, and labor contracted for in the fall of 1836,[56] making the average cost per mile for the first twenty-one miles $8,500, including the cost of construction of two water stations.[57]

---

[50] *Twenty-Third Annual Report of the Board of Public Works to the General Assembly of Virginia* (copy in Virginia State Library), pp. 52-57.
[51] *Richmond Enquirer*, June 26, 1838.
[52] *Richmond Enquirer*, March 16, 1839.
[53] *Richmond Enquirer*, December 25, 1839.
[54] *Thirty-Fourth and Thirty-Fifth Annual Report of the Board of Public Works of the General Assembly of Virginia*, pp. 238-241.
[55] *Thirty-Fourth and Thirty-Fifth Annual Report of the Board of Public Works to the General Assembly of Virginia*, pp. 238-241.
[56] *Richmond Enquirer*, November 27, 1836.
[57] *Richmond Enquirer*, August 8, 1837.

The topography of the area proved very good and no sharp curves or deep gradings were necessary for the first twenty-one miles. Excavation and embankment costs did not exceed ten cents per cubic yard. Rails of two and three-fourths inches were used, and the sills were saturated with a solution of corrosive sublimate for a preservative.[58] Melton and Hunter Company contracted to build the road between Louisa Courthouse and Gordonsville at $8,000 a mile. Their contract provided that no curve should have a radius smaller than 1,919 feet, that the superstructure should be made of good timber, and that two-and-three-fourths-inch rails should be used. A double track would be laid at several points to provide extra convenience to certain customers such as Mayberry's Iron Foundry.[59] The iron necessary was secured abroad for $65 a ton, and local timber cost $60 a thousand. Contracts were let for the building of the Gordonsville-Charlottesville extension in October, 1847, at $6,000 a mile, but as much as $5,000 was spent on buildings alone which were put up at both ends of the extension.[60]

Melton and Hunter contracted to build the eastern extension at $7,500 per mile where heavier rails were used, and seven miles of this section were laid with the "U" type rail weighing 51 pounds to the yard. Bridge spans of 300 feet and less were used over the Little River, South Anna River, and the creeks between Taylorsville and Richmond. These heavier rails cost $200 a mile.[61] When in 1850 the Louisa Company became the Virginia Central Railroad, there were seventy-two miles completed at the average cost of $10,000 per mile.

The administrative cost varied with the general business conditions. For example, in 1836-37 the president received $1,500; the engineer, $3,200; the secretary, $100; the directors, $2.50 per day. The following year, as a result of the panic, the president's salary was reduced to $1,000 annually and the others proportionally. Further reductions came in the next decade with the president's salary at $500 for several years. The superintend-

---

[58] *Richmond Whig*, April 18, 1837; *Richmond Enquirer*, August 8, 1837.

[59] *Richmond Enquirer*, June 27, 1838; *Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Stockholders of the Louisa Railroad Company* (all reports of such meetings may be found in *Public Works Reports*), pp. 72-78.

[60] *Twenty-Third Annual Report of the Board of Public Works to the General Assembly of Virginia*, p. 58; *Twenty-Eighth and Twenty-Ninth Annual Report*, p. 67.

[61] *Thirty-Third, Thirty-Fourth, and Thirty-Fifth Annual Report*, pp. 127, 436.

ent's salary in 1841 was only $700 and each of the two overseers was paid $250, while the agents received an average of $300 per year.[62] The total cost of administration for 1840 amounted to $5,000. By 1843 the Louisa Company was paying out $72,000 for operation, the main sum going to the R. F. and P. for carrying out its job of transporting.[63] After the contract with the R. F. and P. was cancelled in 1847, $50,000 to $60,000 was needed for carrying out its own transportation and bonds were issued for part of the expense.[64] This cost included the wages of laborers, carpenters, stone masons, blacksmiths, and mechanics. For four engines, cars, and the building of shops at Taylorsville, $41,000 was necessary. Another cost was that of damages claimed against the company.[65] In 1837 it had been reported that the people of Louisa County were much more content with the compensation offered by the Louisa Railroad than the people in Hanover County.

For the first sixteen months ending June, 1839, the gross receipts of the company equalled $14,500. Six months after the Gordonsville extension, a 200 per cent increase in receipts was reported. The following year, 1841, there were less returns as a result of a bad crop season and scarcity of currency, but notwithstanding by the fall of 1842 the stockholders were informed that the gross receipts for the six months' period ending by midyear had doubled over the returns for the year preceding. For the same period a year later, a balance of $41,895 was reported in the treasury.[66] The receipts in 1847 exceeded those of 1846 by $1,814. By carrying out its own transportation, for the period from July, 1847, to July, 1848, a saving of $10,893 was reported and the receipts were four per cent greater for the first six months of 1849 than for the same period of 1848. The final year, 1850, the receipts totalled $90,076 for the period ending in September, while for the corresponding period in 1849 they were only $77,730.[67]

---

[62] *Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Stockholders of the Louisa Railroad Company*, pp. 73-78; *Thirty-Second and Thirty-Third Annual Report*, pp. 432-433.

[63] *Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Report of the Stockholders of the Louisa Railroad Company*, p. 7.

[64] *Richmond Enquirer*, November 16, 1847.

[65] *Richmond Enquirer*, August 8, 1837.

[66] *Proceedings of the Fourth and Seventh Annual Stockholders Meeting of the Louisa Railroad Company*, p. 88; *Twenty-Fourth and Twenty-Fifth Annual Report*, p. 34; *Twenty-Eighth and Twenty-Ninth Annual Report*, p. 64.

[67] *Thirty-Second and Thirty-Third Annual Report*, p. 17; *Thirty-Fourth and Thirty-Fifth Annual Report*, p. 436; *Sixteenth Annual Report of the President and Directors of the Virginia Central Railroad Company to the Stockholders*, p. 17.

The progress of the company is reflected in the dividends declared semiannually, enumerated in the table below:[68]

January-July	15, 1838	— 2%
July-December	15, 1838	— 2½%
January-July	15, 1839	— 3%
July-December	15, 1839	— 3%
January-July	15, 1840	— (Undeclared)
July-December	15, 1840	— 4½%
No dividends 1841-42		
1843-1847		— 3%
1847-1849		— 2%

By July 1, 1849, the dividends had been reserved altogether for the purpose of the eastern extension.[69] Thus the financial difficulties were never very serious and the picture gradually brightened in the fifties.

The first engines as well as the iron needed by the Louisa Railroad Company were purchased in Philadelphia. These engines were of the small wood-burning type and traveled at the speed of from twelve to fifteen miles per hour.[70] The R. F. and P. boasted in 1837 that with these locomotives it had carried 40,000 passengers without a single accident.[71] The wooden cars, either of the four- or eight-wheel type, flat or covered, were secured in the North, until the company began making them in its own shops in 1847. A careful description of the type of passenger car used is given in the following letter taken from President Fontaine's letter book:

Office of Louisa Rail Road Company
January 19, 1848

Messrs. Betts, Harlan and Hollingsworth

Gentlemen:

I send you a description of the material parts of the body of a passenger car for which I shall be glad to receive an offer to be delivered at Aquia Creek by the 1st of July, all parts not specified to correspond with those specified and all timber not specified to be good and suitable for the car as described.

You will observe the last item described consists of an iron arch and sundry fixtures designed to strengthen the bottom railing of the

[68] *Thirtieth and Thirty-First Annual Report*, p. 334; *Thirty-Fourth Annual Report*, p. 239.
[69] *Thirty-Fourth Annual Report*, p. 232.
[70] *Richmond Enquirer*, December 27, 1847.
[71] *Richmond Enquirer*, January 16, 1838.

car, that is intended as a substitute for the inside plan, etc. You will please state whether your charge will be different if you use the arched bar of iron, omitting the inside plank.

E. Fontaine, Pr. L.R.R.Co.

Passenger Car, all the work to be executed in best workman like manner.

Length of car Out and Out 43 feet 4 inches with two drop platforms of best yellow heart pine 2 ft. 8 x 4 feet.

Body of coach from out to out 38 ft. long 8 ft. x 8 inches wide.

Bottom Rail of best heart yellow pine 38 ft. long 10 x 5 inches.

Top Rail 42 feet long 8 x 3 inches best heart pine or oak to be confined to the pillars with two rivets to each pillar.

Bolsters to be 12 x 13 best white oak, 4 knee plates to each bolster of wrought iron ⅝ thick by 10 inches wide, each knee plate confined to the bolster with 3 bolts running through the bottom railing of ⅝ diameter.

(This a substitute for the circular bar of iron extension bolts.) An inside plank riveted to each pillar with 3 rivets and bolted to the bottom rail between every other window with a bolt of ⅝ diameter, with a nut at the bottom, the plank to be 2½ inches thick by 13 deep.

The Ladies Apartment 6 ft. 4 in. long with a lampbox each side of the door with glass doors inside and out — seats in the ladies apartment to be red plush sofas, back, of the same.

Gentlemen's Apartment to have a passage 16 inches wide, the floor laid with the best yellow pine dressed to 1¼ inches; seats put crosswise, made of mahogany, wide backs, stuffed with best black hair cloth, detached cushions covered with best black hair cloth well stuffed.

Seats 2 feet 7 inches from center to center with a foot piece underneath, water cooler to hold 4 gallons, lamp box on each side of the door as in the Ladies Apartment, with a stove fixed with hand railings and brass knobs.

Drop platform of best heart yellow pine for the floor 2 steps on each side 9 in. wide and 1 foot high, supported on 3 pieces of iron 2½ x ½ confined to the platform, upright rod from the bottom of the platform to the top of the Coach 1⅛ inches in diameter, balance of Rod for hand railing 1 inch diameter 2 ft. high.

Doors to be 5 feet 10 inches high, 2 inches thick, *panneled* of mahogany, good yellow heart pine or curled maple.

Windows to hoist glass fastened in from the outside with a wooden moulding instead of putty.

Eves from one end of the car to the other 9 inches wide immediately over the windows to throw off rain, etc.

Curtains of strong drab twilled worsted.

The car to be 2 inches higher on the inside than the first one made the Louisa Company.

Painted handsomely on the inside and in a plain substantial manner on the outside.

To have a bar of iron on each side 3½ in. wide by ⅜ thick, running from the front bolster to the back bolster — bending with a regular bow, so that the top of the bow of iron just comes to the bottom of the window, the said bar to extend from the bolster to each corner in the manner of a brace and to extend up the corner posts as high as the bottom of the window and the said bar to be made fast to each pillar with rivets — there is to be an extension bolt of ⅝ diameter between every Pillar with a hooked head to hook on the 3½ inch bar and to go through the bottom rail with a nut at the bottom. Every pillar to be confined to the bottom rail with a pilot-point bolt.[72]

As we have shown, timber was secured locally for the superstructure and buildings. The wood for fuel was piled along the right-of-way, and water tanks were installed at needed points along the track. In 1850 the equipment of the Louisa Company consisted of eight locomotives, including the "Frederick Harris," "Charles Y. Kimbrough," and the "Westward Ho!," five passenger coaches, three baggage cars, 100 four-wheel cars, 23 eight-wheel freight cars, 16 hand cars, and two switch engines.[73]

Claudius Crozet, engineer of the Board of Public Works, made a report to that Board in 1840 of the upkeep of the road at that date. He stated that the road was in good order and that the rails used in the Louisa-Gordonsville extension were flat bars but heavier and better in quality than those used in the first stretch. The superstructure, he reported, was of inferior quality.[74] B. M. Jones, holding a similar position, in May, 1851, went on a hand car to inspect the road. He found it in a fairly good state of repair, though he recommended taking up all the light rails, replacing them with a heavier type. The scrap iron along the route and these lighter rails could be collected and sold. The estimated cost of relaying the iron was given at $200 per mile.[75]

When the R. F. and P. Company did the transporting for the Louisa Railroad, a daily train of sixteen cars for passengers and freight service was used. The train traveled up and back the same day. The first trains of 1837 left Richmond for Frederick

---

[72] Edmund Fontaine's Letter Book (found in the files of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway offices, Richmond, Virginia).

[73] *Sixteenth Annual Report of the President and Directors of the Virginia Central Railroad Company to the Stockholders*, p. 19.

[74] *Twenty-Fourth Annual Report*, p. 35.

[75] *Twenty-Fifth Annual Report*, p. 235.

Hall at twelve-thirty in the afternoon and departed at four in the morning for Richmond.[76] In 1842 the company operated a separate freight train which left Richmond regularly for Gordonsville one day and returned the next, while the passenger train reached Taylorsville (Doswell) for breakfast and Charlottesville by four in the afternoon. Since the extension was not complete to Charlottesville until 1849, part of the trip was taken by stage. In 1850 one could breakfast at Taylorsville at six-fifteen in the morning and arrive at Charlottesville at one o'clock in the afternoon.[77]

The first fares published in 1837 were:[78]

From Frederick Hall depot to Beaverdam	$0.75
" " " " " Taylorsville	1.75
" " " " " Richmond	2.75
" " " " " Fredericksburg	3.75

The charter had provided that passengers be carried at the rate of $.10 a passenger mile and freight at rate of $.08 a ton mile. In 1840 the passenger rate was lowered to $.085 a mile and in 1847 was lowered again to .06. The freight charge of $.08 dropped more slowly.[79]

The rates on tobacco from Newark to Richmond were $.25 per hundred pounds in hogsheads and on wheat $.15 a bushel. These were the two main crops of the region. Furthermore, marl, lime, plaster, and shells were carried at a very reasonable rate, which reflected the interest of the Louisa Railroad in the improvement and settlement of the land in order to develop the country through which it passed and indirectly to stimulate its own business.[80] From June, 1842, to June, 1843, there had been collected at Beaverdam 307,663 pounds of freight and at Gordonsville 2,610,000 pounds.[81] The first station was midway between Taylorsville and Frederick Hall and drew freight from a poor farming section, while the second drew from the rich Green Springs area.

---

[76] *Twenty-Third Annual Report*, p. 66; *Richmond Enquirer*, December 27, 1839.
[77] *Richmond Enquirer*, March 7, 1893; *Richmond Whig*, March 17, 1842; *Richmond Whig*, December 24, 1850.
[78] *Richmond Enquirer*, December 27, 1837.
[79] *Richmond Whig*, December 24, 1850.
[80] *Richmond Whig*, March 24, 1840; *Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Meeting of the Stockholders of the Louisa Railroad Company*, pp. 10-11.
[81] *Thirtieth and Thirty-First Annual Report*, p. 343.

In 1847, when it began doing its own transporting, the Louisa Company charged for all freight at the point of sending, and the usual list of produce carried included wheat, oats, tobacco, corn, cornmeal, bacon, butter, apples, yarn, lard, pig iron, beef, pork, and lumber of all kinds.[82] The following table of 1850 shows the charges from Richmond to the points included:[83]

Freight	*Louisa C. H.*	*Gordonsville*	*Charlottesville*
60 lbs. wheat	$.08½	$.11	$.13
Corn 56 lbs.	.07½	.10	.11
Tobacco in casks	.21	.30	.33
Hogs and sheep	.35	.35	.40
Bacon, butter, lard	.20	.22	.25
Fish bll. and Salt per sack	.30	.30	.38
Dry goods 100 lbs.	.33	.34	.35
Groceries 100 lbs.	.25	.28	.30

A customer appraised the benefit of the railroad in 1840 by saying that the freight charge on wheat transported from Trevilians to Richmond by rail was eighteen cents per ton, twelve cents cheaper than by wagon. This amount saved could be invested in shares of stock which offered a three per cent dividend. He was of the opinion that the farmer instead of the capitalist should own the stock.[84] In 1851 T. Ruggles, a civil engineer, predicted that the cost of transporting a barrel of flour from Staunton to Richmond would be only $.80 when the westward extensions were complete. This would reduce the cost of railroad transportation to one-third that charged by other means of transportation.[85] In addition, other services were rendered such as special trains for the opening of the extensions and on other important occasions such as the big state Whig convention which was held in Richmond in October, 1840. The R. F. and P. Company fitted out some flat cars and used extra heavy engines for the transporting of the delegates.[86] As early as 1839 a contract was made to carry the United States mail, for which the company received $75 per mile per year. In 1847 the line received $5,100

82 *Richmond Enquirer*, June 29, 1849.
83 *Richmond Whig*, December 24, 1850.
84 *Richmond Enquirer*, February 22, 1840.
85 *Thirty-Fifth Annual Report*, pp. 216-217.
86 *Richmond Whig*, September 25, 1840.

for the task.[87] Only three accidents were recorded. One occurred two miles above Louisa Courthouse in November, 1839, resulting from an explosion of gun powder in a freight car. A train hand was killed and the engineer and fireman were stunned,[88] whereupon President Harris ordered that no explosives thereafter be carried. The remaining mishaps had to do with the burning of property in 1846 and 1850.[89]

The Louisa Company was rendering an important service by 1850, and it was destined to become one of the foremost railroads in the state. The extensions stretched as far as the Jackson River by 1861, ten miles west of Clifton Forge, where the road stopped until after the war. During the war the Virginia Central Railroad rendered a great service in bringing supplies from the Valley of Virginia for the Southern armies. The men who captured John Brown traveled over it, and Stonewall Jackson used it on a number of occasions. The road remained fairly intact up until 1865, when it was almost entirely dismantled; the rolling stock was sequestered, bridges were destroyed, and the treasury was depleted. It was rebuilt after the war and in 1878 was absorbed into the Chesapeake and Ohio System.[90]

The Louisa Company was of great service to the region through which it ran. B. M. Jones, in a report to the Board of Public Works in the fifties, showed that the land of the counties traversed by the railroad had increased in value nearly one-third between 1830 and 1850. The population of Louisa County alone increased by twelve per cent between 1836 and 1860, while in the decade before it had suffered a three per cent loss. The tobacco and wheat production almost doubled in Louisa County after the construction of the line.[91] The census reports for 1850 and 1860 show the effect of the railroad. Albemarle, Hanover, and Louisa were counties served by the road. If a comparison is drawn between these counties and two others, Goochland and Loudoun, which are in the same region yet unaffected by the Louisa Railroad, the results show that the great economic development was

[87] *Thirty-Third Annual Report*, pp. 216-217.
[88] *Richmond Enquirer*, November 19, 1839.
[89] *Thirty-Second and Thirty-Third Annual Report*, p. 17; *Thirty-Fourth and Thirty-Fifth Annual Report*, p. 135.
[90] Malcolm Harris, *History of Louisa County*, pp. 147-148; Nelson, *History of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway*, p. 13.
[91] B. M. Jones, *Railroads: Considered in Regard to Their Effects Upon the Value of the Land in Increasing Production, Cheapening Transports, Preventing Emigration and as Investment for Capital*, pp. 15, 46, 96-97.

in the three railroad counties, while the other two were relatively static or declining.

Counties	Population				Improved Acres	
	(Free)	(Negro)	(Free)	(Negro)		
	1850		1860		1850	1860
Albemarle	1,875	13,338	12,103	13,916	220,467	245,272
Hanover	6,539	8,393	7,482	9,483	188,064	141,205
Louisa	6,423	9,864	6,183	10,194	185,649	156,950
Goochland	3,863	4,737	3,814	6,139	76,971	83,424
Loudoun	15,081	5,641	15,021	5,501	208,454	220,266

Counties	Value		Wheat (bu.)		Tobacco (lb.)	
	1850	1860	1850	1860	1850	1860
Albemarle	$3,746,281	9,157,646	278,575	302,307	1,456,300	5,429,395
Hanover	$2,005,259	4,203,120	157,388	237,402	404,550	2,428,971
Louisa	$2,534,084	4,203,120	199,521	258,265	1,584,285	4,798,087
Goochland	$2,035,643	2,520,327	141,969	147,129	724,208	2,900,533
Loudoun	$8,349,371	10,508,211	563,930	396,297	.....	.....[92]

Increased population, land values, production, and trade, resulting in part from reduced rates and improved transportation, indicated a higher standard of living in the area served by the Louisa Railroad Company. What was taking place had been predicted in 1845 in an article of the *Hunt's Merchant Magazine* entitled "Railroad Movements in Virginia!" Railroads will bind the regions together; tap the wealth, resources of the region; cause the interior to be settled; lead to the growth of Richmond and make the watering places more accessible."[93] Newspapers carrying notices of farms for sale advertised that the Louisa Railroad made markets accessible, while agricultural societies of the day stressed the economic value of the railroad in hauling fertilizer to farmers at little more than cost.[94]

Today the Louisa Railroad Company has passed into oblivion and a big interstate rail line has taken over; the bare facts of its history are not known generally, and yet beneath them lies a story of adventure and romance—a story of men who had both the vision and the will to build. It is a story of the joy of accomplishment, the problem of depression, and the disaster of war.

---

92 *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850*, pp. 256-278; *Population of the United States, 1860*, pp. 501-511; *Agriculture of United States in 1860*, pp. 154-163.

93 *Richmond Whig*, November 11, 1845.

94 Remark of William Overton of Louisa before Albemarle Hole and Corner Club, November 9, 1850, *Southern Planter*, XI (1851), 281.

It is a story of progress, increased land values, doubled crops, increased population, and new business. It is a story of engines which labored heroically to transport Stonewall Jackson and the soldiers in gray until the rails were destroyed and the capital was depleted. In the final analysis the story of the Louisa Railroad Company, along with other local projects of such nature, is part of the history of our modern transportation system.

HENRY HARRISSE ON COLLEGIATE EDUCATION

Edited by EDGAR W. KNIGHT

Henry Harrisse is known for his distinguished work as bibliographer, as energetic student of the literature of the discovery of the New World, and for his contributions to the literature of history and geography. From the little that has been written on or about this man and his life of "tumultuous scholarship" and from some of his own writings he appears as a very individualistic and somewhat erratic character. But very important in the long list of his writings are two essays on collegiate education, apparently written when he was at the University of North Carolina in the 1850's. One of these was published at Columbia, South Carolina, in 1857. The other essay, apparently never until now published, is given below and contains also views on collegiate education which may have some interest and significance for higher educational institutions in this country today.

It is believed that Harrisse was born in France in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, although there are conflicting statements about the exact place and date of his birth.[1] His first appearance in this country is said to have been in Charleston, South Carolina, when he was perhaps about eighteen years of age. It is also said that he had a post as teacher in Mount Zion Academy at Winnsboro in that state; and it is suggested that his keen intellectual qualities were highly respected by President James H. Thornwell (he refers to him as "the eminent Dr. Thornwell"), of the South Carolina College, which in 1853 conferred on Harrisse an honorary master's degree.[2] Harrisse

[1] Kemp P. Battle refers to him as "A native Frenchman" and spells the name Herrissee. *History of the University of North Carolina*, I, 644. See Randolph G. Adams, *Three Americanists* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1939). Michael Kraus, in *A History of American History*, p. 294, says "Harrisse was born in Paris in 1830, came to the United States as a child, and studied at the University of South Carolina." See Henry Vignaud, *Henry Harrisse, Etude Biographique et Morale.* (Paris: 1912). Vignaud says (page 5) that Harrisse "cachait le lieu et la date de sa naissance." He suggests that perhaps Harrisse feared that if people knew from whence he came they would know what he wished to conceal; that he was weak enough to hide the fact that the blue blood of the Ayrans did not flow fully in his veins and "qu'il appartenait a la grande famille semitique." Vignaud also says that Harrisse was the son of a furrier who was believed to have come from Russia and, although an Israelite, married a Parisian, and that Harrisse was born in Paris March 23, 1829. See also *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, XVIII, 37, 38.

[2] Adams, *Three Americanists*, p. 1. *The Catalogue of South Carolina College for 1854*, p. 29, lists Harrisse as one of those "persons upon whom honorary degrees have been conferred besides those that are included amongst the bachelor of arts-year, 1853-degree, A.M." The citation is not given. Letter of July 8, 1946, to Edgar W. Knight from Ruth Jones, Assistant to the Director of The South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina. Afterwards Harrisse generally followed his name to most of his letters with "A.M." But opposite page 4 of his autobiographic letter to Barlow, in which he included the title page of his translation of the philosophical works of Descartes, he wrote "Henry Harrisse A.M. [*sic!*]."

seems to have been acquainted with and had high respect for Thornwell's educational views which students of American educational history consider sound and highly advanced for the time. There is some internal evidence that Harrisse was acquainted with *Thoughts on the Present Collegiate System in the United States,* by President Francis Wayland of Brown University, which was published in Boston in 1842 and is accounted one of the distinguished discussions of the subject before 1860; and also with the energetic interest of Professor George Ticknor of Harvard College in improving collegiate education in that institution and perhaps in the United States generally.[3]

Harrissee became an instructor in French in the University of North Carolina in 1853 and later was "professor *pro tem* in the Georgetown Jesuit's College" in Washington. He became a lawyer and said that he had gone to Chapel Hill to study law. He sought the advice of Judah P. Benjamin on opportunities for legal practice in New Orleans but, influenced by Stephen A. Douglas's "all sorts of promises of preferment," went to Chicago instead and there in September, 1857, Harrisse set himself up as a lawyer. Apparently somewhat an indifferent practitioner of the law, he dabbled a bit in journalism in that city until a lucky coincidence took him in the early 1860's to New York and a post as "legal correspondent to the Havana branch of a Spanish bank." In that city he met and made a fast friendship with Samuel L. M. Barlow, influential and successful lawyer, connoisseur of art, and enthusiastic book-collector, especially of rare items of Americana. In these artistic and literary interests Harrisse was very much at home; and two decades later he wrote for Barlow some confidential autobiographic sketches or letters which provide some information concerning Harrisse's extraordinary career.[4] "Yes, twenty years have now elapsed

[3] Ticknor wrote to Thomas Jefferson, June 16, 1823, and tried to arouse the interest of the father of the University of Virginia in higher educational reform. Jefferson's reply, July 16 of that year, furnishes one of his earliest explicit statements on the elective system. In that reply he said: "I am not fully informed of the practices at Harvard, but there is one from which we shall certainly vary, although it has been copied, I believe, by nearly every college and academy in the United States. That is, the holding the students all to one prescribed course of reading, and disallowing exclusive application to those branches only which are to qualify them for the particular vocations to which they are destined. We shall, on the contrary, allow them uncontrolled choice in the lectures they shall choose to attend, and require elementary qualification only, and sufficient age. . . . The rock which I most dread is the discipline of the institution, and it is that on which most of our public schools labor. The insubordination of our youth is now the greatest obstacle in their education." H. A. Washington (editor), *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson,* VII, 300-302.

[4] Adams, *Three Americanists,* pp. 6-8. These materials, by Harrisse's request never published, are in the New York Public Library. A photocopy is in the University of North Carolina library, Chapel Hill.

since I first ventured to knock at your door on Fifth Avenue, begging leave to examine. . . ." Harrisse was always examining, with or perhaps without leave, in an effort to get at the sources of things historical.

Harrisse is perhaps best and most favorably known for his services to American scholarship. He was a keen student, a bibliophile and devoted book-collector, a distinguished bibliographer, the author of the "monumental volume," *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima,* and remarkable works on Columbus, and he "produced no less than ninety-one separate titles, books, monographs, papers and articles, each one of which was a noteworthy contribution to American history." [5] Harrisse is also known for his unhappy experiences at Chapel Hill with students, colleagues, the administration, and the trustees.[6] In the University of North Carolina he "raised the devil generally on the board of trustees and faculty of her University by my strenuous efforts to improve the curriculum and pedagogical methods according to a system of my own." [7]

In a volume in the New York Public Library entitled "Essays, Memorials, etc., 1854-1857 Harrisse," appears a letter of October 23, 1856, written by Harrisse from Chapel Hill to the "Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees" of the University of North Carolina, Raleigh, which shows that he and the authorities of that institution must have got along badly together:

Gentlemen:

In writing the sundry memorials which were lately laid before the Board, my object was to promote the best interests of the University. To that end I have pointed out the reforms which were needed, and adduced all the necessary proofs. I can do no more!

Very much against my wishes, and contrary to my expectations, the contest is degenerating into a personal strife; which can only injure the future welfare of the institution.

---

[5] Adams, *Three Americanists,* p. 2.

[6] Harrisse was sharply critical of trustees, as will be seen from his discussion of that subject in the essay below.

[7] Harrisse to Barlow, autobiographic letter, p. 35. The date of the letter is August 10, 1883. In his letter accompanying the autobiographic materials Harrisse called them "the rigmarole I wrote against time and to kill it. . . .

"Recollect that the accompanying *Epistola* is not to be printed,—at least in my life-time, if ever.

"The reasons are obvious. Its contents cannot afford the slightest interest to any one beyond two or three personal friends; and the style is a sort of gibberish, written 'with a running pen,,' which without considerable emendations would appear ridiculous in print." Harrisse also asked "that no one be allowed to take a copy" of the materials and only four "amiable persons," whom he named, were to be permitted to read them.

I am one of the youngest members of the faculty, and can be easily spared. Under such circumstances, I deem it proper to proffer my resignation of the office I hold in the University, to take effect at any time you may wish to appoint between today and the end of the present session.

Should the Committee decide to institute an inquiry, I ask leave to remain until it is carried out.

I have the honor to be, Gentlemen,

Your obedient servant
Henri Harrissee, A.M.
Instructor of French in the N. C. University.

The next page in the volume in the New York Public Library contains the following:

The Trustees decided in my favor against the faculty. Having thus attained my object, I returned my resignation, which was accepted the following session.

I had in the meanwhile graduated in the law school, and soon afterwards left the d——d place, never to see it again!

Hy H sse.

The University has since been squelched by Gov. Holden.[8]

This article deals, however, with Harrisse's interest in collegiate education, on which he published in 1857 *An Essay on the Literary Institution Best Adapted to the Present Wants and Interests of Our Country.*[9] This seems to have been an adaptation of "An Essay 'on the organization, regulation and management of a Literary Institution best adapted to the wants and interests of North Carolina' " which he had written in August,

[8] Although there is no date on this piquant comment, it was obviously written after Harrisse's letter of October 23, 1856. W. W. Holden was appointed provisional governor of North Carolina by President Johnson early in 1865 and served until December 15, 1865, and three years later he was elected governor of the state. Holden was a powerful member of the Board of Trustees of the University which at its first meeting under the new constitution of 1868 dismissed President David L. Swain and the faculty.

The letter above was written in connection with the "Hedrick case." Professor Benjamin Hedrick, native North Carolinian and an honor graduate of the University in the class of 1851, had been dismissed and his professorship declared vacant by the trustees October 18, 1856. He had always been a Democrat and in the state elections in August prior to his dismissal had voted the Democratic ticket, but he had expressed favor for John C. Fremont for the presidency of the United States on the newly formed Republican Party. Harrisse was the only member of the faculty who stood up for Hedrick during the unfortunate controversy. See J. G. deR. Hamilton, "Benjamin Sherwood Hedrick," *The James Sprunt Historical Publications*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (1910); R. D. W. Connor, *North Carolina*, II, 120-23; John Spencer Bassett, *Anti-Slavery Leaders in North Carolina*, pp. 29-47; Kemp P. Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, I, 524, 644, 655-57. Holden was editor of the *North Carolina Standard*, the most influential paper in the State, was the leader of the pro-slavery and secession sentiment in North Carolina, and was determined to drive Hedrick from Chapel Hill.

[9] Columbia, S. C.: Steam Power-Press of R. W. Gibbes, 1857. Adams, *Three Americanists*, p. 6, note 18, gives 1858 as the date of publication. The only copy of this essay that I have seen is in the New York Public Library and bears the date of 1857. A photocopy and a microcopy of the essay are in the University of North Carolina library, Chapel Hill.

1854.[10] In his autobiographic letter to Barlow, August 10, 1883 (note opposite page 35), Harrisse said that the essay written for the trustees of Normal College was "embodied in an *Essay on the Literary institution best adapted to the wants and interests of our own country,* printed at the expense of the Honb. William C. Preston, of South Carolina." In the same note Harrisse wrote that Barlow would find a copy of the North Carolina essay "in a MS. volume (4° size) containing my scrimmage with the Faculty, which I placed in the lower shelf of the book case on your right hand side when you face the window, *in the little room adjoining the black* library, about two feet from the corner. Next to it is a bound volume containing a series of N. C. University catalogues and addresses:– both of which I gladly make you a present of. But I don't want them to go with yr. library should you ever sell it."

The essay on a literary institution best suited to North Carolina led Harrisse into another kind of controversy which until now seems to have received no attention in the educational history of that state. This controversy had its origin in the early part of 1854 when the trustees of Normal College offered a prize of $200 for the best essay on the "Literary Institution" most suitable to that state. The announcement was as follows:[11]

A PRIZE ESSAY

The Trustees of Normal College will give $200 for the best essay on the organization, regulation and management of a Literary Institution best adapted to the wants and interests of North Carolina. The essay must determine the grade of the institution, whether College, Academy, High School, &c., the number, qualifications and duties of the trustees; the rules and regulations for teachers and students; the amount and method of instruction; expenses and building accommodations; whether students should study in private or classroom; whether they should board at private houses or at a steward's hall; whether the Institution should be denominational or otherwise, and all other things necessary to be known and determined in establishing and conducting an Institution.

---

[10] So far as I know this essay has never before been published. The original is the property of The New York Public Library and is used here by special permission. Letter from Robert W. Hill, Keeper of Manuscripts, to Edgar W. Knight, October 14, 1946.

[11] *Greensboro Patriot,* February 4, 1854. Normal College grew out of Union Institute and was given a charter by the legislature of North Carolina in 1851. This was amended November 21, 1852, and made the governor of North Carolina *ex officio* president and "the common school superintendent, should such an officer exist," ex officio secretary of the board of trustees of the institution. The office of state superintendent of common schools was created by legislative act, December 4, 1852, and Calvin H. Wiley assumed its duties, January, 1853.

Each competitor for the prize will direct his essay in a sealed envelope, postpaid, to B. Craven, Normal College, N. C., on or before the first day of September, 1854. The names of the judges will be published at least a month previous, said judges to be men of unquestioned ability. The trustees will retain for their own use, all essays examined, and pay the prize for the one selected by the judges.
Jan. 27, 1854.[12]

The materials which follow bear upon the competition for the prize of $200 in which Harrisse submitted his essay. But these materials do not indicate why the plans for the contest were not concluded; how many essays were submitted; why the writer of the letter of August, 1854, to President Craven (whether Harrisse or one of his friends) felt compelled to conceal his identity; nor the identity of the writer of the obviously satiric "Extracts from the Diary of a Diplomat." Adequate evidence on these questions seems now not to be accessible. But it is evident from the letters and other materials that follow that there was some disappointment — perhaps a bit of bitterness, on the part of Harrisse at least — and that the plans announced by President Craven, January 27, 1854, and published in the *Greensboro Patriot* the following February 4 were not carried through to fulfillment. In some of these materials appears suggestion of bad faith. Senator Reid wrote that if he had the power to do so he would have the matter "investigated with a view to having justice awarded to the competitors for the prize." A letter from a gentleman "of highest respectability" on the communication from Charleston, South Carolina, discussed in the *Greensboro Patriot* of March 3, 1855, said "there is apparently a breach of faith on the part of the Trustees of Normal College. . . ." And the editor of that paper in the same article expressed the hope that "some friend of Normal College will see the propriety of having the matter explained. . . ." Governor Thomas Bragg wrote on the subject at least once to President Craven and at least twice to Professor F. M. Hubbard, a colleague of Harrisse;

[12] A note on the page preceding the essay by Harrisse, in the volume in the New York Public Library, is as follows:
"The Essay by Henry Harrisse (for the $200 prize offered by the Trustees of the State Normal College) on the management of a Literary Institution best adapted to the wants and interest of North Carolina: with various Letters and other MS. relative to the non-fulfillment of the project by the Trustees, and the newspaper comments of that time, 1855.
"This collection includes two essays by Henri Harrisse, one printed, the other the original MS. with a key; the original letters of Gov. Thos. Bragg, the Hon. David S. Reid, B. Craven; the memorial of Henry Harrisse to the Board of Trustees; newspaper cuttings in reference to the Controversy which resulted in the dismissal of 'Mr. Black Republican Hedrick &&'[.]"

President Craven wrote to Professor Hedrick, also of the faculty of the University of North Carolina. Governor Bragg said in his letter to Professor Hubbard, May 4, 1855, that President Craven seemed "indignant that any one should suppose that he would permit a copy [of Harrisse's essay] to be taken." And Governor Bragg expressed the hope for an early end of the unfortunate matter.[13]

The controversy which these materials exhibit may seem after nearly a century a sort of *mons laborat, nascitur mus;* but for those immediately concerned in North Carolina in the middle 1850's it must have been more than a trivial episode. The contest doubtless provided some lively academic gossip in Chapel Hill.

As already noted, this article deals primarily with Harrisse's views on higher education a century ago. But out of the plans for the "prize essay" came not only the controversy here briefly treated but also the unpublished essay which follows and around which Harrisse evidently prepared the essay published at Columbia, South Carolina, in 1857. The earliest comment on the entire matter seems to be the following anonymous letter:

August 1854.

Mr. B. Craven
Normal College, N. C.

Dear Sir:

Sometime since I read in a stray paper,– the "Ballot Box" I believe– a notice said to have been originally published in the "Greensboro Patriot" by the Trustees of "Normal College" offering a prize of $200, for the "best essay on the organization, regulation and management of a Literary Institution best adapted to the wants and interest of North Carolina."

Having given some attention to the subject of collegiate institutions; trusting to the sincerity of the above proposal; and, being anxious to promote the cause of education within the range of my limited abilities, I immediately sat down to writing; and, now Sir, I take the liberty of requesting you to file the accompanying essay; or, submit

[13] The originals of the unsigned letter of August, 1854, to President Craven, "Extracts from the Diary of a Diplomat," the letter of Senator Reid to Harrisse, the letters of Governor Bragg to Professor Hubbard, and President Craven's letter to Professor Hedrick are in the New York Public Library. The items from the *Greensboro Patriot* may be found in the issues indicated. Clippings of these items are in the New York Public Library; photocopies and microcopies of all these materials now are in the library of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. The letter from Harrisse to Reid, February 3, 1855, is in the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, and a photocopy is in the library of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

the same to the impartial consideration of the judges appointed to that effect.

Circumstances which I ought not to disclose, require me to conceal my name and place of residence. I shall, however, make myself known at no very distant time.

With sincere regards and deep regrets,

I am truly yours.

P.S. Being under the impression that this letter and its contents may never reach Randolph County, allow me to ask you to send a few lines directed to "X.Y.Z.4" *Baltimore Maryland,* stating whether you have received it.

If you desire to communicate anything else to me, you can do so, either through the same channel, or an insertion in the Greensboro Patriot of September 9*th* inst.

Yours &c &c

The next item on the controversy seems to be the following:

Columbia, S. C. Oct. 20th 1854.

Extracts from the Diary of a Diplomat.

Mr. Craven, I believe, (Mr. C. bows)– my name is Johnson, Sir, of So Carolina– would like if you are at leisure to have a few minutes conversation with you.– The object of my visit, Sir, is to obtain some information from you relative to an advertisement which appeared some months ago calling for essays on education in N Carolina– I represent a third party in the matter and am anxious to obtain for him all the facts of the case as it now stands.

Mr. C– They are soon told, Sir. We have had some unexpected detention in awarding the prize, but there will be no breach of faith. The chief difficulty was to find the right sort of men for judges; men who were bold enough to face something new and would yet have weight with the old system advocates. We expect to make up the number of judges this winter in Raleigh and the prizes will be certainly awarded before spring. (Dead pause)–

I suppose (said I) it will occupy them some time, the examination of the essays– you have received a good many I expect.

Yes, Sir, several. There have been 3 or 4 small affairs and two large ones, and now that the time has been extended I am expecting others daily; indeed I have been told I might expect some.

Well, what is the arrangement you intend to make, Mr. Craven, about the names of the authors– how will you identify the successful candidate?

Well, I suppose the writers will hand in their names in time in some sealed form or whatever plan they may select. As yet not one of them has given me his name.

Well, sir, what seems to be the favorite plan adopted by them– do they sign the piece with some fictitious name, or how?

No, Sir, – one of the large essays came without any sign or name attached– it was mailed from Baltimore and was accompanied by a letter (sealed) to the Examining Committee which of course I could not open. The other large one had no post mark at all upon it; but with directions that I should acknowledge the receipt by writing to – Armstrong, or XYZ Baltimore, which I directed the Post Master to do, and he told me he had done it. (q:e:d)

You still contemplate publishing the names of the judges, Mr. Craven, before the prize is awarded?

Oh yes, Sir. We thought that would be proper to have the names of the judges announced at least a month before the decision, in order to afford the candidates time to withdraw their essays in case they disliked the character of the judges.

(After a pause)– I rejoined "My friend was at a loss to explain the silence in the papers on the subject of the decision– so much time had elapsed since the day fixed for the essays to be all handed in, and—"

Yes, I suppose so, and I ought to have given some notice before now. As it is, I sent off only a few days ago a notice to be inserted in the Greensboro Patriot of next week, giving the description of the different modes adopted by each writer to introduce his piece to the Trustees, such as the directions he gave where to be addressed &c in order to let each know his piece had been received.

(Another pause)– I have your authority then for stating that other contributions will be yet received?

Yes– oh yes– you may say until Christmas, I suppose.

Well, Mr. Craven, your college seems to be thriving in spite of your want of room &c &c &c &c &c &c &c

Here ends the Extract

The letters and other materials that follow should speak for themselves:

No. Ca. University, Chapel Hill Feb. 3 1855.[14]
To
The Honorable David S. Reed.
Dear Sir:

I was shown a few moments ago a letter from you to one of our fellow citizens, which is so kind and obliging, that the very style of it induced me to make in my turn an appeal to your well known complaisance.

---

[14] D. S. Reid Papers, vol. III, 1850-1856, p. 360. State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

The matter is simply this:

In the month of January 1854, Mr. B. Craven, in the name of the Trustees of Normal College, (over which you then presided *ex-officio*) offered through the newspapers a prize of $200 "for the best essay on the management, regulation and organization of a Literary Institution best adapted to the wants, and interests of North Carolina."

A certain number of essays were sent from different quarters and received by Mr. B. Craven; but no answer of any kind was ever made; the prize has not been awarded, and although it was publicly promised that the name of the judges would be published upwards of six months ago, I am sorry to say that the dissapointed [*sic*] authors are still awaiting the fulfillment of a pledge which they apprehend to have been made without the knowledge or consent of the gentlemen who then composed the board of Trustees. The fact is that such proceedings are so manifestly unjust and at variance with their well-known principles, and high character, that I take upon myself to apprise you of the whole transaction, hoping that you will have the matter investigated, and justice done to whosoever justice is due.

I remain, Dear Sir,

Your most obedient and respectful servant
Henri Herrisse, A.M.

P.S. Allow me to express the desire of not having my name used in connection with Normal College.

Washington City,
February 6, 1855

My Dear Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your polite letter of the 3 instant, making inquiry in relation to the prize of $200 offered by Rev. B. Craven, of Normal College, for the best Essay on the organization and management of a Literary Institution in North Carolina.

Altho' the charter of Normal College made the Governor, for the time being, President *ex officio* of the Trustees, yet I never visited the college, nor did I at any time take part in their proceedings. Your letter, I believe, is the first intimation I ever had that such a prize had been offered. I am therefore uninformed about the matter and wholly unable to give you the desired information.

Never having participated in the management of the instution [*sic*] I do not feel responsible for its action. The nominal connection I had with the college ceased when I went out of the Executive Office. If I had the power to do so I would have the subject to which [you]

allude investigated with a view to having justice awarded to the competitors for the prize.

My best wishes.

I am, very respectfully,
Your obt. servant,
David S. Reid.[15]

Henri Harrisse, Eq.,
Chapel Hill, N. C.

P.S. I presume Mr. Craven would give you information on the subject.

"A PRIZE ESSAY."

The Patriot of the 4th of February, 1854, contained a communication in behalf of "The Trustees of Normal College," proposing to "give $200 for the best Essay on the organization, regulation and management of a Literary Institution best adapted to the wants and interests of North Carolina." The communication was furnished by a friend, and, as we supposed, a Trustee of the College; and was copied from the Patriot into a number of the papers of the State. We heard no more of the matter for some time. But owing, we presume, to our proximity to the Institution, or from the fact that the aforesaid communication first appeared in this journal, there has [sic] recently been various inquiries of us for information on the subject. We can only reply that we know nothing of the matter except what appeared in the communication which we published.

Some two months ago we received a communication from Charleston, S. C., animadverting rather severely on the managers of the College for not complying with their proposition. This Charleston communication was withheld, because we were ignorant of the character of the writer. We have this week received a private letter from a gentleman of this State of the highest respectability, making inquiries on the subject. After stating that information had been sought of him on the subject, the writer of this letter adds:– "Now since the matter has attracted the attention of many persons, both in and out of the State, there should be some public explanation, if any can be given. For as it now stands, there is apparently a breach of faith on the part of the Trustees of Normal College, which might act injuriously to the interests of the College, and, in fact, the character of the Trustees themselves. I wish you would let me know, as early as possible, the truth of the matter. I would be very glad to be able to satisfy the

---

[15] Reid was elected governor of North Carolina in 1850 and served from 1851 to 1854, when he was elected to the United States Senate. It is not clear why as governor he had no part in the activities of Normal College, under whose amended charter of 1852 he was ex officio chairman. Apparently he considered his official relation to Normal College purely nominal.

gentleman above alluded to, who is a citizen of the State and a fine scholar, that all is fair and in good faith."

We would gladly enlighten our friends on this subject, if we could. We hope some friend of Normal College will see the propriety of having the matter explained, which, we presume, can be done to the satisfaction of the public.[16]

PRIZE ESSAY[17]

Normal College, March 6, 1855.

It was determined on consultation, that good and sufficient reasons existed for postponing the adjudication of the Essays, and letters were sent to all persons who had sent essays notifying them to that effect, allowing them the privilege of withdrawing, changing or disposing of their production as they might choose; except in reference to an essay purporting to have come from Baltimore, and a gentleman from South Carolina claiming the control of said essay, called at the College, heard our arrangements, and agreed to the same.

All persons having forwarded essays will be allowed full command of the same; those who are still writing must have them completed in a few months and all in our hands at the appointed time, will be fairly and faithfully judged, and the Premium paid according to the first notice. The shortness of the time allowed to writers, and the difficulty of procuring proper judges have been the chief causes of delay.

We have quite a number of essays on hand, and expect several others. Due notice will be given of the judges and the time of adjudication. Of all the persons interested, we have heard of none dissatisfied except the one mentioned in the Patriot, and I am sure, he would not have been, had he understood the arrangement and acquiescence of so many others equally interested. The very best talent has entered the list, and we hope at no distant day, competent judges will send forth to N. Carolinians, a production worthy the highest consideration. If any now chooses to attach blame to the mode of proceeding, he must not inculpate any Trustee of Normal College except myself; I made the arrangement with the writers, and on the part of the Trustees, am responsible for the result.

B. Craven.

---

[16] *Greensboro Patriot*, March 3, 1855. At the end of the last sentence of the clipping of this article, Harrisse had written, without date: "It never was [explained to the satisfaction of the public]—for the simple reason that it was a regular swindle on the part of that fellow Craven, H."

[17] *Greensboro Patriot*, March 17, 1855.

Raleigh
April 20th, 1855

Sir.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 15th instant together with the statement made by your friend.

I will write to Mr. Craven on the subject and hope that he will see the propriety of promptly returning the essay to the owner or to such friend as he may authorize to receive it.

For the present I do not see that I can do anything more.

With the highest respect

I am sir
Yours truly
Th.s Bragg.

Rev.d F. M. Hubbard,
Chapel Hill

Normal College
April 27, 1855

Mr. Hedrick

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge your letter directing me to secure a certain Manuscript.

From the description given, I am unable to determine what one may be designated. I think it probable you mean one signed "Excelsior," and it only contains some 75 or 80 pages, those of 100 or more are all marked in some way. I shall be happy to send the Manuscript, if you will designate more closely.

Very respectfully
B. Craven

Raleigh
May 4th, 1855

Sir.

I last evening received a letter from Mr. Craven, President of Normal College, in reply to one addressed by me to him, on the subject of the manuscript essay of your friend– He says that he has written to Profr Hedrick that, he will send it to him if he will designate it, as to enable him to select it from many others and that he would have done so before had Mr. H. given him the necessary information. He authorizes me to say that no one has read a line of the essay, and seems indignant that any one should suppose that he would permit a copy to be taken.

Will you allow me to say that I hope the matter may end here– I will not trouble you with my reasons for such a suggestion– I think your own good sense and discretion will furnish enough.

I am sir, Most respectfully and truly yours.

Rev.d F. M. Hubbard, Th.s Bragg.

HENRY HARRISSE'S NORTH CAROLINA ESSAY

The title page of Henry Harrisse's essay "on the organization, regulation and management of a Literary Institution best adapted to the wants and interests of North Carolina" bears the date of August, 1854. The essay itself is divided into "Part First" and "Part Second" and the author's notes are given in smaller type between rules in the essay. The notes of the editor are used wherever it seems safe for him to presume to identify the persons, books, and things to which Harrisse often alludes in casual and easy manner.

Although the essay itself bears the date of August, 1854, the "Conclusion" to it bears the date of August 10, 1855. The original announcement of the "prize essay" bore the date of January 27, 1854; and the letters and other materials on the controversy that the contest provoked began as early as August, 1854, a year before the date on the "Conclusion." The essay follows:

AN ESSAY "ON THE ORGANIZATION, REGULATION AND MANAGEMENT OF A LITERARY INSTITUTION BEST ADAPTED TO THE WANTS AND INTERESTS OF NORTH CAROLINA."

"Man cannot propose a higher and holier
object for his study than education, and
all that appertains to it."
Plato.

The main object of education consists in disciplining the mind, giving to it habits of activity, spontaneous and continued attention, ready recollection, analysis, generalization; in fine, to teach men to think. It requires no high-wrought arguments to demonstrate this truth, nor elaborate vindications to exonerate it from the attacks of prejudice. It is obvious. And whether we consider the student as "an end unto himself," or his academical career as "an instrument towards some ultimate end," the principle it involves loses none of its authority. This truth, however, is not exclusive; and further, we hold it reconcilable with the well-known dictum of Aristotle, that men, in their youth, "ought to be instructed in things subervient to the purpose of external accommodation, in proportion to their utility or necessity." *

*** Gillies' Aristotle Polit. B.V.**

To others, better qualified to elucidate and harmonize metaphysical abstractions, we leave the task of showing the impossibility of con-

ceiving how the mind can receive impressions, either true or fallacious, abstract or concrete, without retaining indelible traces of the instrument which produced them; and the absolute necessity, therefore, of selecting these instruments, not only as regards their specific worth as training mediums for the time being, but also as channels of knowledge and means to "instruct the student in things subservient to the purpose of external accommodation." Practical questions, when considered too abstractly, – often with the intention of placing them beyond the reach of plain and unassuming thinkers,– or discussed in the abstruse form and wording of philosophical argumentation,– induce distrust, check sincere investigations, and fail to convince. Clothed in logical subtilties, these questions, thus garbled and obscured, may please, perhaps, idle lawyers and presumptuous rhetoricians, but they can never interest the worthy citizen who yields sooner to the dictates of common sense than to the cavils of sophistry.

We will then condense and simplify, as much as we can, whatever recondite notions may occasionally and necessarily spring from the very nature of our subject.

1. Knowledge is necessary to man at all times. How can we realize the idea of reason without assimilating to it the idea of knowledge? You may easily represent to yourself mind without knowledge, as you sometimes think of a steam-engine unsupplied with steam, or the circulatory organs deprived of blood; but from the moment you speak of locomotion, of circulation, of reason, you must add the idea of vapor, of fluid, of knowledge.

We cannot then, deem with Sir William Hamilton,[18] "the mere profession of scientific truths, for its own sake, valueless." *

---

* Sir Wm Hamilton. Discussions on Phil. & Lit. &c Appendix III.

Knowledge is a compound of multifarious materials; and each one of these materials, say, "fact," has a value – not the only value – enhanced or lessened, proportionally as it promotes the intellectual progress of the student. It often happens that of two of these "facts" being equal in point of immediate utility, one possesses inherent qualities denied to the other. As, for instance, a fact, the acquisition of which is an exercise well fitted for sharpening the mental faculties of the student, and at the same time for increasing his individual sum of useful knowledge; whilst the other fact only trains the faculties, and leaves besides nothing but useless knowledge. In this case, is it not self-evident that the former ought not to be preferred to the latter? We should then, in the process of education, so select and employ those facts, as to unfold the mental powers of the student, and simultaneously increase the sum of his useful knowledge.

---

[18] Sir William Hamilton (1788-1856) was a Scottish metaphysician and author of *Lectures on Logic*, and *Discussions in Philosophy, Literature and Education.*

Have our collegiate and academical systems been framed in accordance with the above principles? In no instance can it be said with truth that the training of the mind and the acquisition of necessary information, have been so blended as to promote both. One is, with us, always rendered subservient to the other; and if the course adopted in one institution aims at promoting the training, the other keeps only in view the advancement of the student's scientific attainments. The studies selected in the former result in no ulterior utility whatever, and for the present, (chiefly on account of the mode of teaching) are no better training, perhaps, than other studies, which if properly taught, would certainly both invigorate his mental powers, and increase his acquaintance with facts. In the latter, science, and the application of science to the arts, are the sole objects of their attention; although the instructor does not seem to be aware that his pupils' mind is not yet ready even for the comprehension of such specific facts; which, in consequence, only clog their memory with crude elements; and, if the understanding is not naturally very vigorous, forever impair at least their originality of thought and acuteness of perception.

The range of collegiate studies is far from extensive, nor is it so perfect as not to admit of a change. It would be well then to enquire whether some new studies might not be introduced; others, left out so as to obtain a greater allowance of time, or elevated in point of importance, and taught in a way better calculated to leave a permanent impression upon the pupil's mind. What are the studies that must be abandoned; which ones should be introduced in their stead; what improvements might be successfully applied in the mode of teaching; what is the system of education best calculated to improve the mind of the students, and at the same time leave a residue of knowledge both applicable and useful; in fine, what is the character of the literary institution best adapted to the wants and interests of North Carolina"? Such are the questions which we propose to solve, and, we trust, to the satisfaction of impartial and practical thinkers.

11. All our colleges, universities and classical academies, seem to have adopted a sterotyped course of studies and mode of instruction. From Bowdoin to Austin, and from Wake Forest to St. Vincent's,[19] there is only one curriculum and a uniform method of teaching the same. Is it that these preferred studies possess specific virtues altogether denied to the other branches of human learning, and that with-

[19] Bowdoin College in Maine, incorporated in 1794. Austin College was established in Texas in 1849, by the Presbyterians of that state. The establishment of the University of Texas, located at Austin, was not provided for until 1858. Wake Forest College in North Carolina was founded by the Baptist State Convention of that state in the early 1830's. The institution was chartered as an academy in 1834 and as a college in 1838. It may not be clear to what "St. Vincent's" here refers. Vencentians or Lazarists, founded in France in the seventeenth century for missionary and charitable purposes, became identified with Catholic secondary and collegiate education in many countries and established institutions in several places in the United States. Patrick J. McCormick, S.T.L., "Teaching Orders of the Catholic Church," in Paul Monroe, editor, *A Cyclopedia of Education*, V, 529.

out the pale of certain authors and syntax, no science, no literature ever can in an equal degree train the mental powers, impart desirable knowledge, and at the same time promote the graceful and ornamental accomplishments of the student? If it be so in truth, we must lament the narrowness of our resources, and strive by all means to enlarge the circle– but we feel secure on that score.

To impeach the importance of classical studies, is out of the question. When properly and fully taught, and under certain circumstances, they are emphatically the most profitable of all studies. They train several important faculties, and lay open to our eager curiosity the lores of ancient philosophy, poetry and eloquence. Through them we may form our taste, develop our imagination and acquire the only true notions of literary excellence. To obtain such momentous results, however, it is absolutely necessary that they should be studied constantly, fairly and thoroughly, – a partial or interrupted application being altogether worthless, if not hurtful. "A little elementary instruction," says Cousin,[20] "is always good for something, but a little Latin and Greek, badly taught, can be of no advantage, and may even become a source of great inconvenience." *

* Cousin. De l'Instruct. Publ. dans quelques pays de l'Allem. Vol. II.

We justly wonder at the advanced state of German scholarship; but is any one so blind to truth as to imagine that the course followed at Mersburg, at Frankfort or at Grimma, is at all similar to that pursued in Yale or at Princeton?

At Eisenach, Schulpforta, or any of those Gymnasia where the German youth are educated, the students enter the Institution between the age of ten and twelve, having already acquired a certain knowledge both of Greek and Latin, – not so extensive, to be sure, as that required for admission into the Freshman class of our Colleges, but certainly more accurate and better digested. A period of seven years is indispensable to go through the whole course; and, independently of the time devoted to the preparation of the lessons under immediate and constant supervision of responsible monitors or of rigid tutors, they average not less than thirty-two recitations of one hour each a week, whilst in our colleges, they never have more than fifteen.† In

† At the celebrated St. Thomas Schule of Leipzig, the first class has even so many as forty one recitations a week!

[20] Victor Cousin (1792-1867), French philosopher and educator, member of the faculty of the University of Paris, member of the Council of Public Instruction in the cabinet of Francois Pierre Guillaume Guizot, and minister of public instruction in France and director of the Normal School. He studied the school system of Prussia in 1831 and published his observations and conclusions under the title *Rapport sur l'etat de l'instruction publique en Prusse*, which is among the most important of all reports on educational conditions in Europe in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. It was largely because of this report that the French educational law of 1833 was enacted. The report was translated into English and published in England in 1834, was reprinted in New York the following year, and had considerable influence in this country, especially in Massachusetts and Michigan. Edgar W. Knight, editor, *Reports on European Education*, pp. 114-122.

the first and second years, the German student has only four recitations in Latin and two in Greek, a week; but in the third year the number rises to fourteen in Latin and five in Greek; in the fourth, twelve of Latin, five of Greek; in the fifth, eleven Latin, six Greek; and in the last year nine Latin and six Greek. That is to say, 3000 lessons in the dead languages. In addition, not only the Latin language is spoken, but in the latter part of the course, all the exercises are held in it.*

* Cousin, who heard one of these recitations at the gymnasium of Weiman, where they had to translate and explain in Latin, a passage of Plato's Republic, says that the Professors expressed themselves, "justly and forcibly," and the students "fluently and with clearness."

No student can ever pass from a lower class, without sustaining a very strict examination; and it does not follow, as with us, because he has been two sessions a Sophomore, that he must, as a matter of course, enter the Junior Class. Nor do long vacations ever break the link. And yet, all these labors are only preparatory to higher studies. After being graduated at the Gymnasium, the student – if he really designs to master Greek and Latin,– enters the University, and goes through another course in the *Seminarium Philologicum*, which requires several years more, it is true, but which at last enables him to appreciate the beauties of a Homer or the eloquence of a Demosthenes. Then, and only then, the object of his classical education is attained: the treasures of ancient literature are placed within his reach.

Some will answer that the German mind is naturally slow, heavy, turbid, and that it requires such constant efforts to infuse into it, even the first rudiments of any kind of knowledge. Others pretend that they seek only after erudition and obsolete learning. We beg leave to remark, in the first place, that the Germans are neither slow nor turbid; misty they may be, but it is only in their metaphysics, and not in philological researches or the elucidation of classical authors. If they study the dead languages with so much diligence, it is because they are well aware of the necessity of understanding perfectly all the refinements, spirit and genius of a language, whether dead or living, in order to discern the excellence of its poets or prosaists; and as they have found from experience that arduous studies, constant efforts and unremitting attention are absolutely required to become well versed in the classics, they succeeded in framing a system of education which cannot fail to initiate the German student into the sublime excellencies of the Greek and Latin writers.

In the second place, we deem it preposterous to imagine that so enlightened a people as the Prussians certainly are, should strive with so much perseverance to instil nothing but erudition into the mind of all their pupils. Moreover, this far-famed erudition is the

result of subsequent and special studies pursued at the Philological Seminaries of Heidelberg, Jena or Berlin.

Admitting even,– were it only for the sake of argument, that the Teutonic youths are dull and altogether unable to acquire any kind of classical learning, unless patiently "hammered into their heads"; to render this objection at all plausible, it will still be necessary to prove, either that so much Latin and Greek is not necessary to appreciate Thucydides and Tacitus, or that with *our* system of education, and the time *we* devote to it, our scholars acquire quite so much learning as the Germans. To refute this, we need only compare the Bowdoin prizes at Harvard or the Berkleian[21] premiums at Yale with the extempore composition in Latin of the *Abiturienten-examen* at any of the 140 gymnasia of Prussia. Why, let any impartial observer who claims to understand anything at all about such literary performances, look over the Latin Salutationes of the First Honor men of our colleges, just as they are handed in to the Professor for revision:– the answer will then be obvious.

Shall we also tax the English and French with slowness of intellect? Yet, they devote several years more than we do to *their Studiæ Humanoriæ*. At Henry IV, St. Barbe or Stanislas, the pupil is likewise subjected to a "Sexennium." Ten hours a day, six days in the week, and eleven months in the year, are wholly occupied with study. We do not recollect at present the exact number of recitations in the dead languages, but it certainly falls not short of that at Pforta or Ratisbon. As for Oxford and Cambridge, every one knows through what ordeals the gownsman has to pass in his Classical Triposes[22] and previous studies under private tutors, before getting his bachelorship. A perusal of the questions asked for the Easter-Term examination of the Freshmen at Trinity, would be of itself sufficient to chill the enthusiasm of our proudest Seniors.

We would not insist, if it had not been promised by very able advocates of the study of the Latin and Greek languages in this country, as superior means of promoting mental habits, that the maturity of these habits is to be measured "by the degree and accuracy of the knowledge."

In point of natural abilities, it is incontestable that the Americans are certainly not inferior to the Europeans. The comfort which our people enjoy; the extensive diffusion of elementary knowledge among all classes; and the freedom of our political institutions, cannot but

---

[21] The Bowdoin Prizes at Harvard under the bequest of Governor James Bowdoin, A.B. 1745: "For the advancement of useful and polite literature among the Residents as well graduates as undergraduates of the University. . . ." These prizes "may be conferred for original dissertations in English, Latin, or Greek, or for translations of prescribed passages from English into Latin or Greek." The Berkeley scholarships and prizes at Yale were offered through income from gifts by George Berkeley, who came to Rhode Island in 1729 and who conveyed to Yale College his estate near Newport as a foundation for graduate scholarships and undergraduate prizes.

[22] Final honors examinations in the classics.

promote the further acquisition of learning. In proportion to their population, the United States possess, perhaps a greater number of Universities and Colleges, than any one trans-atlantic state, except Prussia; our students commence their education at a more advanced age, and with a maturity of mind far beyond the Germans or French:– How is it, then, that notwithstanding such great advantages and the number of young men we have already educated in the last fifty years, and who have devoted themselves to teaching or Literature, America has not yet produced a single classical scholar, whose philological labors ever drew or merited the approbation of competent and impartial judges,– whilst she can justly boast of astronomers, engineers, and mathematicians equal in many respects to any in Europe? Legare however brilliant and studious, was no Niebuhr, and Dr. Anthon, despite the wide diffusion of his works, or shameless plagiarisms as they may be justly called– is certainly no Boeckh! [23] Why are most of our editions of the classics so inferior, and whenever English or German reprints, always clogged with such frothy notes? Why do we find the speeches of our statesmen, the orations, lectures and addresses delivered by our literary characters, uniformly interlarded with trite Latin quotations, – derived no doubt from a Taylor or a Watson, – and hackneyed historical citations, which the most unpretending Sophomore of a Prussian High School would blush to quote? It is in these palpable examples, if no where else, that we must look for the state of scholarship in a country. They alone can tell whether the American system of education really quenches our thirst at the "Pierian spring."

How many of our graduates can read the ancient authors of Rome and Athens in the original, with sufficient ease to enjoy and appreciate them? Alas! but few; and these owe their rare proficiency to subsequent studies and congenial pursuits. If then, we do not initiate the American scholar into these only repositories of undoubted literary excellence, are we more successful in training their minds through the medium of these very classical studies?

That this can be done, and perhaps more successfully with Thucydides or Juvenal than Euclid or Laplace,[24] is an opinion which Sir

[23] Hugh Swinton Legare (1793-1843), American lawyer and statesman, was born in Charleston, was graduated at the College of South Carolina at the age of seventeen, studied law for three years in South Carolina, and then went to Europe where he studied languages in Paris and jurisprudence at the University of Edinburgh. He served in the national House of Representatives and as Attorney-General of the United States, and was appointed Secretary of State *ad interim*. Barthold Georg Niebuhr (1776-1831), German historian and statesman, is said to be among the first students to introduce the scientific spirit and principles into historical study and research. Dr. Charles Anthon (1797-1867) was an American classical scholar and editor of many classical works and handbooks. He served for many years as professor of Greek and Latin at Columbia College, New York City. Philip August Boeckh (1787-1867) was a German classical scholar, professor in the University of Heidelberg and later in the University of Berlin.

[24] Marquis de Pierre Simon Laplace (1749-1827), French astronomer and mathematician, author of the famous *Mécanique Célèste* in five volumes, "a monument in mathematical genius."

William Hamilton and Professor Pillans[25] have very able defended; – but do *we* do it? Can *we* ever do it? Do *we* employ the proper means of doing it?

In what consists our method of teaching the classics? Only in endeavoring to get the student to give the bare meaning of a text. Whether he learns it through the previous reading of an obliging class-mate, his own guessing powers or the memorizing of the passage in one of Mr. Bohn's[26] literal translations, seems to be of no moment to his instructor. In fact, these translations are so openly and universally used, that we venture the assertion that in nine of our colleges out of ten, if a professor in his official capacity, sees any of them in the book-case, upon the table, or in the hands of the student anywhere except in the recitation room, not only does he not reprimand him or seize the book, but considers it not even a breach of discipline worth the trouble of a verbal report to the Faculty. The instructors are so well aware of the fact, that they have contrived a certain plan, – not to check the evil, this seems to be beyond their power, – but to mitigate its effects in a very peculiar manner. They give lessons of four pages instead of two; as if the *quantity* ever could in any way compensate for the *quality;* or as if their main object was to obtain the reading of a certain number of lines without any regard whatever to the *modus operandi.* Now if the study of the dead languages form the bone and sinew of our curricula, because of its specific properties when exclusively applied to the training of the mind, who can deny that in this case the use of translations, whether authorized or illicit, baffles the chief purpose of education, and mocks both teachers and students? If any one doubts, let him peruse the following remarks from one of the highest authorities on Education, Joannes Burton: "When the boy has these helps and incitements to idleness at hand, he will make less use of his own powers of understanding. Assisted by the wealth of others, he will bring nothing from his own store. In a word, he will think it no longer necessary that anything should be done by his own personal exertions; and like an ignorant stranger in an unknown country, submitting to be led by a blundering and treacherous guide, he will wander about without knowing whither he is going." *

*** Exord. to Sect. IXth of Vicesimus Knox' Essays.**

It is but just to add, however, that few college instructors willingly tolerate the use of translations; we have even heard it denounced

[25] Professor James Pillans was born in Edinburgh in 1778, received his education in the Edinburgh High School, of which he later became rector, and the University of Edinburgh in which he served for many years as professor of humanity and laws. As rector of the Edinburgh High School he introduced the monitorial system of instruction which attracted students and observers from many countries. He wrote on educational subjects and was the author of many textbooks.

[26] Henry George Bohn (1796-1884), British publisher of editions of standard works of history, science, archaeology, theology, the classics and of translations, and dealer in rare books.

from the pulpit; and for an obscure Clarke or Phillips who advocates it, we will find ten celebrated Burtons and Knoxes who loudly reprobate such a pernicious resort to subterfuge and incentive to sloth.

When we say that the study of Latin and Greek exercises and invigorates the mind in a greater degree than some other branches of learning, we attach, we fear, to the word "study," a meaning somewhat different from that generally understood by American instructors. A mere verbal translation, often in impure or disconnected English, with grammatical answers, now and then, is NOT the kind of study calculated to improve greatly the pupil's mental powers. The mind, to derive any profit from a classical course, requires constant appeals to other means of far greater efficacy. Frequent transpositions from Latin into Greek, and from English into Latin; daily written exercises and compositions of verses in these languages; immediate translations into Latin from an English text read aloud; extempore and exegetical readings; turning different dialects into each other, and English verse in Iambic Trimeters &c &c – such are among the multifarious means to which the teacher must resort, if he has truly in view the training of his pupil. It is the method pursued at Leipzig, Paris and Oxford.

Can we, in America, where our children from their very infancy, contract obdurate habits of physical and mental independence, where any kind of restraint is considered a tyranny, and the age of fourteen entirely too early for collegiate instruction, can we ever think of introducing such a system and its necessary train of restrictions and innovations? For, how could we pretend to teach the languages in this way, unless a change of diet, studies in common and under the watchful eyes of rigid tutors, a confinement and catalogue of severe penalties, such as no American youth would ever submit to, were also introduced? Yet, we candidly believe that one is subservient to the other; and in this, lies the secret of the strict discipline so uniformly enforced in all the gymnasia and colleges of Europe.

Admitting even, – again for the sake of argument – that such a severe method can be introduced here, it is useless, and with our old system of instruction we average as many good scholars as they do anywhere in Europe; that if we do not enable the student to read easily, or at all, the Gorgias and the Pharsalia in the original, we marvellously succeed in sharpening his faculties with no other means than verbal translations, – insomuch as four Latin exercises a term at Harvard, one at Yale every two weeks, and a Salutatory Oration once a year in all the other colleges, answer the same purpose;– in fine, that we do not teach the languages either as a specific training, or to lay open the treasures of classical excellence, but only because a knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages, – such knowledge as it may be – is absolutely necessary to understand the etymology of our own, though

"it has been ascertained that the English now consists of about 38,000 words, of which 23,000 or nearly five eights are Anglo-Saxon in their origin," * it would still be worth while for us to enquire whether the

* Shaw's Outlines of English Lit. C.I.

establishment of another of these seats of learning where the ancient languages compose the greatest part of the curriculum, would promote in a higher degree the interests, or be "best adapted to the wants of North Carolina."

III. We have neither the time nor the space to discuss at length whether the mind of the student should be especially and wholly trained in view of the particular pursuit he intends to follow in after life; or whether there ought to be only one training for all students, without regard to the profession he may ultimately adopt. It seems to us, however, that although a physician requires a mental discipline altogether different from a lawyer, a merchant from a farmer, and an engineer from a politician, the training preparatory to the acquisition of the specific facts required for the successful prosecution of a profession, should be general. It is necessary to all, and such as no man, whatever be the nature of his ulterior aim, can dispense with.

But, how far, and how long, must the students be subjected to this general training? Is it necessary that the totality of the four years spent in college, should be devoted to it? If so, where and when is he to acquire the knowledge, the bare knowledge, so indispensable to his success in life? We deem it dangerous to leave it to the student to acquire it by himself where and when he pleases; and to postpone it indefinitely is to run too great a risk of his not acquiring it at all. Students should be considered not as they *ought* to be, but as *they are* and ever will be! As soon as they get rid of collegiate shackles,– and often before– they launch at once into the study of a profession. The intended lawyer enters an attorney's office, studies the theory and practice of the Law, hastens to obtain his county court license, and without any further preparation, assumes all the duties and functions of active life. The medical student follows a similar course; and the engineer, whether mentally and bodily prepared or not, immediately enrols himself for a surveying expedition.

On the other hand, has it been fairly tested whether "the instruction in things subservient to the purpose of external accommodation," might not be rendered an excellent mental exercise? And, if so, why not prefer such "utilitarian" studies, since they may simultaneously train the mind and impart the necessary knowledge, which the student "is not expected" to acquire at college, and cannot obtain afterwards, – the functions of active life being too exclusive?

There are sciences, which viewed either in the light of training mediums or of utilitarian studies, are intimately connected with the

ulterior actions and thoughts of most men. Who will deny that a thorough study of Whately[27] and Dugald Stewart,[28] under competent instructors and in the proper manner, will enable the student to comprehend better all the intricacies of the Shelley's case,[29] if these, indeed, can ever be understood at all? Can it be doubted that the collegian who engages in the construction of a railroad, already master of Geology, Analytic and Descriptive Geometry, will settle a question in Tennelling, Statics, or Dynamics, more promptly, and perhaps more accurately than even the experienced Engineer who can work it only by the aid of borings, models and algebraic formulae?

But, because the methods of fluxions and ratios, are not of paramount use to an agriculturist, or the Reduction of Hypotheticals at all necessary to the welfare of a physician, must we thrust Logic and the Higher Mathematics out of our curriculum; or establish separate colleges for the training of those who expect to pursue different professions? This would be impracticable, if not absurd. Still, let us not be too exclusive, and endeavor so to frame our course of studies as to suit as much as possible the interest of all; which at present is far from being the case. In truth it never was the case. "It seems to be a defect in our system of education," ineffectually said Priestley,[30] more than seventy five years ago, "that a proper course of studies is not provided for gentlemen who are designed to fill the principal stations of *active life,* distinct from those that are adapted to the *learned professions.* We have hardly any medium between an education for the counting house, consisting of writing, arithmetic and merchant's accounts, and a method of instruction in the abstract sciences; so that we have nothing liberal, that is worth the attention of gentlemen whose views neither of these two opposite plans may suit." *

* Priestley. Essay on a course of Liberal Educat.

We ask whether these remarks do not apply with as much force to the majority of young men in North Carolina as to the gentry of Lancaster? The necessity of a change in our collegiate system of education is no new topic; and even in the Northern States, where they are so proud of their literary institutions, many a severe pamphlet has been written to censure the course followed in the colleges of New England. We have none of these at hand, but in

[27] Richard Whately (1787-1863), English logician and theologian, writer, and professor of political science at Oxford, archbishop of Dublin, author of *Christian Evidences.*

[28] Dougald Stewart (1753-1828) was a Scottish philosopher. He was educated at Edinburgh and served as professor of moral philosophy in that institution.

[29] The reference is to a celebrated and apparently highly complicated but important decision or rule in the law of real property, given or laid down by Lord Chancellor Sir Thomas Bromley in the early 1580's, which operated in the United States as a part of the common law. It was abolished in England in 1925 and by statute has been repealed or modified in several of the American states.

[30] Joseph Priestley (1733-1804) was an English chemist and physicist and writer whose experiments had considerable influence upon the development of chemistry.

referring to President Wayland's[31] Report to the Corporation of Brown University or to Mr. George Ticknor's[32] Remarks on the changes in Harvard College, the reader will see that we do not stand alone in the opinion which we so freely expressed. "Who," asked the celebrated historian of Spanish Literature, "who in this country, by the means offered to him, has been enabled to make himself a good Greek scholar? Who has been taught thoroughly to read, write and speak Latin? Nay, who has been taught anything at our colleges with the thoroughness which will enable him to go safely and directly to distinction, in the department he has thus entered, without returning to lay anew the foundations of his success? It is a shame to be obliged to ask such questions; and yet there is but one answer to them. . . ." *

* Ticknor. Remarks on the Changes in Harvard Col.

Though referring so often to pertinent authorities, and expressing ourselves rather frankly, we do not mean to cast blame upon this or that particular college, either in North Carolina or out of it. Upon the whole, the institutions in the Old North State, are perhaps superior to any in the country. Her University has educated many men who afterwards became eminent; and its alumni do not fall below the standard of American scholarship; but we must confess that neither North Carolina nor any other state in the Union, professes that kind of institution which, having in view both the mental training and the acquisition of useful knowledge, can, through a particular system of instruction, so train its pupils as to enable them to study afterwards any profession whatever with better success; impart the indispensable knowledge which they have not the opportunity of studying when out of college; and, at the same time, give to all those who expect to lead the life of independent farmers, merchants, and citizens, an education that may become from the moment they graduate, an inexhaustible source of literary enjoyment and of materials for thought.

We are well aware that there is hardly a college in the United States which does not lay claim to such a system; but experience has shown, and we hope to have demonstrated, that such is not the case;– however strenuous the effort and meritorious the intention.

---

31 Francis Wayland, *Report to the Corporation of Brown University, on Changes in the System of Collegiate Education* (Providence, R. I., 1850). In 1842 Wayland had published at Boston *Thoughts on the Present Collegiate System in the United States.* The *Report* recommended some rather radical changes in the collegiate program and both publications stimulated considerable discussion in this country. Wayland, who was president of Brown University for many years, was a strong advocate of the mental disciplinary theory of education.

32 George Ticknor was professor of Spanish language and literature at Harvard. His *Remarks on Changes Lately Proposed or Adopted in Harvard College,* published at Boston in 1825, was one of the earliest arguments for reform in the collegiate curriculum in this country. Tichnor was greatly impressed with the ideals of German scholarship and thoroughness and intellectual freedom.

Let us take one of our graduates, for instance, either from Yale, Dartmouth or Franklin.[33] If he has been faithful in the prosecution of his collegiate studies, he can read in a day, perhaps, five pages from an easy Greek author,– not however, without irksome and repeated appeals to the lexicon; of Latin, ten pages. In mathematics, he understands many of the propositions in Playfair,[34] Davies[35] or Pierce,[36] but cannot apply the principles involved in them; nor can he solve the examples in Descriptive and Analytic Geometry. Of Logic, he knows but little, and what he understands of Rhetoric is naught, unless being previously endowed with literary taste, he has availed himself of all opportunities to practice writing. His knowledge of Mental Philosophy amounts almost to nothing; – a mere reading of Abbott's Abercrombie or sundry chapters selected here and there in Locke, without any clear and comprehensive lectures to elucidate the principles, give an outline of the History, and show by concise illustrations the "structure," action and characters of metaphysics, – will always prove ineffectual to young students. Now, what has he learnt about History, the most useful, the noblest of all studies? Alas! we dare not answer. On the other hand, has he been taught his own language? Can he write it grammatically, with force and purity? Can he even spell correctly? Ten, twenty, thirty exceptions in a hundred do not alter the case. The welfare of the commonwealth demands that *all* should be at least able to speak and write their mother tongue with perfect accuracy. They all must know the history of their own language; perceive its excellence, feel its force, search its hidden treasures, and be prepared to appreciate the classical monuments of our national literature. We cannot rest satisfied with a show of bombastic and sophomorical periods. We will not call a ridiculous knack of words: elegance, force, eloquence;– a shallow knowledge of Latin and Greek: learning, literary attainments, source of taste and erudition; – a superficial acquaintance with Mathematics and Chemistry: science, practical information, useful knowledge! It is time, high time, that sensible people should cease to repeat with the late Judge Murphey,[37] after a lapse of thirty seven years, that "it is a reproach upon all the literary institutions of our country, that the

---

[33] Franklin and Marshall College had been formed by the union of Franklin College, Lancaster, and Marshall College, Mercersburg, Pennsylvania. There were also Franklin College, Franklin, Indiana, 1844, and Franklin College in New Athens, Ohio; and Franklin College was the early name of the University of Georgia.

[34] Charles Playfair (1748-1819) was a Scottish mathematician and physicist.

[35] Charles Davies (1798-1861), author of a well-known and widely used series of textbooks on mathematics.

[36] Benjamin Osgood Peirce (1809-1880) was an American astronomer and mathematician.

[37] Archibald D. Murphey (1777-1832), eminent North Carolina jurist, pioneer in educational and economic reforms, "father of the common schools" of that state, whose report on education (1817) offered the first definite proposal for a public school system in North Carolina.

course of studies pursued in them teach most young men only how to become literary triflers." *

* Judge Murphey. Reports to the Legislat. of No. Ca. (Nile's Regist. 1819)

To conclude:

The increasing prosperity of North Carolina; the late discovery of rich mines; the building of important railroads; the impulse given to internal improvements; the constant endeavors of the Legislature to promote education; and, above all, the spirit which after a slumber of many years, now pervades her people, will effectuate ere long, such a transformation as never was before witnessed in any State. Be prepared for that great renovation; educate your young men in view of the coming progress; enable them to second the impulse, and you shall not prove inefficient to exalt North Carolina to that lofty station among her sister States, which she always deserved, and, we hope, will not fail soon to occupy!!

PART SECOND

"For if you will have a tree bear more fruit than it hath used to do, it is not anything you can do to the boughs, but it is the stirring of the earth, and putting new mould about the roots, that must work it." (Bacon)

"SHOULD THE INSTITUTION BE A COLLEGE, ACADEMY, HIGH SCHOOL &C &C?"

I. Our Institution resembles neither a College, an Academy, nor a High School; but as we should avoid introducing foreign words or coining new terms, we adopt the word "College" as the nearest we can find in the English language. Johnson and Bailey[38] define it "a number of persons acting or living under the same laws and the same rules; applied especially to those who devote themselves to learning or religion." Learning "consists in the knowledge of facts imparted through instruction and study," says Webster. It is self-evident that the object of our Institution is to collect a number of persons willing to live under the same rules, in order to devote themselves to learning;– which we purpose to impart to them through instruction. We may then, in all propriety, employ the word "College," though we should reject certain branches of learning usually taught in collegiate institutions.

Being convinced that the study of the Latin and Greek languages – (as now taught and as they will ever be taught in this country–) does

[38] Nathan or Nathaniel Bailey (d. 1742), English philologist and lexicographer, who published in 1721 *An Universal Etymological English Dictionary* which Samuel Johnson (1709-1784), English writer and lexicographer, is said to have used liberally in preparing his famous *Dictionary of the English Language* which appeared in 1755.

not enable the student to read the classical authors with sufficient ease in the original to appreciate their literary excellence, and use them as models of taste and style, or vehicles of information; and that considered specially as a means of mutual training, this study when partially taught does not discipline the mind in a higher degree than other studies which, besides professing this quality, may also impart a great deal of useful and necessary knowledge, the Greek and Latin languages form no part of our curriculum.

That which we substitute instead, is neither new nor obsolete. It consists merely in extending several of the very studies pursued in all the literary institutions of this country, adding a few others, and adopting a method of instruction which exacts more from both student and instructor. Through this method, the whole sum of physical and mental application which can be expected from an American youth in educational pursuits, will be obtained.

The vast amount of time hitherto devoted to an imperfect acquisition of the dead languages, we transfer to a profound study of our own language and literature, a foreign tongue universally spoken, that can be acquired in a few years, and which at the same time trains the mental powers in a satisfactory degree; a comprehensive study of History, both ancient and modern; Drawing and Penmanship, Mental Philosophy, Logic, Constitutional Law, Political Economy, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Geology and Gymnastics, complete the course.

"THE NUMBER, QUALIFICATIONS AND DUTIES OF THE TEACHERS."

II. The Faculty to whom are committed the government and instruction of the students, consists of seven members, viz: a Professor of Mental Philosophy, Political Economy and Constitutional Law. This chair is filled by the President:– a Professor of French Language and Drawing; a Professor of History, Antiquities and Geography; a Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy; a Professor of Chemistry, Geology and Minerology; an adjunct Professor of English Literature; and an Instructor in Gymnastics who also fills the office of Marshall. The youngest member of the Faculty is ex-officio, Secretary of the body.

As soon as the endowment will allow it, assistant professors will be added to all the departments, except the English.

The qualifications of the teacher are naturally to be sought in his proficiency to teach the branch of science or learning entrusted to him. And to repeat here, that he must be a thorough master of his Department; accustomed both to teach and study, – "for the one exclusive sign of a thorough knowledge is the power of teaching" – a strong friend of the institution; a man who is ever above the petty

selfishness and jealousy which so often prevail among the members of academical senates and looks upon the profession of teacher, more as the discharge of a noble, *life time* and solemn duty, than a make-shift or means of temporary support, would perhaps appear trite or idle. There are, no doubt, some specific requisites which we must expect from our Instructors; these, however, will be defined under the head of "Method of Instruction."

The moral qualities of a teacher have always been a subject of earnest enquiry; and as it would be the height of presumption in us to comment upon a topic so completely investigated by such men as Quinctillian [*sic*][39] Burton, Locke and Rollin, we beg leave to answer the above query, by a quotation from the great Roman rhetorician.

"Let the master above all things," says Quinctillian, "bear towards his scholars the affection of a parent, and look upon himself as succeeding to the place of those who have delivered them over to his care. Let his discipline be without asperity, and his indulgence without cheapness; thus he will secure their affection, and avoid their contempt. Though far from being passionate, yet he is not to dissemble whatever requires amendment. Let him be plain in teaching, patient of labor, and punctual rather than precise. Let him readily answer the inquisitive, and of himself examine those who are otherwise. In commending the exercise of his pupils he ought neither to be niggardly nor lavish, because the first begets disgust, the other negligence." *

*** Guthrie's Quinctillian B. 11. ch. 2.**

As for the duties of the teachers, there is hardly a digest of collegiate by-laws, which does not clearly define them. These rules constitute the whole amount of experience ever gathered on the subject of education; and they have so often been revised, corrected and improved, that we deem the digest of any college whatever as good a compendium as can be desired. In fact, the instructor's duties, from the humble assistant of an "old field" teacher to the dignified professor in a State University, are similar in the main; and differ only in those unimportant particulars, which arise from the peculiar locality, or importance, of the Institution.

They all declare that it is his duty to inspect the conduct of the students within the college walls; to see that the hours of study and retirement are faithfully observed, the students not out of their rooms at improper times; that the quiet of the campus is not disturbed by noises, shouts, or boisterous calls; to suppress all disorderly conduct; examine in turn the rooms of the college at least once a week, and see that cleanliness and neatness are preserved. In fine, he must be vigilant in carrying into effect any law of the institution and report to the Faculty, such transgressions as ought to be punished by that body.

[39] Marcus Fabius Quintilianus (35-93 A.D.) was a distinguished Roman rhetorician whose *Institutio Oratoria* is considered one of the greatest treatises on a liberal education. Harrisse puts a "c" and an extra "l" in the name.

He is not permitted to engage in pursuits for emolument unconnected with the service of the College; and, if a clergyman, cannot take charge permanently of any church, in or out of the village where the Institution is located.

"THE POWERS AND DUTIES OF THE TRUSTEES"

III. A Trustee is generally a retired public officer, a gentleman of leisure or an influential lawyer who knows but little and cares still less about the management of a literary institution. His title was conferred as a mere compliment, or on account of his well known abilities in other pursuits. Often, however, it is simply by reason of his high-sounding name. We know of such trustees who have been figuring in college catalogues for twenty years, without ever attending a single monthly or annual meeting.

Our trustees are men of experience and activity. We do not wish a numerous board, but a few diligent members who are required and never fail to attend, all the regular examinations; thus adding by their presence, importance to a ceremony which in some colleges is rapidly degenerating into a solemn mockery.

The number of trustees is limited to ten. The President of the college is ex-officio a member, has a vote, but is ineligible to the office of chairman of the Board. He, however, with four of the trustees, can call occasional meetings whenever it appears necessary. Six members and the President of the college are the number to constitute a quorum, and to fill up, by ballot, any vacancies that may occur either in the Board or in the Faculty.

The trustees elect, and may remove from office, the President and all the officers connected with the Institution.

They prescribe and amend the course of studies to be pursued by the students. They meet regularly at the end of each term, and individually visit the college by turns at least four times in the year.

They have the exclusive right of expelling a student; and may reverse all sentences of suspension pronounced by the Faculty. All other penalties, their degree and mode of infliction, are wholly left to the Faculty. We need not add that corporeal punishments of any sort are strictly prohibited.

The Trustees confer degrees; and if anyone fails to attend the board during four stated meetings in succession, it is deemed a refusal to act, and the board proceeds to appoint a successor; except of course in case of sickness or temporary absence from the State at the time.

"RULES AND REGULATIONS FOR TEACHERS AND STUDENTS"

IV. Here again, as in chapter II, we must refer to the digest of any collegiate by-laws; leaving to the teachers themselves, whatever local

alterations may prove necessary. As for sundry regulations which we wish to introduce, they will be found at length in the chapter treating of the method of instruction, and others. These new regulations are not so numerous as to require a separate chapter; and if we ventured to sum them up under one head before exhibiting an outline of the system, they would appear totally disconnected, and perhaps, unintelligible or trifling.

One, however, we beg leave to expatiate upon. It is the extreme facility with which a student is so often permitted to pass from one class to another, without professing even the amount of knowledge strictly necessary to understand the studies of his own class. In American colleges, we frequently see students who scarcely ever study during the session. They get one of their classmates to read over the lesson to them whenever there is a probability of being "called up." If they fear that on account of their constantly bad recitations they run the risk of being brought before the Faculty,– which rarely proves of any avail–; marked "bad" on the report, or "disapproved"– which is seldom the case, though often apprehending it– they devote themselves during a day or more, perhaps, to an earnest and unwholesome study of their text books. Thus cramming and "reviewing" that which they never before learned; and by dint of close application during a short time, abundance of literal translations and the friendly assistance of learned class-mates, they save themselves from a mere though apparently serious, threat of rustication or dismissal.

We use the words "mere threat" because it has become of late a prevailing opinion in some institutions, that a great number of students is the only evidence of the prosperity of a college, – thus forgetting "that the intrinsic excellence of a school is not to be confounded with its external prosperity, estimated by the multitude of those who flock to it for education." * To be better able to issue yearly

* Hamilton. Discussions. App. 111.

a crowded catalogue, they leniently admit candidates who are deficient in some studies under the pretence that they may afterwards "make up" – as if the college course and every day's task were not already sufficiently difficult and absorbing, to engross all their time; – add the names of those who have left the Institution, or been expelled, or deceased for some time; and often slide over offences which would be punished severely, if thereby their singular scale of collegiate prosperity were not to show a decrease by the omission of a few names.

Whether it is possible for any student to require in two days what is deemed necessary by sensible persons to study during five months is one of those questions which may be solved in a satisfactory manner when we consider how many ignorant students do graduate, and how

few are turned out of college as deficient in scholarship, though deserving it. Now, there is not perhaps a single evil in the whole catalogue of collegiate nuisances which, so loudly calls for immediate censure and extirpation.

The attention of European professors has long been awakened on the subject for it is a mischief which at one time reigned there likewise; but by energetic measures they have succeeded at last in palliating its pernicious consequences. In many colleges it is totally eradicated.

"In Prussia," says Mr. Cousin," a salutory severity presides over the admission of the student into another division. With us, the Imperial Regulations also prescribe two examinations in the year, but these, as well as many others, are not enforced (1831); so much so that the higher classes are sometimes filled with students who are not able to follow the course therein pursued. Outwardly it does very well; the classes are numerous, the receipts large and the college has the appearance of being in a prosperous condition; but at bottom, there are only a dozen students who profit by the instruction. On the contrary, enforce the regulations, and by strict examinations close the entrance of the higher classes to the students who are not able to profit by them, it will subject to constant studies those who wish to be admitted, and cast out of college after a few trials, those who will have been thus convicted of not being fitted for literary and scientific studies. There will be a smaller number of students in the higher classes, but these will be able to follow the Professor's lessons; their knowledge will faithfully represent the degree of proficiency which they have attained; and both the parents and the community, will know what to think of it." *

* Cousin. Instr. Publique. Conclusions.

These remarks from such high authority, cover the whole ground. We have nothing to add.

"THE AMOUNT AND METHOD OF INSTRUCTION."

V. There is only one session, which commences on the first Friday in September, and continues forty-five weeks, including public speaking, examinations and Commencement.

The session is divided into three terms of fifteen weeks, at the end of which terms all the classes are examined by divisions in presence of the Trustees and Faculty. In this way, a frequent opportunity is offered to the students who have been successful in the prosecution of their studies, to pass into a higher section; and an annual vacation of seven weeks is secured. This is more than sufficient. In the Royal Colleges of France, where a greater amount of study and confinement

is required of the collegians, they have only one month,– but we must make allowances for the nature of our pupils, their habits, and the bad condition of our Southern roads.

Let no smile of incredulity play on the lips of our readers; an imperious necessity demands that collegiate vacations should be shortened in duration, and less frequent. In themselves, these vacations are productive of good,– the bow keeps on the stretch better from being occasionally unstrung,–but when recurring often, the perturbation they occasion in the studies is too great. The very anticipation of them makes itself felt; and it takes at least two weeks to settle the mind of the student after his return. We have introduced then, only two holidays, viz–. Christmas, which lasts ten days, appointed by the Faculty, and the 1st day of April.

The public speaking of the graduating class takes place the very week preceding Commencement. No member of the other classes, declaim publicly on the occasion. The number of students is limited to two hundred. It can never be increased; even with the addition of professors and buildings. The students are divided into four classes called Freshmen, Sophomores, Juniors and Seniors. Each one of these classes is subdivided into two divisions. The first division consists of the more advanced scholars; and at the end of each term, those of the second division who have stood a satisfactory examination join the first division; those who have not, remain where they are; or after one more unsuccessful trial in the same division are dismissed. This system we are told works well at West Point; and we do not see why it should not meet with a like success in our college. By these means, the more attentive students proceed rapidly and are not thwarted in their career by the "gentlemen of leisure" whom President Barnwell[40] is reported to have said, we must expect to admit and retain, and endure, and graduate, in all the institutions throughout the length and breadth of this blessed country.

The classes recite and hear the lectures by divisions. They study by sections of one fourth of the whole class, when it numbers 50; of one third when less than forty.

All the students, *Seniors not excepted,* have three recitations a day during five days in the week; on Saturday they recite twice, and Sunday only once. Monday and Saturday mornings are set apart for Drawing; the former on account of the Sabbath evening, and the latter of the Debating Societies, which prevent the preparation of a recitation for the following morning.

As in all other colleges, they have prayer every day at Sun rise and at Sun down; and service in the Chapel on Sundays.

---

40 Robert W. Barnwell (1801-1882) became president of the College of South Carolina in 1835, succeeding Thomas Cooper, whose theological liberalism or radicalism had greatly reduced or had threatened to reduce the prestige of that institution.

The hour from 12 to 1 P.M. every day, is devoted to Gymnastic exercises, which are obligatory upon all students.

The whole number of recitations amount to 2756–, which are thus divided among all the departments;

	English Gram. Literat. Rhetoric Logic	Mathematics Nat. Philosophy	Antiquities, History	Geography	French Langua. and Literature	Intel. Philosophy Polit. Economy. Const. Law.	Chemistry Geology &c.	Drawing	Bible Mor. Science				
Freshmen.	4.	4.	3	1	3.	"	"	2	1. a Week				
Sophomores.	4	4.	3.	"	2	"	2	2.	1. "				
Juniors.	4	4.	3	"	2	"	2	2	1. "				
Seniors.	3	"	1	"	2	7	2	2	1. "				
	559.	463.	386.	38.	347	270	231	308	154.				

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH GRAMMAR LITERATURE AND COMPOSITION; ELOCUTION RHETORIC & LOGIC.

It is a remarkable fact that many of the American statesmen and politicians who have had the advantage of a collegiate education, write their mother tongue with less perfection than might be expected. Their style is often forcible, their logic overpowering, and none of their stirring appeals ever fail in effect; but if we lay aside our admiration or partiality, patriotism or party-spirit to analyse the rhetorical part of their orations, we find that the words in themselves are not of the purest choice, whilst the sentences are rarely framed with taste and simplicity. Their diction is energetic, but irregular, and frequently lacks grammatical accuracy. How few of the celebrated speeches which have stirred the souls of all hearers either within the Halls of Congress or on the Public Squares, but appear to us who are not under the spell of the orator's eloquent accents, cold stiff and disconnected. Is it so with Bossuet's[41] Panegyrics or Burke's speeches?

Many, if not all, of our periodicals are written in very indifferent English. In fact, we know only of Mr Joseph Gale's[42] editorials, which can be compared for purity of style to a London Times' leader; and though allowances must be made for the provincialisms, newly coined words, cant terms, which always will creep into political arguments or newspaper controversies it must be conceded that a better choice of words and more carefully wrought sentences, might be used in all our public prints; inasmuch as the majority of editors are Alumni of our colleges.

We ascribe this defect to the little attention paid to the study of English Grammar and Rhetoric. When do we recite in Murray[43] or Fowler? Only at the Preparatory school simultaneously with Bullion and Andrews. Why, in many instances, we never open an English grammar after we have passed the age of twelve; we even look upon it then with indisguised contempt. The little we learn in after life about the structure and character of our native language is wholly derived from a kind of involuntary imitation. "If any one among us have a facility or purity more than ordinary in his mother tongue" said Locke,* "it is owing to chance or his genius or anything, rather

* Locke. Of Education. 189.

than to his education or any care of his teachers." It is true in all our colleges the Professor of Rhetoric faithfully corrects whatever errors, both of style and grammar, he may detect in the compositions of his

41 Jacques Benigne Bossuet (1627-1704), French divine, writer, bishop of Meaux, and celebrated pulpit orator.

42 Joseph Gales (1761-1841) was born in England, came to this country in the latter part of the eighteenth century, and in 1799 founded in Raleigh, North Carolina, the *Raleigh Register*, a weekly Jeffersonian journal, which he edited with high distinction until 1832.

43 Lindley Murray (1745-1826), American grammarian.

pupils, but we should not lose sight of the fact, that the student enters college with an exceedingly scanty knowledge of his own language; and the arrangements are such, that he can write compositions only once in three weeks; and even then he aims more at sophomoric periods than grammatical accuracy. What our pupils imperiously want, consists in a firm and broad basis; in principles never to be forgotten, and imparted through a simple method, which speaks louder to the understanding than to the memory.

A rule of grammar is almost as complex as a metaphysical abstraction; read the Hermes,[44] peruse the Divisions of Purley! In truth, it is nothing but an abstraction; and there is such a great difference between inculcating principles of this sort through a mere mechanical process, to lie dormant in the memory until age and necessity unfold them to your astonished understanding, or by mental exertions, proportioned to your wants and abilities, that we gladly avail ourselves of this opportunity to elevate the study of the English *grammar* to a station worthy of its importance;– The sneers of pedants, and the contemptuous smiles of college snobs to the contrary notwithstanding.

We constantly praise a Chaucer and a Milton, a Bollingbroke and a Burke; but are we thoroughly, or at all, acquainted with their writings? Are we even prepared to appreciate the style and genius of these master spirits of our vernacular literature? Alas! we often do not read their works at all; and when we do so, it is only in after life, without any guide to point out the beauties, or make us feel the sublimity of their masterly compositions. It is not sufficient to peruse books, were it with the most unrelenting attention, to be at once qualified to perceive their excellence. A certain discriminating taste and respectable acquaintance with the principles of Rhetoric, are necessary to judge of the merits of any literary production whatever. This power of sound criticism is not altogether innate, – at least in the state required for its immediate application. It is unfolded, if not required, only by constant and enlightened comparisons with well selected models; judicious analysis and critical observation under the guidance of an experimental teacher.

The college is the place to obtain these first principles; and we are so convinced of their importance, that neither time or attention is spared in our Institution, to ground them deeply in the student's mind.

In this department, we devote three lessons a week during the three terms of the Freshman class to a comprehensive study of the Grammar, and one every five days to the writing of an original composition, setting forth in a prescribed manner the syntactic principles studied during the week, and the preceeding, – but no other.

In the Sophomore year, a work on Rhetoric (Whaley's), and another

---

[44] Pertaining to Georg Hermes (1775-1831), German Roman Catholic theologian, professor of theology in the University of Bonn.

on criticism (Kame's)[45] together with appropriate lectures, exhibiting the history, character and philosophy of language, together with a composition absorb the four recitations allotted every week during the whole year to this department.

In the Junior class, they also write a composition, and read select passages from English classical authors, which they analyse orally in presence of the whole division. Any student can read thirty pages of Atterbury or one act of Ben Johnson in two hours. Now 4000 pages well chosen from among our standard writers, and elucidated in the above manner, cannot fail, it strikes us, to initiate the student into the merits of the English Literature.

Logic is with us a last study, absorbing two recitations a week during the first and second terms of the Senior class. It is time that our pupils should be convinced of the importance of Logic, and be shown that it is a highly useful study, which, when properly taught, trains the mind of the older members of college better than any other.

The third recitation in the three terms is devoted to the Professor's criticisms upon the speeches written during the week; and the two last recitations of the third term, to the history of English Literature. Twenty-five lessons are more than sufficient for a careful study of Shaw's Outlines.

DEPARTMENT OF MATHEMATICS, NATURAL PHILOSOPHY AND ASTRONOMY.

Without sharing entirely the utter scepticism of Sir William Hamilton, or the excessive enthusiasm of Dr. Whewell as regards the excellence of mathematical studies, we believe with the former that mathematics have been greatly overrated as an invigorating exercise of the reasoning faculties; and readily grant to the latter, that this science considered in itself, or "in its subjective results," as Sir William is wont to say, must be left, at least as a co-ordinate, to find its level among the other branches of academical instruction.

The principal ground upon which we introduce Mathematics into our scheme is not then, as many Cantabrigians candidly affirm, because they are means of forming logical habits better than logic itself; or similar reasons based altogether upon partiality or fancy. This would be preposterous in the extreme, especially at this time, when nearly every body has perused the remarkable dissertation of Hamilton on the subject, and lent credence to the crowd of unimpeached and unimpeachable authorities, from Descartes to Newton, which he adduces to support his arguments. We appeal to better reasons, and shelter ourselves under the "ancient and universal observation" that as different studies cultivate the mind to a different development, the

[45] The reference may be to Lord Henry Home Kames (1696-1782), Scottish lawyer and philosopher who wrote on many subjects and was the author of *An Introduction to the Art of Thinking* and *Elements of Criticism.*

end of a liberal education should be "the general and harmonious evolution of its faculties and capacities in their relative subordination"; – and it is incontestable that the study of Mathematics, without being at all a specific, is a useful exercise of intelligence, which may unfold several of these very faculties.

The student is admitted into the Freshman class with a competent knowledge of Arithmetic and the simple Equations of Algebra. We carry him through the equations of the First degree, and the whole of Euclid in the first year.

Logarithms, Plane Trigonometry, Navigation, Analytical (Bourdon's in the original) and Descriptive Geometry are studied in the Sophomore year. Too little attention is paid to the latter in our colleges; yet it is a study which may sharpen the mental powers quite as well as Analytics, and is by far the most useful to any but future Astronomers. It is for the want of Descriptive study and drawing that such general ignorance prevails among pretty well educated men with regard to plans and sections of Buildings, Machinery, Works of arts &c &c. They seem utterly incomprehensible to them. They cannot realise how one plane can cut another and be represented all on one plane.

Differential and Integral calculus (Boucharlat's in the original) Natural Philosophy (Young's) and Astronomy complete the mathematical course; which we believe from experience, can be gone through with the 463 recitations allotted to this department; – including the necessary lectures and experiments on Hydrostatics, Pneumatics, Magnetism &c.

In the Junior year, not less than twenty hours, taken from ten different nights are devoted to a practical application of Astronomy.

And, so as to improve the powers of continued attention, we adopt the suggestion of Dugald Stewart viz:– to accustom the student to pursue long trains of demonstrations without availing himself of the aid of any sensible diagrams, "the thoughts being directed solely to those ideal delineations which the powers of conception and of memory enable us to form." *†

---

* Dougald Stewart. Elm. of Phil. 1. pt- ch. IV.

† Pestalozzi used the above method with perfect success, and the superiority of the graduates of the Polytechnic school is partially ascribed to this system of studying Mathematics.

[Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827), famous Swiss educational reformer, whose influence was very extensive in the United States, especially after 1860. Harrisse, in his statement above that "the end of a liberal education should be 'the general and harmonious . . .,' is obviously attempting to recollect Pestalozzi's well-known definition of education as "the natural, progressive and harmonious development of all the powers and faculties of the human being."]

DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES, HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY

3. When Priestly [*sic*] was only a poor and unknown tutor in a poor and unknown academy at Warrington, he wrote an Essay "on a course of liberal education for civil and active life" which might still be read with advantage. In this remarkable performance, he earnestly inveighs against the course of education then pursued in England; and points out faults which neither his just remarks nor the experience of nearly a century, have succeeded in alleviating in the least.

After showing that the difficulty is how to fill up with benefit those years which immediately precede a young man's engaging in the higher spheres of active life in which he is distined to move, what does he recommend as the new article of academical instruction "having a nearer and more evident connection with the business of active life, and which may therefore bid fair to engage the attention and rouse the thinking powers of young gentlemen of active genius"?* History, Civil History!

* Priestley. Essay on Educat. p. 1.

And so it should be. History tends to invigorate the sentiment of virtue, and enables us to form just ideas both of the strength and weakness of human nature; it is a pleasing and interesting study which serves to amuse the imagination, and interest the passions; it improves the understanding; evinces facts essential to all knowledge; frees the mind from many prejudices; and in fine fits men for the business of life. These reasons are Priestley's, and spring from common-sense.

Now, peruse the catalogue of any American college, and see how limited is the place this important study holds in the Curriculum! We are aware of only two regular and special professorships of History in the United States; one of which, the McLean, at Harvard, is not and perhaps never was, filled. In the other colleges it is added as a fifth wheel in a wagon; and at the University of Virginia, where they ought to know better, History is hardly taught at all.

With us, the Freshmen recite in Weber's Outlines, and Bogesen's Antiquities.

The Sophomores in Antiquities and Tytler's Universal History.

The Juniors in Hume's History of England and American Constitutional History. During the Senior year, they write original Hist. Dissertations.

Geography is mostly taught in the Freshman class, and occupies 38 recitations. These, together with the amount of geographical knowledge required for admission, and the constant references made in connection with the historical course during the three following years,

are amply sufficient to render the student, if not a thorough master at least a respectable adept, in this useful branch of knowledge.

Without thinking with Vossius[46] and Locke, that maps ought to be intrusted to boys so early as the age of six, we are so convinced that engravings, globes &c., greatly exercise the eyes and memory, and accelerate the improvement of the scholar in presenting new ideas clearly to his apprehension, that not only all our halls and recitation rooms are furnished with these implements, but during the Sophomore year, half of the drawing lessons are devoted to geographical sketches and maps. In the Junior class the student is often required to draw on the blackboard, whilst the recitation is going on, plans of cities, the march of armies through conquered countries &c. &c. so as to blend as much as possible, Geography with History.

DEPARTMENT OF THE FRENCH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

4. It is often urged that the chief excellence of the dead languages consists in training the mind to a higher degree than any other study. Why? Is it on account of the peculiar nature of the Greek and Latin idioms and syntax, or because the study of any language whatever calls forth the strongest and most unexclusive energy of thought? The first of these reasons is certainly plausible, though the grammatical structure of these two languages, always appeared to us much simpler than the French participles or German paradigms, but we are not aware of its having ever been urged, except in the easy form of mere association. Stephanus and the philologists of old, who so earnestly advocated and did so much for the study of the Greek and Latin, aimed not at proving their educational virtues, which is a consideration altogether of modern origin. It was the richness, the force, the euphony, the literature which they justly and loudly praised. As for the second reason, it is founded on truth. The grammatical intricacies of all languages are nearly akin, and to overcome them requires the same faculties. Every argument which can be adduced on that score in favor of the Greek and Latin languages, will apply with equal force to any modern language whatever. With this difference, that a spoken tongue is always better understood and taught than a dead one. As we need that peculiar kind of training which the study of a language alone can give, it remains to make a choice.

If we look only for barren difficulties, the Chinese, with an endless variety in its collocation of unchangeable roots, must be preferred to the German, and the German to the French. But common-sense tells us that the difficulties we seek are not of the sort; and the first claim which a language should have on our choice, lies in its utility, perfection and literature.

The German or the Spanish, then, might be taught with advantage.

[46] Gerhard Johann Vossius (1577-1649), German classical scholar and theologian.

The former, on account of its copiousness and the affinities it bears to our own language; the latter, because of its importance to Southern students, and the richness of its idiom, which could not fail ultimately, if generally read and spoken, to work a desirable change in the euphony of the English tongue. But, as we do not wish our students to possess only a smattering, but a thorough acquaintance with ONE foreign language, we do not follow the example of the New York University, and others, where they are taught, *nolens volens*, French in the Freshman class, German in the Sophomore, and Italian and Spanish. Let any one that has ever attempted to study a modern language at College, state how much he has learnt in one, in two, in three years! No, only one of these languages is taught in our Institution, but we expect our students to be able by the time they are graduated, to read, to write, and perhaps speak it with ease and accuracy.

As the choice of this one language is vested in us, we select the French.

Locke remarks that the pupil should learn some other language than his own; "this nobody doubts of," says he, "when French is proposed." * The reasons are obvious, if we believe Vicesimus Knox:[47]

* Locke. 162.

"The French Language abounds with authors elegant, lively, learned and classical. A scholar cannot in this age, dispense with it. To be ignorant of it, is to cut off a copious source of amusement and information. I need not expatiate on its utility to the man of business, and the ornament it adds to the accomplished gentleman. Its use and its grace are sufficiently understood." †

† Vicesimus Knox. Liberal Educat. Sect. XV.

In this Department, the recitations of the Freshman Class are devoted to the Grammar and written exercises.

In the Sophomore year they read Voltaire's Charles XII and St. Pierre's *Etudes de la Nature.*[48]

In the Junior year, Racine and Corneilles's Tragedies and Moliere's Comedies. The grammar used in this class is Chassal's in the original.

In the Senior, they read extracts from Marot, Montaigne and the early writers. The 3rd term is exclusively devoted to the History of French Literature.

Throughout the course, they study the grammar, write exercises and memorize colloquial sentences. Lectures are occasionally delivered

[47] Vicesimus Knox (1752-1821), English divine, popular and voluminous writer on miscellaneous subjects.

[48] Bernardin de Saint-Pierre (1737-1814), Frenchman of letters and engineer, who was influenced by Rousseau. His *Etudes de la Nature*, which appeared in three volumes in 1784, "was an attempt to prove the existence of God from the wonders of nature."

in the vernacular tongue; and once a month, on Saturday, the Junior and Senior classes, hold conferences by sections, in which the French language is exclusively spoken.

DEPARTMENT OF CONSTITUTIONAL LAW, POLITICAL ECONOMY AND MENTAL PHILOSOPHY.

5. However strange it may appear to the most lenient observer, in all our Colleges it is at the very time when the student's mind is ready to unfold itself fully, and to derive benefit from three years training, that they relax the discipline and lessen the studies to which, he was hitherto subjected. From the moment he gets to be a Senior, he may linger in bed whilst his college-mates are at work; and has only ten recitations a week instead of fourteen.

With us, the Senior studies are the most arduous, the lessons the longest; and besides the lectures, the members of this class recite thrice a day.

During the first term and part of the second, three recitations a week are devoted to the Statute law of North Carolina and Story's[49] Commentaries on the Federal Constitution.

It has been hinted that self-government is a kind of intuitive knowledge with us. This we do not doubt.– Are not the Americans the chosen people? But we nevertheless deem it necessary to our young men to study carefully under the supervision of a very able and impartial instructor, both our State Laws and the United States Constitution.

"In a country where free institutions prevail and where public opinion is of consequence," says Sir John Herschel in his well-known letter to Dr. Adamson, "every man is to a certain extent a legislator; and for this his education (especially when the government of the country lends its aid and sanction to it) ought at least so far to prepare him, as to place him on his guard against those obvious and popular fallacies which lie across the threshold of this as well as of every other subject with which human reason has anything to do. Every man is called upon to obey the laws, and therefore, it cannot be deemed superfluous that some portion of every man's education should consist in informing him what they are!" * Judge Story's

---

* Discussions. 712.

---

interpretations are often tainted with party spirit, but where can we find in works accessible to students, a clearer exposition of our complex system of constitutional checks and balances?

In the second term, they study Political Economy, – a capital antidote for some of Story's doctrines.– Wayland, together with Bastiat's

---

[49] Joseph Story (1779-1845), jurist, and associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Sophismes (in the original) are our text books. The main reason for our selecting Wayland in preference to Say, is that he sums up the elements of the science in a much smaller compass, thus enabling the student to get through with the whole work.

The bulk of a volume! This is an important consideration when speaking of framing a new course of studies. We distrust huge college books, and would rather select a little 12mo containing but few principles– provided they are well chosen and clearly enunciated– than a large 8 vo, crowded with facts, and exhibiting the whole doctrine in an indigestible manner. We have so little time to devote to the mutifarious sciences which necessarily compose our curriculum!

We are in favor, however, of very large print. Dugald Stewart's Elements, as printed at the Cambridge Press, are certainly easier to understand than the diamond edition to be found in most libraries.

The first part of the above work, we select; not without the deep regret of being unable to find time for the study of the second. This volume was written, taught and studied, twenty years before the second part issued from the author's pen; and it may be considered as an independent work. Our admiration for Dugald Stewart is unbounded; and we do not hesitate to say that his Elements, together with a compact manual of the History of Philosophy, is sufficient to impart to the student a faithful, though elementary, conception of the science.*

* Tennemann's Manual is excellent, but Johnson's Translation is so inferior, and our prejudices against Mr. Morell, who revised the latter, so insuperable, that we give the preference to a French compendium by Charmat.

It is in this Department, that we expect the greatest efforts on the part both of the student and his instructor. Lectures, and elucidations derived from practical illustrations, free from cant and, if possible, technical phraseology; a constant watch over the audience to detect what is understood and what is not so; questions plainly stated, –with some instructors it is more difficult to comprehend the question than give the answer–; repeated generalization of the substance in new language every time, &c – must often be resorted to, if the instructor has truly in view the mental improvement of his pupils,– for indeed, Philosophy, "the thinking of thought, the recoil of mind upon itself, is the most improving of mental exercises, conducing above all others to evolve the highest and rarest of the intellectual powers." †

† Edinb. Rev. Apr. 1849.

DEPARTMENT OF CHEMISTRY, GEOLOGY AND MINERALOGY

6. The utility and invigorating qualities of these studies are too obvious to require any vindication whatever. At this very moment,

there is scarcely a North Carolinian who does not feel the necessity of the science of Geology. The Dan and Deep River coal fields, the iron ore of Nash, and the Guilford copper mines, point out the future destinies of the Old North State; and farmers, lawyers and merchants are seen daily to quit the plow, the brief and the yardstick, to go in search of these bountiful gifts of Nature. Nor will they seek in vain! And if their energetic endeavors sometimes create a smile of incredulity, let it not be forgotten that Science has not yet uttered its last words nor Experience belied the promise of its adepts.

In this Department, Botany, Zoology and Physiology are studies in the Sophomore year.

Chemistry occupies two recitations a week throughout the Junior year. The course is that followed everywhere. Beginning with the history and nomenclature, the student is carried through the Laws of Heat, Light, Electricity &c &c., to Pneumatic and Organic Chemistry, embracing the Acids, metals &c. and illustrating the doctrine of chemical reaction, the Atomic Theory &c by numerous experiments, in the preparation of which the students are called upon to assist, so as to become familiar with chemical manipulations. They also have frequent exercises on the blackboard in chemical problems, solved by formulae and calculation.

In the Senior class, they study Mineralogy and Geology. It is useless to add that the great mineral zones are described by references to maps and sections; and in the lectures the appropriate minerals and specimens are often exhibited and noticed with reference to the geological formations of the State, and to the relations of all their features to the agriculture and other resources of the country.

DEPARTMENT OF DRAWING, PAINTING AND PENMANSHIP.

7. The number of recitations in this Department is rather large, but we must bear in mind that it is taken from days hitherto devoted to idleness or pleasure. Drawing may be easily rendered a good relaxation of the mind and a source of enjoyment to students. It will besides endow them with a talent both useful and agreeable.

In this Department, one hour every Monday morning is devoted to Penmanship, and one also on Saturday morning, to Geographical maps.

In the Sophomore year, they practice the rudiments of drawing, shades and ornament.

In the Junior, Figure, Perspective and Landscape.

In the Senior, Drawing as applicable to the Mechanical Arts and Architecture and Painting in water colors.

DEPARTMENT OF GYMNASTICS.

8. It cannot be doubted that the generality of our students do not present that healthy appearance so often to be found in the gymnasia

of Wurtemberg or High School of England. This physical defect may be ascribed to several causes. viz: the quantity and quality of the food which they so rapidly eat three times a day without the use of tonics of any kind; the immoderate use of tobacco, and the total want of exercise.

No one can reasonably expect to reform all these evils at once. Meat, American students must have often and plentifully; tobacco, they will chew and smoke; wine might be dangerous; but exercise can be easily enforced on them.

We scarcely see the inmates of our colleges ride, fence, row or take long walks. Many of them are fond of hunting, but few indulge in the sport. In fact, the greatest part of the leisure time alloted [*sic*] to them, they spend in loitering from room to room, or lolling on their beds to puff bad cigars and doze over trashy novels. Yet, who can deny the absolute necessity of bodily exercise? The ancients, who had better views in many respects than the moderns in the art of training youth, made of gymnastics one of the four requisites of their education. The Greeks and the Romans were thoroughly convinced that the mind could not be sound, unless the body was likewise in a healthy state. Hence it is that we never clear away the rubbish of any Hellenic city, without discovering the ruins of several palaestrae. There is hardly a single ancient author on medicine who does not explicitly state that gymnastics are as necessary for the preservation of health as drugs for the cure of disease. We even hear of a celebrated adept in the art of healing (Asclepiades), who was so ingenious in the invention of exercise, to supply the place of physic, that by these means– to use the words of Pliny– "he rendered himself the delight of mankind."

If gymnastics, then were considered by such physicians as Hippocrates and Galen, as so conducive to the health of men who passed nearly their whole existence in public squares, how necessary must we deem bodily exercise when thinking of youths who are unavoidably subjected during many hours to immobility and confinement? We therefore earnestly urge the introduction at all schools, academies and colleges, of jumping, climbing, wrestling, boxing, running, &c; in fine, of compulsory exercise of any kind. This, they must have, were it only, like Petarius, at the end of every second hour, a twirling of their chairs for five minutes;– but as the latter might create confusion in the classroom, we have instead, a gymnasium in the open air, in the practice of which all the students are required to partake during one hour every day except Saturday and Sunday, from 12 to 1 P. M., under the supervision of an instructor who also fills the office of marshal.

As College Marshal, he is charged with the general superintendance [*sic*] of all the buildings, grounds, &c. He oversees all repairs and cleansings which the Faculty may direct; informs the Professors of

any disturbance caused by the students, and assists in detecting the offenders. He has also the supervision of the servants employed about the College, hires them, receives and measures the wood; and no bill for fuel can be paid without his certificate.*

* There are in New York and Philadelphia, many German "turners" who are qualified for the office, and whose services could be secured at a salary of $400 per annum.

EXPENSES AND BUILDING ACCOMODATIONS [*sic*]

VI. But very few colleges in America can support themselves without the help of private donations or appropriations from the Legislature. The University of Virginia, Brown, Alabama and many others, if not all, were liberally endowed even before they went into operation; and the South Carolina College has cost the State nearly a million of dollars within the last 45 years. Hence it is that these Institutions can afford so to lower their price of tuition as to render it accessible to all. At the University of Michigan, they make no charges whatever; at Bowdoin, they amount only to $24, at Hamilton, $26, Dartmouth $27; but these colleges have resources of their own; and as our Institution is supposed to rely solely upon itself for support, we adopt the average price for tuition, room rent, &c, &c, viz $60 per annum.

The number of students is limited to 200, which yields an income (on paper) of $12,000. This sum we deem sufficient to cover the actual expenses of the Institution.

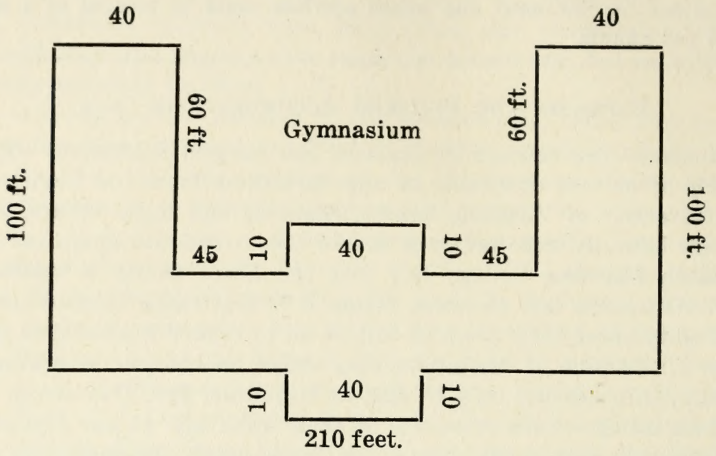
For the present, and with the understanding that they will be doubled as soon as the endowment will allow it, we fix the President's

salary at	$1,500
the Professor's at	1,200
the adjunct Professor's at	1,000
the Marshal's at	500

We think it impossible to get and keep men of abilities for less than 2 or $3,000 a year, inasmuch as their labors are great and confinement still greater. Nor must we lose sight of the fact that we require from our instructors accomplishments and talents not often to be found in the generality of American Professors. It is a misconceived economy or near-sighted policy, to curtail the teacher's compensation. It tends to render him anxious to leave the college as soon as he can obtain a more profitable situation elsewhere; and thereby hinders him from bringing to the discharge of his duty, the predilection, nay, the enthusiasm, so necessary to the prosperity of any literary Institution.

As for the building accomodations [*sic*], they consist of 100 dormitories,– 6 recitation rooms, one of which serves for a Laboratory; 10 studying rooms for 15 students, each containing desks and a rostrum;– 2 debating Halls for 100 members; a Library, which is also to be used

for the drawing classes and a Chapel. The whole comprehended in one building, 3 stories high – fronting 210 feet, with wings of 100 x 40 feet each, and a portico on the main building of 40 feet front and 10 feet projection; a corresponding projection to be in the rear of the building, viz:



"WHETHER THE STUDENTS SHOULD STUDY IN PRIVATE OR CLASSROOMS?"

VII. It is the collegian's nature to be prone to idleness; to consider study as a severe infliction and the college discipline as a tyranny, which he constantly and ingeniously strives to elude. Even those who are urged to application by the laudable ambition of acquiring knowledge, college honors or the commendations of their fond parents, often look upon the day's recitation as a task which they endeavor to alleviate. Hence their frequent use of translations, readiness to avail themselves of the Professor's occasional mistakes in giving out the lesson; and those little associations when the preparation of the lesson is carried out in concert, each member contributing his share of lexical researches to the mass; or the best scholar in the company translating the text aloud for the accomodation [*sic*] of his artful classmates.

This natural tendency to self-indulgence is greatly abetted by the excessive liberty granted to our students. Provided they are in their rooms at a stated time, nothing more seems to be required of them. They may occupy the study hours in reading newspapers, dozing in a rocking chair or whittling soft pine sticks, no one will or can compel them to study. If they do not know their lesson, they get a bad mark, and in the opinion of the Faculty, stand low in the scale of scholarship. A very unenviable estimation, no doubt, but which has no influence whatever upon their ulterior conduct. They are too well aware

that a student is hardly ever dismissed from college on account of deficiency; or refused to be re-instated after an easy trial, when perchance he has been "disapproved." In some institutions it may even be said that the greatest danger he runs of losing his diploma is to be short of the money required to pay the college fees.

Such an unlimited freedom of action is altogether out of place within the walls of a college. Both the curriculum and the study must be compulsory and attended to. No door should be left open to shifting or evasions of any kind. Every expedient should be adopted to obtain the utmost degree of perseverance and continued attention; in fine, all inducements, all temptations towards inaction and idleness must by all means be removed. Close application, prolonged mental efforts should be enforced on students, whatever be their age, wealth, intellectual superiority or family connections. Is there anything more unjustifiable, more revolting, than to see a student placed above the rules of college, and setting at defiance both teachers and citizens, because he is the son of an influential man?

We repeat it: the spirit of competition or the hope of reward stimulates only a few; necessity works upon all. Young men naturally shrink from protracted and active thinking, but we firmly believe with Sir William Hamilton, that mental exertions, however difficult and irksome when first enforced on the student, after a while become easy and agreeable. "This effort," says the great Scotch metaphysician, "is at first and for a time painful, positively painful, in proportion as it is intense, and comparatively painful, as it abstracts from other and pleasurable activities. It is painful because its energy is imperfect, difficult, forced. But, as the effort is gradually perfected, gradually facilitated, it becomes gradually pleasing; and when finally perfected, that is, when the power is fully developed, and the effort changed into a spontaneity, becomes an exertion absolutely easy, it remains purely, intensely and alone insatiably pleasurable." *

* Discuss. "Oxford as it might be." 693.

Every class, except the Senior, is divided into four equal sections. Each one of these sections studies apart; thus forming little agglomerations of twelve students, more or less, who study in common, in a room separate from the rest, and under the responsible supervision of a Senior who prepares at the same time his own recitations. This Monitor who is taken from among the most respected and orderly in his class, is exempted from paying college fees of any kind; and, if necessary, is sworn to a faithful discharge of his monitorial duties. Like the sargeant at the Polytechnic School, or the *Obergeselle* at the Gymnasium of Pforta, he is responsible for whatever disorder occurs in the classroom; he reports the students who appear to muse, talk or remain idle instead of studying, and aids his companions in the

preparation of their lessons, either in answering questions or repeating occasionally the Professor's recommendations.

Each member of the Faculty visits in turn all the class-rooms during study hours.

The hours of recitation are for the first divisions of all classes, twenty minutes before Seven, and twenty minutes to Eleven A.M. and Four P.M.

The second divisions recite at Eight A.M., Two P.M., and twenty minutes past Five P.M. (as soon as the endowment will allow an increase of instructors, the different divisions of the four classes will all recite and study at the same hour.)

Two hours are allotted for the preparation of each lesson; the first of which they study in their own dormitories, at night; the second and the third, in their respective classrooms, in the manner above stated, and during the two hours preceding recitation.

At the ringing of the bell, they march out to the Recitation-room under the conduct of the monitors. The Professor awaits the class at the door; makes his entrance after the former has called the roll and repaired to his own recitation room; the whole class rise as he enters, and the recitation commences. It takes one hour and twenty minutes; these twenty minutes being devoted to a verbal exposition of the next lesson, and whatever remarks the Professor may deem necessary to elucidate the text-books; he then dismisses the class. Like the former public Reader at Oxford, he is required to remain for a certain time in the room after the lesson is over, in order to answer all pertinent questions that the monitors cannot explain, and which might be put to him by the students.

The Seniors study all their lessons in private; but recite in the same manner as the other classes.

The balance of the time is altogether at the student's disposal.

"WHETHER STUDENTS SHOULD BOARD AT PRIVATE HOUSES OR AT A STEWARD'S HALL?"

VIII. Experience has shown that it is impossible for a college of any importance to establish a Steward's Hall which can give permanent satisfaction to students, the faculty and parents. Most of the rebellions that formerly occurred in our literary institutions arose from the scantiness or inferior quality of the fare served up at the college tables. Even in Europe, where the students are certainly not too prone to sedition, when we hear of an academical rebellion, we may take it for granted that it has originated in the bad quality of the food; – which, indeed, is often intolerable.

At Harvard, from their first establishment in the year 1636, until 1849, when they were abolished, Commons have been an incessant source of disturbance, the trustees, worried by continual and just

complaints, erected some years since a new hall, and greatly improved both the fare and accommodations. Six months had not yet elapsed under this arrangement, "before," says President Josiah Quincy,[50] "an open revolt of the students took place on account of the provisions, which it took more than a month to quell." * Not long ago in the South

* Quincy's Hist. Harv. Univ. Vol. 11. 540.

Carolina College, within the precincts of which a Steward's Hall had been lately built at great expense, and where the fare was both clean and plentiful, the dissatisfaction soon became so great, that it manifested itself by an open sedition. After dismissing eighty or ninety students, the Faculty were at last obliged to render Commons optional and to license private boarding houses.

If we could, as at Cambridge or Oxford, where the tables are constantly supplied with such an abundance of wholesome and well prepared victuals, flanked by decanters of beer, port and sherry, that no Cantabrigian, from the supercilious Fellow Commoner to the modest and diligent *Sizar* who dines gratis on the remains of his table, is ever heard to utter a complaint, we would recommend, perhaps, the introduction of commons; unfortunately all the college records testify against such expectations. The experiment of satisfying all parties on that score, has been repeatedly tried, and the more so because at one time it was thought indispensable to the welfare of the institution that students should take their meals in common, and under the supervision of the professors; but the result of such attempts has always been either a transient success or a total failure. The bursarship invariably falls into the hands of a steward who is either incapable of providing for a good table, or too eager to become rich at the expense of the students' comfort and appetite.

At Yale, whilst the overseers earnestly endeavored to conciliate the students in their efforts towards improving commons, "the conviction was increasing that they were no essential part of college," to use President Woolsey's own words, "that on the score of economy they could claim no advantage; that they degraded the manners of students and fomented disorder. The experiment of suppressing them has hitherto been a successful one." † We may add, that this example has

† Presid. Woolsey. Hist. Disc. 1850.

been followed by the majority of colleges, North and South; steward's halls and commons have been abolished, "and with them have departed the discords, dissatisfactions and open revolts of which they were so often the cause."

[50] Josiah Quincy (1772-1864), president of Harvard College (1829-1845), author of *A History of Harvard University.*

So as to avoid all such difficulties, and believing that it is not necessary to restrict the student's liberty in such paltry matters as eating, either in private or in common, nay, that the stir and bustle generally exhibited at the table is beneficial to their digestion and comfort, we allow our pupils to take their meals at private boarding houses, – provided the house is licensed by the Faculty; a lady always presides at the table; no intoxicating liquor is permitted to be drunk in the establishment, and the misconduct of students, at any time in the house, is reported to the Faculty.

"WHETHER THE INSTITUTION SHOULD BE DENOMINATIONAL OR OTHERWISE?"

IX. We confess to be altogether unable to find a single plausible reason in behalf of denominational colleges; on the other hand, we deem it obvious that any institution purporting the education of Christian youths, should be free from sectarian influence.

Religion must be imparted to collegians, not, indeed, to promote the interest or progress of any particular creed, but to supply the most imperious of human wants; purify and direct all the aspirations and passions of man, and fit him for the discharge of those solemn duties which he owes to himself, to God and the Commonwealth.

Let the Bible then be taught and expounded within the walls of our college; let its truths and sublime precepts in all their lofty simplicity be inculcated on the youthful mind of our pupils; let them even exalt in hymns of praise and gratitude for the precious gifts which the Supreme Ruler has so bountifully bestowed on them; but let us beware of dogmatic teachings, lest we should entail a continuance of religious intolerance, and weaken the cause of Protestantism in perpetuating the strife of sects.

Our institution, therefore is not denominational. Clergymen of different denominations, taken from among the Faculty and Ministers in the neighborhood, are invited to preach by turns to the students.

All the classes are required to attend Divine Worship in the College Chapel on Sunday forenoon; and in the afternoon the Freshmen and Sophomores recite in the Historical parts of the Old and New Testaments.

The Juniors, in Wayland's Moral Science and the Seniors in Butler's Analogy.

"OTHER THINGS NECESSARY TO BE KNOWN AND DETERMINED IN ESTABLISHING AND CONDUCTING AN INSTITUTION."

X. 1. It is only just that in departing from the institution after having fulfilled all his collegiate duties, the students should receive a certificate of proficiency. In point of reason, a few lines written by the President, in the name of the Faculty, on a mere scrap of paper,

would answer as well as the most elaborate parchment; but, at times, especially when dealing with young men, we must make the part of human frailty. A diploma, nay, a title, is then necessary.

In itself, the word *"Baccalaurens,"* (if really derived from ***baccis laureis,***) may be properly affixed to a proficiency in sciences or belles-lettres, without requiring the bachelor to be at all versed in the humanities. The addition of the words *artium* or *literarum* to the title of bachelor, alone, on account of a long assimilation with a proficience in the Latin and Greek languages, might perhaps appear out of place if applied to our graduates. But, in using the term "Bachelor of Philosophy," we can give no just offence to the intractable votaries of Oxford, of Cambridge, of Yale; and will thus realize, we trust, one of the highest aspirations of American students.

2. The graduating class is arranged in four divisions. The first division consists of the two students who have obtained the highest marks throughout the course, in all the departments, except gymnastics and Drawing; – these being mechanical accomplishments, oftener the gift of nature than the result of study. The Faculty confers on one the First Honor, and on the other the Second Honor. The Honors are never divided between two or more individuals. We know that the difference between the candidates is rarely, if ever, so slight as not to admit of a distinction; and, if in some institutions they are awarded to four, five and sometimes six students, this discrepancy must be ascribed generally to a catering for popularity or a tame apprehension of causing dissatisfaction to the class. Strange to say, in the South Carolina College, it was just the reverse, – an unlucky division of the First Honor between two scholars, brought about the change we now advocate.

The First Honor man delivers the Salutatory oration, and the Second Honor man, the Valedictory to the graduating class.

The second division consists of the six students who next to the Honor men stood the highest throughout the course in one or more departments. The best scholar in English or in Mathematics, for instance, receiving a separate distinction. This discrimination applies to all the Departments. The member of this division who stands the highest in the Department of Modern languages, declaims an original French oration at Commencement.

The third division consists of four second-rate students, taken from among those who distinguished themselves in the six above named departments.

The second and third divisions, (except the members who stood first only in gymnastics or drawing), deliver speeches on commencement day.

The last division is composed of the remaining Seniors who have simply passed their last examination.

3. The hope of a palpable reward, however slight in point of pecuniary worth, is at times a powerful incentive to students. The sets of finely bound books or the simple wreath of ivy awarded at the Sorbonne are often more highly valued than the most pompous newspaper accounts of these literary contests. It is a natural ambition which urges the student to untiring efforts, and it frequently achieves what all other means failed to accomplish. We feel confident that in many instances the "Deturs" of the Hopkin's Foundation,[51] have been more productive of good than the well-deserved commendations which the Professors rarely fail to lavish on their favorite pupils.

We therefore add to the diplomas of the First and Second Honor men, a set of not less than twelve books, finely bound; and to those who received the distinctions, six handsome volumes, all selected from standard authors. The distinction man in Drawing gets a box of Mathematical instruments; the best gymnastician receives a pair of silver spurs.

We also award for the best English Composition– the competitors to be Freshmen, – a gold medal. For the best historical dissertation – the competitors to be Sophomores – a gold medal. For the best French composition – the competitors to be Juniors, – a gold medal. For the best essay on Moral or Intellectual Philosophy – the competitors to be Seniors, – a gold medal.

4. The roll is not called in the Chapel; the monitors report the members of their sections who are absent. Each section has a separate pew. Calling the roll aloud, will do for a barrack, but it is not becoming in a place of public worship.

5. The use of tobacco, in any way, is strictly prohibited. The faculty may remove from the institution any student who has thrice infringed this rule.

6. Our college confers no honorary degrees of any kind; nor are the graduates of three years standing, or more, entitled to the "Mastership." [52]

7. No student can be admitted to a partial course; – all the studies being obligatory.

---

[51] Edward Hopkins was a London merchant who came to this country in 1637, was several times governor of Connecticut, and made some important educational gifts to New England for the purpose of providing "some encouragement in those foreign plantations, for the breeding up of hopeful youths, both at the grammar school and college, for the public service of the country at future times." Part of the income of one of his gifts is still used at Harvard College for the purchase of books called "Deturs" for meritorious students. Detur is the Latin for "Let there be given."

[52] Before 1860, and perhaps later, the master's degree was often conferred on graduates of three years beyond the A.B. degree, upon the payment of a fee, no additional work or attendance being required. Professor Samuel Eliot Morison says (*Three Centuries of Harvard*, p. 35) that "in the nineteenth century it was a saying that all a Harvard man had to do for his Master's degree was to pay five dollars and stay out of jail." For a good account of the practice of awarding honorary degrees in the United States see Stephen E. Epler, *Honorary Degrees: A Survey of Their Use and Abuse* (Washington, D. C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1943).

CONCLUSION

No mercenary motive urged me to compose this essay. I was convinced that a thorough reform in our collegiate system was absolutely necessary to the progress and prosperity of our State; and in the hope that I might thus promote the welfare of North Carolina, I gladly availed myself of this opportunity of committing to writing the results of several years' observation and experience on the subject of collegiate education.

Whether the accompanying project will ever be carried out; and, if so, prove successful, is a question which time alone can solve. Suffice it to say, that I sincerely believe in its practicability; and to the stern critics who will not fail to censure the freedom of my remarks or carp at the boldness of the foregoing scheme, I can only answer, in the words of the eminent Doctor Thornwell,[53] that "in the effort to realize the conception of a perfect education, we are apt to forget that there is no such thing as absolute perfection in the matter, that all excellence is relative, and that the highest recommendation of any plan is that it is at once practicable and adjusted to the wants and conditions of those for whom it is provided." *

* Rev. Dr. Thornwell. Letter to Gov. Manning.

H. H.

State University. Aug. 10th 1855.

[53] The letter of President James H. Thornwell, of the South Carolina College, to Governor Manning of that state, on education, November, 1853, ranks high among the most important statements on that subject produced in the South prior to 1860. The General Assembly of South Carolina ordered the publication of 5,000 copies of the letter. In this letter Thornwell points approvingly to the report of Victor Cousin for which Harrisse apparently had high respect; and Thornwell's position that an educational institution should be non-denominational but not anti-Christian may have influenced Harrisse's views on this subject.

Correspondence of Thomas Jefferson and Francis Walker Gilmer, 1814-1826. Edited by Richard Beale Davis. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1946. Pp. 163. $2.50.)

The history of lost and found manuscripts is always intriguing to historians. Fifty-seven years ago William P. Trent used two bound volumes of Jefferson-Gilmer correspondence. Soon afterwards these volumes were sold—the Jefferson-to-Gilmer volume of fifteen letters intact, and the Gilmer-to-Jefferson volume of fifty letters broken up and sold as separate items. When Richard Beale Davis wrote, in 1939, his biography of Gilmer, *Francis Walker Gilmer: Life and Learning in Jefferson's Virginia,* he lamented the fact that these letters could no longer be found.

By a rare stroke of good fortune the Jefferson-Gilmer letterbook came to the University of Virginia library, and all fifty of the Gilmer-Jefferson letters mere reunited in the collections of the Missouri Historical Society in St. Louis.

Dr. Davis makes available here the sixty-five letters in these two volumes and some additional letters from Jefferson owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society. Fewer than a half dozen of the seventy-one had been previously published.

Francis Walker Gilmer, an able young Virginian, began his quest for knowledge in Jefferson's neighborhood of Albemarle and continued it at the College of William and Mary under the quickening guidance of the president of that institution, Bishop James Madison. Although the law was his profession, his interests, like those of his friend Jefferson, were universal.

Professor Davis's preface, introduction, textual and bibliographical note, and index are well done, and the format is pleasing.

The letters are well worth publishing for, although they add little to our knowledge of Jefferson, they furnish many additional details regarding the choice and background of the members of the first faculty of the University of Virginia, whom Gilmer had secured in Great Britain; and through the collection are interesting comments by two men of keen intellect on affairs—personal, local, and national. For example, in the fall of 1824 the aged Jefferson, looking forward with happy anticipation to a visit from Lafayette, wrote Gilmer that the enthusiastic recep-

tion of the general in America would have an excellent effect on the country since "every occasion which rallies us to a single object, rekindles our union in mutual affection and strengthens the habit of considering our country as one and indivisible." And Jefferson's formula, written in 1816, for the hospitable treatment of guests (though familiar to readers of the *Memorial Edition of the Works of Thomas Jefferson*) is worth repeating: "I wish you and he [Correa] could concert your movements so as to meet here, and that you would make this your headquarters. It is a good central point from which to visit your connections; and you know our practice of placing our guests at their ease, by showing them we are so ourselves and that we follow our necessary vocations, instead of fatiguing them by hanging unremittingly on their shoulders."

Richard L. Morton.

College of William and Mary,
Williamsburg, Va.

Lincoln and the South. By J. G. Randall (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1946. Pp. xii, 161. $1.50.)

The author of this little volume of thoughtful, cognate essays—the latest published volume of the Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History at Louisiana State University—has had exceptional training in preparation for writing authoritatively on the subject. Long a student of every aspect of Abraham Lincoln's life, he is the author of numerous books concerning him. He, without doubt, knows more about Lincoln than anyone has ever known; and in writing of him, with keen appreciation and warm admiration for the things that made him great, he has shown more poise, more balanced judgment, more scholarly objectivity than anyone who has attempted a serious appraisal of the war President. Neither here nor in his other writings is to be found any trace of the emotional idolatry and unthinking hero-worship which have tended to create a Lincoln legend, or, perhaps more properly, a Lincoln myth.

Four essays make up the volume. They are "When Lincoln Looked South," "Lincoln and the Border," "Design for Freedom," and "Design for Peace." Of these the first and last are given more extensive treatment than the others.

Lincoln's Southern birth is of course well known. It is perhaps not so widely known that his father, grandfather, and great grandfather were all Virginians; that from time to time, to the end of his life, he spoke of himself as a Southerner, and that he had at least one Virginia first cousin who fought four years in the Confederate Army. Mr. Randall points out also that even after the boy Lincoln crossed the Ohio at the age of seven, he was, as long as he remained in southern Indiana, in the midst of Southern influences, and that to a somewhat less degree perhaps, this was true after he went to Illinois. There, for example, his three law partners, Stuart, Logan, and Herndon, were Southern-born. So were his close associates, Browning, Speed, and Lamon; and his wife, Mary Todd, was a member of a notable and proud Kentucky family.

Nor was this all. Lincoln was in politics a typical Henry Clay Whig, though, to mark him as even more Southern his essential political views were those of Thomas Jefferson, the great Southern liberal.

With respect to opinion the same trend is to be noted. On the great sectional issue of slavery, he was never, until he was forced to adopt emancipation as a war policy, in any sense an abolitionist, and even then he had little in common with those who bore that title. Mr. Randall makes it clear that, while Lincoln detested slavery as an institution, he regarded the Negro about as any better-class Southern slave-owner did.

On the matter of state rights his position differed little from that occupied by countless thousands of Southern Unionists.

In the second essay Mr. Randall presents in a most illuminating way Lincoln's clear understanding of the sentiment of the border states, which made his policy towards them seem to him, in spite of bitter criticism and hostility in his party and in the North generally, of paramount importance to the preservation of the Union. Here was, in the author's words, "a broadly Southern region whose white population exceeded that of the Confederate South. Thought patterns, modes of life, tones of speech, and political attitudes in this great area give far more reason to call its men and women Southern than to call them anything else." To save them to the Union seemed to Lincoln the only way to save the Union, and today it is not to be doubted that he was right.

The author makes it clear that not all the results seemed good to Lincoln. Notable among these was the partition of Virginia. But, as he too often did, he yielded to Congress and thus to the radicals.

Not so, however, did he yield in the case of Fremont and Missouri. The state was the storm center of the border, and there real civil war raged. And there, too, was Fremont who "almost reached the stature of Poland as a trouble-making issue. He was more than a man. He was a name or a symbol. He was the darling of the abolitionists, the pet of the radicals. He was whitewashed by the congressional committee on the conduct of the war." And Lincoln unhorsed him, immediately to save Kentucky, and beyond that, probably, to preserve presidential independence.

The third essay deals with Lincoln's policy as President with respect to slavery. He sought at first to secure a gradual, voluntary, and compensated emancipation, to be followed by colonization. As is well known this failed of acceptance North and South, and finally with doubts and misgivings he issued a preliminary proclamation with limitations, followed three months later by the final one, declaring his action a war measure, and feeling it to be subject to an adverse decision of the Supreme Court. For this reason he advocated the passage of a constitutional amendment.

Mr. Randall points out another aspect of Lincoln's policy. It was moulded with full belief and intention that Southern co-operation should be encouraged, with the realization that much had to be done in the process of emancipation and afterwards to secure justice to white and black alike. But he shows clearly how the very enthusiasm and fervor with which emancipation came to be regarded soon resolved into fact. "To hold an emancipation meeting furnished a greater thrill than to welcome large numbers of freed Negroes into a Northern community with promises of economic opportunity." All of which gave to practical politicians an opportunity for achieving their selfish purposes in much the same fashion in which they had used the abolition and humanitarian movement prior to 1861. As Mr. Randall phrases it, "The concomitants of emancipation got

out of Lincoln's hands. He could issue his proclamation, but he could not control the radicals."

In the final essay Lincoln's magnanimous and statesmanlike intentions towards the defeated South are clearly and fairly stated, as is also what the author terms "a wretched sequel" to the agreement in Richmond with Judge John A. Campbell. "The Lincoln at Washington had to retreat from the generosity and practical wisdom of the Lincoln at Richmond." In other words Lincoln yielded to the radicals. Mr. Randall continues, "It is a great historical error to suppose that the radicals succeeded in their maneuvers only after Lincoln's death. The fact is that they were as determined and as potent in stopping Lincoln as they were later, with precisely the same intent, in stopping Johnson."

Badly as the South was treated in Reconstruction, Lincoln, with the aid of his successor, it is true, won one striking victory over the radicals: "The almost universal policy as to the prosecution of individuals who had supported the Lost Cause was non-vindictive and this non-vindictiveness was largely Lincoln's doing."

This volume, as is characteristic of Mr. Randall's works, is a distinct and valuable contribution to the historiography of the Civil War. It is not one primarily in facts; there are few stated or alluded to that are not familiar to the close student of Lincoln. The contribution is rather to be found in the thoughtful analysis of facts, movements, and events; in the application of the author's intimate acquaintance with Abraham Lincoln; and in the interpretation of all these things in their relation to his theme. No one has been better qualified for the task he undertook, and no one, conceivably, could have been more successful in handling it.

Apart from all these things the book is delightfully readable.

J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton.

The University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Carolina Chronicle, The Papers of Commissary Gideon Johnston, 1707-1716. By Frank J. Klingberg (Los Angeles: The University of California Press. 1946. Pp. x, 186. $2.00.)

Dependable documentation of the founding and growth of the American churches is still far from complete. This applies particularly to the Anglican movement in the colonial South. The

result is that Anglicanism of that period is generally misunderstood and is often unfairly criticized. Indeed, it is my impression that non-Anglicans of the revivalist and non-liturgical tradition have usually drawn upon biased or inadequate sources in their estimate of churchmen of the colonial establishments. Colonial clergymen, it is said, were usually trifling, irresponsible, devoid of true piety, and inefficient. Recent research by Brydon, Goodwin, and others makes these easy generalizations look questionable. Can it be that Anglicans of this period have been the victims of an *evangelical complex?*

The editor of *Carolina Chronicle* is clearing up the mists that have long obscured colonial Anglicanism. His *Anglican Humanitarianism in Colonial New York* (1940), and his *Appraisal of the Negro in Colonial South Carolina* (1941) have both illuminated important aspects of colonial religious life and thought. The present study contains documentary material of the greatest importance to students of colonial culture, and especially to historians of early Anglicanism.

These papers, covering almost a decade, throw a flood of light on the social and religious conditions of the colony. Already by the time Johnston arrived in the colony he found a mixture of racial stocks and religious loyalties, including Scotch Presbyterians, French Huguenots, and English Quakers. These and other groups confronted the commissary with a religious problem of great perplexity. His object was to convert the colony wholly to his own religious views, but in spite of great tact and vigilance he met with failure. Although the Church of England enjoyed the status of establishment, colonists of non-Anglican faith always outnumbered the Anglicans. Thus it is no surprise that the Anglicans became the object of jealousy and abuse on the part of the Dissenters.

These letters throw much light on the inner life of colonial Anglicanism. Here is evidence that the colonists were extremely sensitive to being dictated to by the mother country. Local vestrymen were jealous of their prerogatives, and they resented interference from the Bishop of London, or from his commissary. Only with the greatest tact could Johnston get the parishoners to follow his wishes. He himself constantly suffered the pangs of sickness and poverty. His wife had to supplement the purse by

"drawing pictures." More than once he longed for the homeland, and he begged the bishop to allow him to return to England and occupy even the poorest parish in his diocese.

This was not to be his fate, and he labored with utmost devotion among the colonists until 1716, when he met death by drowning.

Dr. Klingberg's editorial work on these papers is of exceptional merit, and his introduction to the volume is clear, discriminative, and illuminating. The calendar and the index add to the scholarly value of the monograph.

H. Shelton Smith.

Duke University,
Durham, N. C.

Theory and Practice in Historical Study: A Report of the Committee on Historiography. (New York: Social Science Research Council. 1946. Pp. xi, 177. $1.75.)

This little volume, prepared under the direction of the Committee on Historiography of the Social Science Research Council consisting of Merle Curti, chairman, Charles A. Beard, Shepard B. Clough, Thomas C. Cochran, Louis Gottschalk, Jeannette P. Nichols, Richard H. Shryock, and Alfred Vagts, was "designed to help clarify thought about history and to aid historians in teaching and writing it." It admits that historical research and writing may be approached with a scientific spirit and methodology but frankly asserts that "every written history, particularly that covering any considerable area of time and space, is a selection of facts made by some person or persons and is ordered or organized under the influence of some scheme of reference, interest, or emphasis—avowed or unavowed—in the thought of the author or authors." The volume contains a foreword by Chairman Curti, six chapters by different authors, and an index.

In the first chapter, Charles A. Beard presents "Grounds for a Reconsideration of Historiography." In the second chapter, "Controlling Assumptions in the Practice of American Historians," John Herman Randall, Jr., and George Haines, IV, survey "major influences, especially movements of thought, which have affected the study and writing of American history in the last three quarters of a century." They show that selection and interpretation were the practice of the "scientific" and "objective" founders

of the historical profession in America "who in theory denied it" and assert that the most important writings in American history since 1920 have employed "principles of selection and interpretation of which their authors are clearly conscious."

The third chapter, "What Historians Have Said About the Causes of the Civil War," by Howard K. Beale, is a case study of the causal factors in the writings of more than one hundred historians about the Civil War. The same facts have had different meanings to different historians, and it seems impossible to find answers "of scientific exactitude to questions about the history of human activities and motivations."

In the fourth chapter Charles A. Beard discusses "Problems of Terminology in Historical Writing. The Need for Greater Precision in the Use of Historical Terms" and Sidney Hook presents as illustrations the varied meanings and uses of a list of words.

The Committee on Historiography sets forth in the fifth chapter twenty-one "propositions" which it considers "as valid, as useful for the advancement of learning and as worthy of submission to the judgment of historians in general." Some of these propositions will provoke argument in the profession as they did in the Social Science Research Council and the group of seventy historians to which they were submitted.

The sixth chapter, an excellent "Selective Reading List on Historiography and Philosophy of History," by Ronald Thompson, and the index complete a provocative volume which deals a devastating blow to the old concept and ideal of objectivity in the theory and practice of historical study.

A. R. Newsome.

The University of North Carolina.
Chapel Hill, N. C.

HISTORICAL NEWS

The fiftieth annual convention of the North Carolina Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy was held at Wilmington on October the 10th. At the business session of the convention the following officers were elected: Mrs. A. L. Thompson of Greensboro, president; Mrs. W. L. Johnson of La Grange, first vice-president; Mrs. R. P. Reece of Winston-Salem, second vice-president; Mrs. P. S. Rothrock of Mount Airy, third vice-president; Mrs. A. T. St. Amond of Wilmington, historian; Mrs. Grady Ross of Charlotte, recorder of crosses; Mrs. Paul Fitzgerald, Pelham, recording secretary; and Miss Jeannette Biggs of Oxford, registrar. The Lane Banner awarded to the district turning in the best report was won by District No. 9 of the Cape Fear Chapter.

The Moore County Historical Association, on July the 18th, opened its museum of the Early Moore County Days. Mr. Malcom Fowler, past secretary of the North Carolina Society of County Historians, was guest speaker at the opening of the exercises. Mr. Leland McKeithen is president of the Association. The museum will be open daily to the public.

Riddle of the Lost Colony, by Melvin Robinson, a teacher in the public schools of Atlantic, North Carolina, was published in October by Owen G. Dunn & Co., New Bern. Mr. Robinson presents the theory that Cedar Island was the scene of the White Colony instead of Roanoke Island, as other historians have said. This book has provoked much discussion among the people interested in the history of the Lost Colony.

Dr. Benjamin Burks Hendrick, a native of Woodland, Georgia, and lately head of the department of history and political science of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina at Greensboro, died at West Dresden, Maine, October the 27th. Dr. Hendrick received his education from Mercer University and Columbia University. He taught at Columbia University from 1912 to 1923, coming to the Woman's College in 1923. Among his books were *The United States Since 1864,*

written in collaboration with L. M. Hacker in 1932, and *The South Looks at its Past,* co-authored in 1935 with A. M. Arnett, also a member of the staff of the department of history of the Woman's College.

The North Carolina Society of County Historians, on October the 6th, made a tour of Richmond County. The tour consisted of a visit to the Richmond Manufacturing Company, one of the first cotton mills in North Carolina, which began operation as early as 1837, was burned by Sherman's Army in 1865, was rebuilt as Great Falls in 1869, continued operation until the depression of the 1930's, and the building is still owned by the Gore family; General William Henry Harrington's estate, situated ten miles south of Rockingham, and originally containing 17,000 acres; the Harrington family cemetery; the brick mansion of General Alfred Dockery, which was built in the late 1830's; the Cartledge Creek Baptist Church, where a business session was held in the auditorium; and the old Scotch Fair Grounds at Ellerbe. Lunch was served at W. H. (Billy) Covington's Spring, four miles north of Rockingham.

At the business meeting, Dr. D. T. Smithwick of Louisburg was elected president; W. H. Covington of Rockingham was elected vice-president; and Mrs. Hal M. Worth of Asheboro was elected secretary-treasurer. The next meeting of the Society was scheduled to be held November the 16th at the Carolina Inn, Chapel Hill.

"The Mystery of Peter Ney," by Herbert Revenel Sass, appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post,* November 16th, 1946.

"Some of the Bundy Family as Pioneers in America," by Alice Ann Bundy, deals with the early Quaker settlers in the Albemarle section of North Carolina, particularly in the counties of Pasquotank and Perquimans. This article appeared in the *Indiana Magazine of History,* XLII (September, 1946), number 3.

On September the 29th, the Old Union Methodist Church, near Randleman, Randolph County, celebrated its 160th anni-

versary. Rev. S. M. Needham, pastor of the church, delivered the sermon at the morning meeting. At noon a picnic lunch was served, after which Dr. J. Lem Stokes, Jr., of Rock Hill, South Carolina, delivered the address. The church was first known as Bell's Meeting House—named in honor of William Bell—and was constructed in 1786. The church was not recorded as a denominational unit until 1802, when Bishop Francis Asbury preached there. The present structure was built in 1932 after a fire had destroyed the former building.

On September the 30th, in the State Capitol, Raleigh, Rear Admiral L. T. DuBose of Charleston, South Carolina, commander of the Sixth Naval District, presented to Governor R. Gregg Cherry on behalf of the state, a placque containing the war record of the United States Steamship *North Carolina* during World War II. A flag of the United States, which was carried by the *North Carolina* through the many battles in which it participated, was also presented to the state. Captain T. J. O'Brien, current skipper of the battleship; Mr. Josephus Daniels, former Secretary of the Navy; Lt. Commander R. L. Lowell, assistant gunnery officer; Chief Turret Captain E. H. Richardson; and Chief Boatswainsman Mate, V. J. Allen, participated in the program. The Battleship *North Carolina* participated in the following campaigns: The Guadalcanal-Tulagi landings; capture and defense of the Guadalcanal; Eastern Solomons; New Georgia; Gilbert Islands; Marshall Islands; Bismarck Archipelago; Asiatic-Pacific raids; Western New Guinea; Marianas; Leyte; Luzon; Iwo Jima; Okinawa; and Third Fleet supporting operations in the final phases of the war and the occupation of Japan.

The twenty-second annual meeting of the North Carolina Society of Mayflower Descendants was held at Pinehurst, November the 30th. The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: Mr. Ralph Bolles Coit of Greensboro, governor; Mr. Morton LaBaron Church of Charlotte, deputy governor; Mr. Gaylord O. Shepherd of Asheville, secretary-treasurer; Mr. Burnham S. Colburn of Biltmore Forest, historian; Mr. Samuel

J. Ewin, Jr., of Morganton, counselor; and Rev. Douglas L. Rights of Winston-Salem, elder. The following persons were renamed to their respective offices: Mrs. Thomas J. Byerly of Winston-Salem, Mrs. Curtis Bynum of Asheville, Mrs. Preston Wilkes, Jr., of Charlotte, and Dr. Wallace E. Caldwell of Chapel Hill. Officers of the General Society from North Carolina whose names were announced were Mr. Burnham S. Colburn of Biltmore Forest, former governor general, a member of the general board; Mrs. Charles S. Bryant of Biltmore Forest, deputy governor general; and Mrs. Stuart W. Cramer of Charlotte, assistant deputy general.

The Historical Society of North Carolina held its semi-annual meeting at Greensboro College on November the 30th. Dr. Adelaide L. Fries of Winston-Salem read a paper entitled "Life and Labors of Lewis David de Schweinitz, a Minister of the Moravian Church." The presidential address was presented by Dr. Alice M. Baldwin, dean of women at Duke University. At the business meeting the following officers were elected for the coming year: Dr. Archibald Henderson of Chapel Hill, president; Dr. M. L. Skaggs of Greensboro, vice-president; and Dr. Cecil Johnson of Chapel Hill, secretary-treasurer.

The Western North Carolina Annual Methodist Conference unveiled a marker on October 5th, in Beaverdam Valley near Asheville to the memory of Bishop Francis Asbury, who preached there 150 years ago. Dr. P. S. Kennett, retiring president of the Conference Historical Society, Rev. C. Moody Smith, pastor of the Asbury Memorial Church, Rev. W. G. McFarland, president of the Historical Society, Dr. E. P. Billups, chairman of the Conference Committee on Workers, Dr. Edgar H. Nease, president of the Southeastern Jurisdictional Historical Society, Dr. Elmer T. Clark, president of the Methodist Historical Association, and Rev. McMurray Ritchie, secretary-treasurer of the Conference Historical Society, participated in the program.

The Ney Memorial Association held a meeting at the Third Creek Presbyterian Church in Rowan County on November the 17th, and discussed plans for the erection of a memorial wall at the cemetery where Peter Stuart Ney is buried. Rev. M. R.

Williams, Jr., of Davidson County, formerly a navy chaplain, spoke at the morning services. A picnic dinner was served on the grounds, after which a business session was held.

Mars Hill College celebrated Founder's Day, October the 12th. Founder's Day is observed annually at the college on the birthday of Edward Carter, who gave the four acres of land on which the first building of the college was erected in 1856. The college opened in 1856 as the French Broad Baptist Institute, and W. A. G. Brown was the first president. The General Assembly in 1859 chartered it as Mars Hill College. Most of the college buildings were burned during the Civil War.

On October 9 the North Carolina Society of the United States Daughters of 1812 held the fall business meeting at the Cape Fear Hotel, Wilmington. On the same day the North Carolina Society of the Daughters of American Colonists held the fall business meeting in the Education Building of St. Paul's Lutheran Church, and the North Carolina Society of the Daughters of Colonial Wars held a business session at the Cape Fear Hotel. In the evening a joint banquet of the several Societies was held in St. Paul's Lutheran Church. The program consisted chiefly of music.

Among those present at the annual session of the Southern Historical Association at Birmingham, Alabama, October 31-November 2, were Drs. Fletcher M. Green, Hugh T. Lefler, L. C. MacKinney and J. Carlyle Sitterson of the University of North Carolina, Drs. Nannie May Tilley, Ernest W. Nelson, and Joseph C. Robert of Duke University, Dr. James W. Patton of State College and Dr. Christopher Crittenden of the National Archives. During the meeting Dr. J. Carlyle Sitterson read a paper "Lewis Thompson, Carolinian, and his Louisiana Plantation of 1848-1888; A Study in Absentee Ownership," Dr. Hugh T. Lefler read a paper "Travelers in the English Continental Colonies, 1607-1750," Dr. L. C. MacKinney read a paper "The Renaissance: A Problem Child for Historians," Dr. Nannie May Tilley read a paper "Daniel Lee, and Scientific Agriculture in the South," and

Dr. Ernest W. Nelson read a paper "The Renaissance: Concept and Epoch." Dr. Joseph C. Robert lead a discussion group on "The Free Negro," Dr. Christopher Crittenden presided at a round table of discussion of book reviews, and Dr. James W. Patton gave the annual report of the secretary-treasurer. Dr. Nannie May Tilley was elected to membership on the executive council for the three-year term ending with 1949.

Dr. Cecil Johnson of the department of history at the University of North Carolina has been promoted to a full professorship.

On December 5 Dr. R. D. W. Connor, Craige professor of jurisprudence and history, addressed the faculty and students of the University of North Carolina and townspeople of Chapel Hill, on the subject of "The Founding and Development of the University of North Carolina."

Dr. Alice Barnwell Keith of Meredith College has been promoted to associate professor of history.

Dr. Lillian Parker Wallace, acting head of the department of history at Meredith College, has been promoted to associate professor of history.

Dr. Alice Barnwell Keith has just published "The Baptists and Reconstruction in South Carolina, 1865-1876," in the October, 1946, issue of the *Review and Expositor.*

The fourth revision of *A Syllabus of the History of Civilization,* by Drs. Lillian Parker Wallace and Alice Barnwell Keith, has just been published by the Technical Press.

Drs. Bayrd Still, Arthur Ferguson, and Richard L. Watson, who have been on leave of absence in the Army Air Corps, and for the past several years have been assigned to the Historical Section of the Air Corps in Washington, D. C., have resumed

their appointments at Duke University. Dr. Still has been promoted from assistant professor to associate professor of history.

Dr. Harold T. Parker has been promoted from instructor to assistant professor of history at Duke University.

Dr. Robert H. Woody of the history department of Duke University has been granted a sabbatical leave for the year 1946-47.

Dr. Paul H. Clyde of the history department of Duke University has been granted a sabbatical leave for the second semester of the academic year 1946-47.

Dr. Dorothy M. Quynn of Duke University, who has been on leave of absence for the past two years, has returned to the department of history.

Dr. Gilbert L. Lycan, formerly of Queens College, is now head of the department of history and political science at John B. Stetson University, Deland, Florida. Dr. Lycan recently received a grant of $1,000 from the Carnegie Endowment to enable him to complete his book on the foreign policy of Alexander Hamilton.

Dr. Algie I. Newlin, professor of history and political science, Guilford College, has been granted a leave of absence in order that he may reestablish the Friends' Center in Geneva, Switzerland. This work, under the auspices of the Friends Service Committee of London Yearly Meeting and the American Friends Service Committee, will support and strengthen Swiss Quakerism, will include work with students in Geneva, and will maintain contacts with other Friends' Centers abroad. Dr. Newlin's family will accompany him. They intend to leave February 1, and remain away three semesters.

Miss Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert, associate professor of English at Guilford College, recently published two articles. These articles, based on the early history of Quakers in the Guilford College community, were "First Friends in New Garden in North Caro-

ina," *Bulletin of the Friends Historical Association,* vol. 34, o. 2 (1945), and "Quaker Migration to the Western Waters," *East Tennessee Historical Publication,* no. 18 (1946).

Dr. Catherine E. Boyd, assistant professor of history at the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, is uthor of an article entitled "The Beginnings of the Ecclesiasical Tithe in Italy," *Speculum,* April, 1946 (published by the Mediaeval Academy of America, Cambridge, Massachusetts).

"The Citizen and the Social Sciences," by Dr. Richard Barolph, assistant professor of history, the Woman's College of he University of North Carolina, appeared in *Social Education,* November, 1946.

Miss Jessie Sue Bynum has accepted a position with the Deartment of History of Queens College. Miss Bynum, a graduate f Huntingdon College, Montgomery, Alabama, has completed er residence requirements at the University of Chicago for a h.D. in history, and comes to Queens from Wesleyan College, Macon, Georgia, where she was a member of the history faculty or two years.

On December 10 The North Carolina Society of the Palatines eld its semi-annual meeting at Pine Lodge in Jacksonville. fter enjoying a picnic lunch, a tour was made of Camp ejeune. New members were reported from North Carolina, irginia, and Massachusetts.

The First Methodist Church of Lenoir observed its 100th nniversary, December 22. Dr. Litaker, pastor of the church ince 1917, and Bishop Clare Purcell delivered the centennial nessages. The choir rendered special music at the celebration.

The State Literary and Historical Association held its fortyixth annual session in Raleigh, December 6, at the Sir Walter Hotel. At the morning session Dr. Nannie M. Tilley, Duke University, read a paper entitled "Agitation Against the American Tobacco Company in North Carolina, 1890-1911." Mrs.

Bernice Kelly Harris, a novelist, gave a talk entitled, "Layman's View of the Book Business," and Mr. LeGette Blythe, editorial writer of *The Charlotte Observer*, reviewed the books submitted in the Mayflower Cup contest. Following these papers was a business meeting, at which the following officers were elected for the ensuing year: Dr. Carlyle Campbell, Raleigh, president; Mr. Carl Sandburg, Flat Rock, Mrs. Charlotte Hilton Green, Raleigh, and Mrs. Lawrence Sprunt, Wilmington, vice-presidents; and Mrs. Ernest A. Branch, Raleigh, acting secretary-treasurer. At this meeting a motion was made by Mrs. Charles A. Cannon, and seconded by Miss Gertrude Weil, that the North Carolina Society of County Historians be invited to meet with the State Literary and Historical Association and allied societies at the 1947 annual sessions. This motion was unanimously carried.

At the evening session Mr. Ralph B. Coit, Greensboro, governor of the Mayflower Society of North Carolina, presented the Mayflower Society award to Miss Josephina Niggli, Chapel Hill, for her book, *Mexican Village*, which was judged the best book published during the year by a resident of North Carolina. Instead of presenting a replica of the Mayflower Society Cup, a check for $50.00 was presented to Miss Niggli in lieu thereof. Dr. Robert B. House, Chapel Hill, president of the Association, delivered his presidential address entitled "On Autobiography." Following this address, Dr. Edwin Mims, Vanderbilt University, delivered the principal address entitled "Semi-Centennial Survey of North Carolina's Intellectual Progress." Following this address a reception was held for members and guests of the Association.

The North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities held its sixth annual session in Raleigh, at the Sir Walter Hotel, December 5. Mrs. Charles A. Cannon, Concord, brought presidential greetings, and Mr. Paul Green, Chapel Hill, presented life membership certificates to those who had become life members since the last annual meeting. Other persons on the program were: Mr. J. C. B. Ehringhaus, Raleigh, who read a paper entitled "Ancient Albemarle"; Mrs. Duncan Winston

Wales, Edenton, who read a paper, "The Old Court House Speaks"; Mr. John W. Graham, Edenton, who read a paper entitled "The King's Justice and Colonial Law (as Administered in Chowan County Court House)"; Mr. Josephus Daniels, Raleigh, who read a paper entitled "Joseph Hughes, the Signer"; Mrs. Inglis Fletcher, Edenton, who read a paper, "The Inheritors"; and Mrs. Susan H. Nash, Williamsburg, Virginia, and Boston, Mass., who read a paper, "Furniture of the 18th Century." Following these papers, a reception was held for members and guests of the Society. At the business meeting of the Society the same officers were re-elected for the ensuing year, with the exception of Mrs. Ernest A. Branch, Raleigh, who had been acting secretary. Mrs. Branch was elected secretary-treasurer for the coming year.

On December 5, the Archaeological Society of North Carolina held its annual meeting at the Sir Walter Hotel in Raleigh. Mr. T. M. N. Lewis, head of anthropology of the University of Tennessee, read a paper entitled "In the Beginning," and Reverend Douglas L. Rights, president of the Wachovia Historical Society, Winston-Salem, gave a review of books. Later a tea was given at the Woman's Club of Raleigh in honor of the allied societies. At the business meeting the following officers were elected for the ensuing year: Dr. John Gillan, Chapel Hill, president; Mr. H. M. Doershuk, Badin, vice-president; Dr. Raymond Adams, Chapel Hill, secretary-treasurer; and Reverend Douglas L. Rights, Winston-Salem, editor. The following persons were elected to the executive committee: Dr. C. Sylvester Green, Durham, Mr. J. M. Cutliff, Raleigh, and Dr. W. L. Stinespring, Durham.

On December 4, the North Carolina State Art Society held its twentieth annual session at the Sir Walter Hotel in Raleigh. Mr. J. C. B. Ehringhaus presided at the meeting. Mrs. Katherine Pendleton Arrington, Warrenton, brought presidential greetings. Mr. Lloyd Goodrich, research curator of the Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, delivered a lecture entitled "Winslow Homer" and illustrated the lecture with colored lantern slides. After this lecture awards were presented

for the annual prizes. Mr. Kenneth Evett, Winston-Salem, won the first prize for his painting, "The Carpenter," Miss May Leath Thomas, Athens, Georgia, was awarded second prize for her painting, "Muted Birds," and Miss Harriet Bogart, Richmond, Virginia, was awarded the third prize for her "Old Richmond." The same evening a reception and a preview of an exhibition were held in the North Carolina State Art Society galleries in the Library Building. At the business meeting the following officers were elected for the ensuing year: Governor R. Gregg Cherry, honorary president; Mrs. Katherine Pendleton Arrington, Warrenton, president; Miss Lucy Cherry Crisp, Greenville, Mr. John Allcott, Chapel Hill, and Mrs. James Latham, Greensboro, vice-presidents; Mrs. Henry M. London, Raleigh, executive secretary; and Mrs. Betsey London Cordon, Raleigh, treasurer.

On December 6, the thirty-fifth annual session of the North Carolina Folk-Lore Society was held in Raleigh. Dr. A. P. Hudson, Chapel Hill, read a paper "Songs of the North Carolina Regulators." Dr. Newton I. White, Durham, made a report on "Progress toward Publication of the Frank C. Brown Collection." Miss Josephina Niggli, Chapel Hill, read a paper, "Some Folkways of a Mexican Village," and Mr. Marshall Ward, Balm, read a paper entitled "Jack Tales." After these papers a business session was held at which the following officers were elected: Mr. J. D. Clark, Raleigh, president; Dr. Newton I. White, Durham, Dr. Cratis D. Williams, Boone, Dr. Richard Jente, Chapel Hill, vice-presidents; and Dr. A. P. Hudson, Chapel Hill, secretary-treasurer.

Mrs. Eileen Northcutt of Cary on November 1 joined the staff of the State Department of Archives and History. She is stenographer-secretary in the Division of Publications.

Miss Frances Harmon of Statesville on December 1 joined the staff of the State Department of Archives and History. She is a graduate of Pfeiffer Junior College, Misenheimer, North Carolina, and Furman University, Greenville, South Carolina, with majors in history and political science.

The Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, announces that it is prepared to provide a limited number of Grants-in-Aid of Research in the field of early American history and culture to the year 1815. These grants will be available to those who have definite projects of research in progress. Applications must be received by April 15, 1947; announcements of awards will be made June 1, 1947. Information and forms for application may be procured from the director of the Institute, Goodwin Building, Williamsburg, Virginia.

Books received include Lillian Adele Kibler, *Benjamin F. Perry, South Carolina Unionist* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1946); *The Duke Endowment Year Book No. 14, Including Annual Reports of the Hospital and Orphan Sections* (Charlotte, North Carolina: The Duke Endowment, 1946); Jonathan Daniels, *Frontier on the Potomac* (New York, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1946); Grace Gardner Griffin, *A Guide to Manuscripts Relating to American History in British Depositories Reproduced for the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress* (Washington, D. C.: The Library of Congress, 1946); Louisa Frederick Hays, *Hero of Hornet's Nest, A Biography of Elijah Clark, 1733-1799* (New York, New York: The Hobson Book Press, 1946); George Washington Paschal, *A History of Printing in North Carolina, A Detailed Account of the Pioneer Printers, 1749-1800 and of the Edwards & Broughton Company, 1871-1946, Including a Brief Account of the Connecting Period* (Raleigh, North Carolina: Edwards & Broughton Company, 1946); Frank Gouldsmith Speck, *The Iroquois, A Study in Cultural Evolution* (Bloomfield Hills, Michigan: Cranbrook Institute of Science, 1945); Kemp Plummer Battle, *Memories of an Old-Time Tar Heel* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1945); Stefan Lorant, *The New World, The First Pictures of America. . . .* (New York, New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1946); A. J. Hanna, *Recommended Readings on Florida* (Winter Park, Florida: Union Catalog of Floridiana, 1946); Blake McKelvey, *The Rochester Historical Society Publications Fund Series, XXIII: Part I—The Life and Work of Jane Marsh Parker, Part*

II—Water Power Documents (Rochester, New York: The Rochester Historical Society, 1946); Ollinger Crenshaw, *The Slave States in the Presidential Election of 1860* (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1945); Roscoe Collins Clark, *Three Score Years and Ten, A Narrative of the First Seventy Years of Eli Lilly and Company, 1876-1946* (Indianapolis, Indiana: Eli Lilly and Company, 1946); and Brainerd Dyer, *Zachary Taylor* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1946).

CONTRIBUTORS OF THIS ISSUE

Mr. A. Laurance Aydlett is the director of information service of the State Board of Public Welfare, Raleigh, N. C.

Dr. Charles W. Turner is an instructor of history in Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Virginia.

Dr. Edgar W. Knight is Kenan professor of education at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOLUME XXIV APRIL, 1947 NUMBER 2

NORTH CAROLINA BAPTISTS AND SLAVERY

By WILLIE GRIER TODD

Differences of opinion over the question of slavery brought significant changes in the organization of the Baptist denomination of the United States. North Carolina Baptists moved more slowly toward the idea of the formation of a Southern Baptist Convention (1845) than did those of Virginia and the Lower South, manifested less ardor in the growing spirit of Southern nationalism, and were less willing to withdraw from the Union in 1860. But, when circumstances demanded a decision, North Carolina cast its lot with the other Southern states in defense of its institutions—its "way of life." And North Carolina Baptists concurred in and supported the decision.

Northern and Southern Baptists, slaveholder and non-slaveholder, met in the City of Philadelphia, May 18-25, 1814, and joined together in the formation of the General Missionary Convention of the Baptist Denomination in the United States of America for Foreign Missions, commonly called the Triennial Convention. The purpose of the convention, as stated in the constitution, was to carry "into effect the benevolent Intentions" of the Baptists "by organizing a plan for eliciting, combining, and directing the Energies of the whole Denomination in one sacred effort for sending the glad tidings of Salvation to the Heathen, and to nations destitute of pure Gospel-light." Dr. Richard Furman of South Carolina was elected president[1] and James A. Randaldson of North Carolina was among the official delegates to the first convention.[2]

The organization having been effected, the convention elected a board of commissioners, "agreeably to the Constitution," to be

[1] *Proceedings of The Baptist Convention for Missionary Purposes; Held in Philadelphia, In May [18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25], 1814*, p. 3. (Hereinafter cited as *Minutes Baptist Triennial Convention.*)

[2] *Minutes Baptist Triennial Convention*, p. 7.

called the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions for the United States. Randaldson was named one of the commissioners.[3] The newly elected board met on May 24, 1814, to elect officers. Richard Furman was chosen president, but he declined the office on account of the "great distance" of South Carolina "from the seat of the Board." [4]

At the formation of the Triennial Convention in 1814, Northern Baptists were indifferent toward the institution of slavery that existed among Southern Baptists. As the number of slaveholders among Baptists increased, pro-slavery sentiment in the South became more and more pronounced while antislavery sentiment became less and less noticeable. In the North the opposite trends were taking place. Antislavery sentiment was gaining in strength and proslavery sentiment was declining. These opposing trends were destined to bring significant changes in the societies of the American Baptists.

Slavery ultimately became an issue in the Triennial Convention and the Baptist boards, but North Carolina Baptists moved more slowly in breaking away from the convention and took less part in the formation of the Southern Baptist Convention than did the Baptists of Virginia and the Lower South. North Carolina Baptists, however, once convinced that there was no alternative for Southern Baptists under the circumstances but the formation of a Southern convention, voiced a "cordial" approval of the organization formed in Augusta and gave it their wholehearted support.

In 1840 the Antislavery Baptist Convention met in New York at the same time the Baptist boards were meeting. Elon Galusha, president of the Baptist Antislavery Convention, was also a vice-president of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Board.[5] At the meeting in 1840 the Antislavery Convention issued an address to the Southern Baptist churches.[6] The address was signed by the president.[7]

As a result of the address to Southern Baptists, the North Carolina Baptist Convention passed resolutions expressing their "views and feelings" concerning the "movements of the Baptist

[3] *Minutes Baptist Triennial Convention*, pp. 3, 10.
[4] *Minutes Baptist Triennial Convention*, p. 12.
[5] *The Recorder and Southern Watchman*, July 4, 1840; *American Baptist Board of Foreign Missions.—Minutes of the Twenty-Sixth Annual Meeting [April 29, 30, 1840]*, p. 1. (Hereinafter cited as *Minutes American Baptist Foreign Mission Board.*)
[6] *The Recorder and Southern Watchman*, May 16, 1840.
[7] Mary Burnham Putnam, *The Baptists and Slavery, 1840-1845*, p. 21.

Abolitionists of the North." It was the "opinion" of the convention that the "movements of the northern abolitionists" were "uncalled for," "schismatical, and mischievous" in tendency. The convention expressed "regret" for the "position" taken by "certain abolitionists connected with the Baptist church, in announcing a sentiment of non-fellowship against their brethren of the South" and debarring Southern ministers from their "pulpits and communion tables." "But," said North Carolina Baptists, "as their [the Antislavery Baptists'] position has been taken, we consider them alone responsible for the separation which must thereby be effected."[8]

North Carolina Baptists expressed the opinion that it was "due to the South" on the part of their "northern brethren, to disavow in some form all concurrence" in the "schismatical movements of the abolitionists." They feared that "unless some such disavowal" were made, the existing "friendly relations" between Northern and Southern Baptists would be "seriously endangered." They believed that the "remedy," a disavowal of the movements of the abolitionists, rested "mainly" on Northern Baptists and that the continued friendly and "effective" relations between Northern and Southern Baptists depended upon the "seasonable application of the remedy."[9]

Thomas Meredith refused to print the address of the Antislavery Convention to Southern Baptists in the *Recorder* on the ground that "documents of no sort in favor of the slaveholder" could "get admission" into the Northern papers.[10]

After the Baptist Antislavery Convention's declaration of non-fellowship with Baptist slaveholders, Southern Baptists became apprehensive of what might take place at the next meeting of the Triennial Convention scheduled to meet in Baltimore in April, 1841. Basil Manly, after conferring with John L. Dagg, issued a call for a convention of the Southern delegates who

---

8 *Proceedings Of The Tenth Annual Meeting Of The Baptist State Convention Of North Carolina, Held At Johnson Liberty, Johnson County, N. C., Oct. 2-5, 1840*, p. 5. (Hereinafter cited as *Minutes North Carolina Baptist State Convention.*)

9 *Minutes North Carolina Baptist State Convention* (1840), pp. 5, 6; *Minutes Of The Cape Fear Baptist Association, At Cross Roads, Columbus County, North Carolina, October 9th, 10th, 11th and 12th, 1840*, p. 4 (hereinafter cited as *Minutes Cape Fear Association); Minutes Of The Goshen Association, Held At Concord Meeting House, Duplin County, N. C. On the 2nd, 3rd, & 4th days of October, 1840*, p. 3 (hereinafter cited as *Minutes Goshen Association*); *Minutes Of The Raleigh Baptist Association Held At New Hope, M. H., Wake County, North Carolina, October 10th, 11th & 12th, 1840*, p. 4 (hereinafter cited as *Minutes Raleigh Association*).

10 *The Recorder and Southern Watchman*, July 4, 1840.

were to attend the Triennial Convention, to meet prior to the Triennial Convention for the "distinct and sole purpose of conferring together on the slavery question, and determining on the position proper to be assumed by them, when meeting their brethren in the General Convention."[11]

When the Southern delegates met in convention a paper written by Spencer Cone was read which had been "voluntarily presented by the leading members of the Board, as expressing their views in relation to the course of the Abolitionists." (Cone, of New York, had been president of the Triennial Convention for nine years, 1832-1841.) "In connection with this paper, the belief was expressed that the leading abolitionists would be left out of the various Boards." The paper was "deemed satisfactory for the present," and the convention of the Southern delegates "adjourned to assemble at the call of the President, at the close of the meetings [of the Triennial Convention], when, [and] if the elections" had "resulted in the choice of objectionable officers and managers."[12]

The Board of Managers issued an address, November 2, 1840, which declared its position to be neutral. The board reaffirmed its position in a report to the Triennial Convention in 1841. The convention approved the report and had the address published in the minutes.[13] The address stated that the "view entertained by the Board as to the relevancy" of the "subject" of slaveholding was that it did "not come under their cognizance in any form; nor," they added, "within the scope of the General Convention, with the present constitution."[14]

J. J. Finch, the only delegate from North Carolina who attended the Triennial Convention in April, 1841, reported to the North Carolina State Convention in October of the same year that a "large majority" of the "body" of the Triennial Convention were "entirely opposed to making Slave-holding a test of christian fellowship," and that he had witnessed the "strongest attachment between the northern and southern members of the Baptist Church."[15]

---

11 *The Recorder and Southern Watchman*, November 28, 1840.
12 *The Recorder and Watchman*, May 15, 1841, quoting the *Religious Herald*.
13 *Minutes Baptist Triennial Convention* (1841), pp. 24, 25.
14 *Minutes Baptist Triennial Convention* (1841), pp. 79-81.
15 *Minutes North Carolina Baptist State Convention* (1841), p. 6.

Thomas Meredith said that he had "purposely abstained" from any remarks on the proceedings at Baltimore until the "different and opposing accounts" had come in and had been "duly compared" with each other so that he "might safely presume" that he had been "fully and correctly informed on every important particular." He explained that it was "no part" of his "purpose" to disturb the "treaty of peace" which seemed "to have been enacted between the Northern and Southern delegation." Whatever may be his own "views of this compact, or of the principles on which this compact was based," he presumed it contained the "best terms that could be obtained" and, as it had been "duly ratified by the formal announcement" of the Southern delegation, he was "entirely willing that its efficacy should be tried." He trusted that what he said would not be "so construed to imply opposition" on his part. Meredith thought that the difficulty of the South, in regard to what had taken place at the Triennial Convention, was that "instead" of the Northern Baptists "denouncing" abolitionism, the "acting boards" had "declared their determination to maintain neutral ground."[16]

The Baptist Antislavery Convention appointed a "temporary" Provisional Foreign Mission Committee in 1842 whose purpose, as stated later, was "solely with the hope of a thorough reform in the Triennial Convention."[17] The Provisional Committee issued a circular addressed to the antislavery Baptists in the United States. The "special object" of the circular was to ask the views of the antislavery Baptists "in relation to the course to be pursued" at the meeting of the Triennial Convention in April, 1844. More specifiically, what should be "demanded of the Triennial Convention in order that the abolitionists may continue in it?" The circular stated that the "Events which occurred at Baltimore and previously" had proved "beyond all doubt" that Southern Baptists would not co-operate with those of the North, "except on the ground of being recognized as brethren in good standing!" The Provisional Committee recognized:

---

[16] *The Recorder*, June 12, 1841.
[17] *The Recorder*, March 23, 1844; September 21, 1844.

three ways in which our feelings can be satisfied. Either, 1. By the slaveholders retiring from the Convention; or, 2. By a mutual separation and a division of the funds and missionaries, allowing the South to take all those who may prefer their patronage; or 3. By a change in the constitution of the Convention; which shall make freedom from the sin of oppression, one of the essential qualifications for membership.[18]

Meredith said "it is perhaps a duty which we owe our readers, and the cause generally, to insert" the circular in the *Recorder*. This he did on March 23, 1844.

The demands of the Provisional Committee of the Baptist Antislavery Convention caused considerable uneasiness among Northern and Southern Baptists. The Triennial Convention met in Philadelphia, April 24-30, 1844. In an effort to forestall any dissention in the convention, Reverend George B. Ide of the First Baptist Church, Philadelphia, introduced the following resolution:

> Whereas there exists, in various sections of the country, an impression that our present organization involved the fellowship of the institution of domestic slavery, or of certain associations which are designed to oppose that institution, —
>
> Therefore *Resolved*, That, in cooperating together as members of this Convention in the work of Foreign Missions, we disclaim all sanction, either express [*sic*] or implied, whether slavery or of anti-slavery; but as individuals, we are perfectly free both to express and to promote, elsewhere, our own views on these subjects in a Christian manner and spirit.[19]

The resolution was "adopted with great unanimity."[20]

Meredith says that the adoption of the resolution disclaiming all sanction of "slavery or of anti-slavery" was passed with "only a dissenting voice," and was "generally hailed as a harbinger of peace"; but instead, it "was but the beginning of evil — but the entering of the abolition wedge."[21]

Meredith's allusion to the "beginning of evil" referred to the discussions that took place in the meetings of the American Baptist Home Mission Society which convened between sessions of the Triennial Convention. The meetings were monopolized

---

[18] *The Recorder*, March 23, 1844.
[19] *Minutes Baptist Triennial Convention* (1844), pp. 15, 16.
[20] *Minutes Baptist Triennial Convention* (1844), p. 15.
[21] *The Recorder*, August 3, 1844.

by a discussion of the slavery question. At the first meeting of the board, the day before the Triennial Convention assembled, slaveholding became the subject of discussion. Samuel Adlam of Maine introduced the subject by a motion which was amended by Richard Fuller, striking out all after the word *Resolved.* The resolution reads as follows:

Whereas, the question has been proposed—whether the Board would or would not employ slaveholders as missionaries of this Society; and whereas, it is important that this question should receive a full and unequivocal answer, therefore

Resolved, That as the Constitution of the Home Mission Society clearly defines its object to be the promotion of the Gospel in North America, and as it is provided by such Constitution that any auxiliary society may designate the object to which the funds contributed by it shall be applied and also claim a missionary or missionaries, according to such funds, and select the field where such missionary or missionaries shall reside,

Therefore, 1st: That to introduce the subjects of slavery or anti-slavery into this body, is in direct contravention of the whole letter and purpose of the said Constitution, and is moreover, a most unnecessary agitation of topics with which the Society has no concern, over which it has no control, and as to which its operations should not be fettered, nor its deliberations disturbed.

2: That the Home Mission Society being only an agency to disburse the funds confided to it, according to the wishes of the contributors, therefore, our co-operation in this body does not imply any sympathy either with slavery or anti-slavery, as to which societies and individuals are left as free and uncommitted as if there were no such co-operation. [22]

The resolution was adopted by a vote of 123 to 61. [23]

Immediately following the adoption of this resolution John S. McGinnis of New York proposed the following resolution:

Resolved, That a committee be appointed, consisting of three from the north, three from the south and three from the west, with the President of the Society as chairman, to take into consideration the subject of an amicable dissolution of the Society, or to report such alterations in the Constitution as will admit of the co-operation of brethren who cherish conflicting views on the subject of slavery. [24]

---

[22] *Twelfth Report Of The American Baptist Home Mission Society Presented By The Executive Board At The Anniversary In Philadelphia, April 23, 1844, With The Treasurer's Report,* pp. 5, 6. (Hereinafter cited as *Minutes American Baptist Home Mission Society.*)

[23] *Minutes American Baptist Home Mission Society,* p. 6.

[24] *Minutes American Baptist Home Mission Society,* p. 6.

The resolution was adopted and a committee was appointed to report at the next annual meeting, April, 1845.

The appointment of the committee to consider altering the constitution or dissolving the Home Mission Society called forth a flood of protest from North Carolina Baptists. They expressed "regret" at the appointment of the committee and hoped that "no action" would be taken to "accomplish either" a change in the constitution or the dissolution of the society.[25] The Beulah Association gave as one reason for not altering the constitution of the Home Mission Society that, if they were "rightly informed," "none except the leading abolitionists" had "ever wished the constitution altered." [26]

The action of the Triennial Convention in April, 1844, on the question of slavery supposedly settled that matter among the Baptists. The Foreign Mission Board had declared its position to be neutral.[27] The Triennial Convention had disclaimed "all sanction, either express or implied, whether slavery or of anti-slavery," in "cooperating together" in the "work of Foreign Missions," and had declared that "as individuals" they were "perfectly free both to express and to promote, elsewhere," their "own views on these subjects in a Christian manner and spirit." [28] And the Home Mission Society had taken the position that "to introduce the subjects of slavery or anti-slavery" into that body was in "direct contravention of the whole letter and purpose" of the constitution.[29]

The Executive Committee of the Georgia Baptist Convention made application to the American Baptist Home Mission Board for the appointment of Reverend James E. Reeves,[30] a slave-

---

[25] *Minutes North Carolina Baptist State Convention* (1844), p. 16; *Minutes Of The Eleventh Session Of The Beulah Baptist Association, Held At Madison, Rockingham County, N. C. on the 16th, 17th and 18th days of August, 1844*, pp. 8, 9 (hereinafter cited as *Minutes Beulah Association*); *Minutes Of The Flat River Baptist Association; Held At Buffaloe Church, Mecklenburg Co., Va., August 9-12, 1844*, p. 7 (hereinafter cited as *Minutes Flat River Association); The Recorder*, June 15, 1844; July 20, 1844.

[26] *Minutes Beulah Association* (1844), p. 9.

[27] The circular of November 2, 1840, was a declaration of the neutral position of the Foreign Mission Board. The policy of neutrality was reaffirmed in the report of the Board to the Triennial Convention in 1841, and was approved by the convention. *Minutes Baptist Triennial Convention* (1841), p. 23. The circular of November 2, 1840, was readopted by the Foreign Mission Board in 1843. *Minutes American Baptist Foreign Mission Society* (1843), pp. 12, 13.

[28] *Minutes Baptist Triennial Convention* (1844), pp. 15, 16.

[29] *Minutes American Baptist Home Mission Society* (1844), pp. 5, 6.

[30] B. M. Sanders, chairman of the Executive Committee, gives the name as Reeves. Meredith spells the name Reeve.

holder, as a missionary within the bounds of the Talapoosa Association. The board "declined" to entertain the application.[31] Meredith, writing on October 19, 1844, said that he had learned from a printed circular "issued from the Home Mission Rooms" that "Mr. Reeve, the Georgian slaveholder," had been "neither appointed nor rejected." Meredith said that "Mr. Reeve did not fail to receive appointment from the fact that he was a slaveholder." If the "application [had] been made for him in the usual and appropriate manner without reference" to "his holding slaves and without expressed design to *test* the action or policy of the Board, he would have been appointed." It was Meredith's opinion that the Home Mission Board had "acted wisely and faithfully," and was "entitled to the renewed confidence and adhesion of the South." [32] Meredith said that he had learned "through a private medium, that a similar application, and for a similar purpose" had been made to the Home Mission Board by Virginia.[33]

The Executive Committee of the Georgia Baptist Convention (B. M. Sanders,[34] chairman) made a formal expression of its views, October 22, 1844, in the form of five "remarks" or resolutions on the position, regarding the appointment of Reeves, taken by the American Home Mission Board. The Executive Committee declared first that the Home Mission Board had "confounded" the questions of "morality of slavery" and the "relation which slaveholders bear to the societies" of the Triennial Convention and their "eligibility to offices" in the societies. Second, the Home Mission Board had "not only misapplied the resolutions of the Society" but had "also violated the instructions therein given." Third, the "reasons alleged for the refusal" to appoint Reeves "utterly" failed to "justify" the action. The Executive Committee believed that the "occasion" demanded "plainness of speech." Fourth, the "rejection" of their application went "far to evince the necessity of a Southern organization for their "benevolent operations." And fifth, the "only hope for the preservation" of the existing societies rested upon

---

31 *History of the Baptist Denomination in Georgia with Biographical Compendium and Portrait Gallery of Baptist Ministers and Georgia Baptists Compiled for the Christian Index*, p. 204.
32 *The Recorder*, October 19, 1844; October 26, 1844.
33 *The Recorder*, September 21, 1844.
34 The name is also spelled Saunders.

the "attachment" of their "brethren to the principles of church independence." [35]

Meredith agreed that there was one view of the subject taken by the Georgia committee that was "incontrovertible" and that was the "view of candor and plain common sense." He said, "if a slaveholder *can* or *will* be appointed, why not appoint him at once, and have done with it? If he *cannot* be appointed, why not say so, plainly and let the parties know what to depend on?" Meredith held that, since the "celebrated adjustment" or "compromise" or "whatever it may be called," adopted at the Triennial Convention in Baltimore in 1841, the "principle of action" was not a principle of "plain dealing—not of open handed, straightforward candor and decision—but of compromise, adjustment, and shifting and dodging from side to side." He wrote, "if we mistake not, our good brother Sanders was a party, down to the present day," of the "grand principle" of "compromise" and "adjustment" of the Baptist societies. Meredith thought that Sanders was "clearly mistaken" when he said the Home Mission Board had "misapplied the resolutions" of the society and violated the instructions therein given. In Meredith's "view" Sanders did not come "nearer the fact" when he undertook to split the "question of slavery into two divisions—namely, the morality of slavery, and the eligibility of slaveholders to office of the Society."

Meredith thought the difficulty was the policy of *neutrality* which could exist only in the "heads of sophists and speculatists." Although he did not agree with the board's evasive action, he thought there was room for such action because of the so-called policy of "neutrality." He said that the board had been "drilled for years in the art of dodging slavery and anti-slavery questions" under the policy of "neutrality." The board was expected to please both Northern and Southern men, "abolitionists and slavery men." And under those circumstances Meredith declared that he was "compelled to say" the board had come "as near acting well their part, as any set of men, placed in like circumstances, could have been expected to do."[36]

---

[35] *The Recorder*, November 30, 1844.
[36] *The Recorder*, November 30, 1844.

The Home Mission Society had adopted a neutral position on slaveholding. The Triennial Convention, however, agreed to "disclaim all sanction, either express or implied, whether slavery or of anti-slavery." [37] After the American Baptist Home Mission Board rejected the application of the Executive Committee of Georgia, the Alabama Baptist State Convention made demands on the American Foreign Mission Board as to its position in the appointment of slaveholders as missionaries. The Alabama Convention, meeting in November, 1844, resolved that it was its "duty" at "this crisis" to "demand from the proper authorities in all those bodies to whose funds" they were contributing "the distinct, explicit avowal that slaveholders are eligible, and entitled equally with non-slaveholders, to all the privileges and immunities of their several unions; and especially to receive any agency, mission or other appointment, which may fall within the scope of their operations or duties." [38]

In reply to the Alabama resolutions the American Baptist Foreign Mission Board wrote Reverend Jesse Hartwell, president of the Alabama Baptist State Convention, that to the "knowledge" of the Board "no slaveholder" had applied to be a missionary. The letter explicitly stated that the Board sent out "no domestics or servants," and such an "event as a missionary taking slaves with him were it morally right, could not, in accordance" with "all" their "past arrangements or present plans, possibly occur." The board said further, "If, however, any one should insist on retaining them [slaves] as his property, we could not appoint him. One thing is certain, we can never be a party to any arrangement which would imply approbation of slavery." [39]

The reply of the American Foreign Mission Board to the Alabama resolutions brought action from the Virginia Baptists. The Virginia Foreign Mission Board addressed a circular to the Baptist churches of Virginia, in which it declined to "express an opinion" on the "expediency" of pressing the American Foreign Mission Board to give expression to its "views on the subject of slavery, under the exciting and embarrassing circumstances un-

---

[37] *Minutes Baptist Triennial Convention* (1844), pp. 15, 16.
[38] B. F. Riley, *A Memorial History Of The Baptists Of Alabama*, p. 82, quoting *Minutes Alabama Baptist State Convention.*
[39] *The Recorder*, March 8, 1845.

der which they were placed." At the same time the Virginia Board declared that they "must" speak with "frankness and firmness" regarding the action of the Foreign Mission Board, and that they considered the action of the American Board an "outrage" on their "rights." Since the Triennial Convention would not meet for two years and since "redress" could not be expected from the convention, the Virginia Foreign Mission Board called for a convention of Southern Baptists to meet in Augusta, Georgia, "on Thursday before the 2nd Lord's day in May." The Virginia board recommended that "churches and associations" of Virginia "appoint delegates to the proposed Convention." [40]

North Carolina Baptists officially took no part in the controversy over the appointment of slaveholders as missionaries. They seemed to bear out Meredith's statements in "Our Position Defined," an editorial in the *Recorder*, August 24, 1844. In the editorial Meredith said, "If the South and the North shall separate, we say, let the South have no agency in bringing about the result." But as for the abolitionists, "we are clear for permitting them to withdraw—and for thanking them for doing so." [41]

In January, 1845, Meredith expressed the opinion that the Alabama resolutions were "uncalled for." [42] The following March he said that the "whole matter, from beginning to end — from the Alabama resolutions to the Virginia circular," was "a most unnecessary, if not a most unwise and hurtful proceeding." [43] In April Meredith commented on the fact that the American Baptist Foreign Mission Board had remained "perfectly silent, and offered no word of explanation nor conciliation." Its silence, he confessed, left "little ground to hope" that the board had been "misunderstood, or that they really intended to do right." Still, contended Meredith, the convention could not be "fairly held accountable" for their agents until it had had an opportunity "either to confirm or condemn" the proceedings of the board. In a postscript, he suggested that the Southern states, involved in the slavery controversy with the "Boston Board," "*suspend all further connexion and co-operation*" with

---

[40] *The Recorder*, April 5, 1845, quoting the *Religious Herald*.
[41] *The Recorder*, August 24, 1844.
[42] *The Recorder*, January 18, 1845.
[43] *The Recorder*, March 29, 1845.

the board until it reversed its proceedings, and await the action of the Triennial Convention at the next session, 1847.[44]

The regular annual meeting of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Board was held in Providence, Rhode Island, April 30, 1845. At that time a committee, with Francis Wayland as chairman, was appointed on the "communication from the Alabama Baptist State Convention and the Reply of the Acting Board." The committee reported that in case appointments involving slaveholders arose they "could not desire" their "brethren to violate their convictions of duty by making such appointments, but should consider it incumbent upon them [the Board] to refer the case to the Convention for its decision." [45]

The committee appointed in 1844 "to take into consideration the subject of an amicable dissolution of the Society; or to report such alterations in the Constitution as will admit of the co-operation of brethren who cherish conflicting views on the subject of slavery" reported to the American Baptist Home Mission Society meeting in Providence, April 29, 1845. The committee made a "majority report adverse to any alteration of the Constitution, or plan of operation." Nathaniel Colver of Massachusetts, a member of the committee, immediately made a "counter report." Both of the reports, "after much discussion, were laid on the table." [46]

The "subject of the division of the Society, or devising a plan of harmonious co-operation" was then discussed and a "select committee" was appointed "in relation to a mode of separate action and organization." Members of the "select committee" were John S. Maginnis and Elisha Tucker of New York, Greenleaf S. Webb of Pennsylvania, James B. Taylor of Virginia, and Barnas Sears and James H. Duncan of Massachusetts. Francis Wayland of Rhode Island declined to serve. The select committee reported and the society agreed that should "separation among former friends and patrons of the Society, be deemed necessary," the charter of the society should be retained by the "northern and other churches, which may be willing to act together upon the basis of restriction against the appointment of

---

[44] *The Recorder*, April 19, 1845.
[45] *Minutes American Baptist Foreign Mission Board* (1845), pp. 8, 9.
[46] *Minutes American Baptist Home Mission Society* (1845), p. 6.

Slaveholders," and that the Executive Board should adjust "upon amicable, honorable and liberal principles, whatever claims may be presented by brethren who shall feel, upon the separation, unable further to co-operate with the Society, or disposed to form a separate organization at the South." [47]

David Benedict says that the dispute among Baptists "about slavery, in an earnest manner," was "respecting a system" whose "evils" the North had "but little knowledge, only by report." "Strong efforts" were made "by many Northern men to restrain the freedom which had thus been exercised" among Baptists and the "operation" of those efforts, "in the end, led the Southern Brethren to go off by themselves." [48]

A convention of Southern Baptist delegates met in Augusta, Georgia, May 8-12, 1845, for the purpose of organizing a Southern Baptist Convention. R. McNab from "Kennansville" church and A. J. Battle from Wilmington church were the only delegates from North Carolina who attended the meeting. M. McDaniel was elected a delegate from the Wilmington church but did not attend.[49]

Delegates representing various Baptist bodies of the South met in Augusta according to appointment and organized the Southern Baptist Convention. The convention issued an address *"To the Brethren in the United States; to the congregations connected with the respective Churches; and to all candid men"* designed to "explain the origin, the principles and the peculiar circumstances in which the organization of the Southern Baptist Convention became necessary." It reviewed briefly the history of the Triennial Convention. It pointed out the article in the constitution defining those who might be appointed as missionaries, namely, "Such persons only as are in full communion with some church in our denomination; and who furnish satisfactory evidence of genuine piety, good talents, and fervent zeal for the Redeemer's cause." The address called attention to the fact that at the "last two Triennial Conventions, slavery and anti-slavery men began to draw off on different sides." It also pointed out that the "nobler spirits on each side" had endeavored to ward

[47] *Minutes American Baptist Home Mission Society* (1845), p. 7.
[48] David Benedict, *Fifty Years Among The Baptists*, p. 129.
[49] *Proceedings Of The Southern Baptist Convention, Held In Augusta, Georgia, May, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, And 12th, 1845*, p. 8. (Hereinafter cited as *Proceedings Southern Baptist Convention.*)

off any division among the Baptists by adopting a resolution disclaiming "all sanction" of "slavery or anti-slavery" in co-operating together and recognizing the right of individuals to promote elsewhere their views on those subjects, in a Christian manner and spirit. The address explained that this "important and plain declaration" had become a "perfect nullity" before the "close of the first year of the triennial period." [50]

Southern Baptists adopted a resolution at the convention in 1845 stating that they regarded the "harmonious and unanimous action" of the convention and the "christian spirit" that "governed its deliberations" as a "pledge of the divine blessing in the origin and prosecution" of the organization of the Southern Baptist Convention.[51]

While the Southern Baptist Convention was in session in Augusta, Meredith wrote that he was of the "opinion" that the "movement [for a Southern Baptist Convention] was projected in haste, and without sufficient reason for such a measure," and that it would have been "better, on several accounts, had more time been allowed both for observation and deliberation." "But," said he, "the thing itself has now been shown to be not only right, but indispensible." And, "Since the meetings at Providence, if the matter is correctly understood, no Southern man can doubt the necessity of separate Southern action. . . . Although we cannot now be with our brethren in Augusta, *personally,* we shall be with them in *spirit* and in *heart.*" He expressed "trust" that the delegates at Augusta would "make thorough work" of what they had set out to do, and "let the world see, that if separate we *must,* we will separate *fully* and with *one* accord." [52]

The Baptists of North Carolina had moved more slowly than those of Virginia and the Lower South toward the recognition of what was believed to be a need for a convention of Southern Baptists. They took little part in the organization of the convention, but later, and apparently with "one accord," North Carolina Baptists in the State Convention, the Western Conven-

---

[50] *Proceedings Southern Baptist Convention* (1845), pp. 19, 20.
[51] *Proceedings Southern Baptist Convention* (1845), pp. 15, 16.
[52] *The Recorder,* May 17, 1845.

tion, and various associations "heartily" and "cordially" endorsed the Southern Baptist Convention.[53]

The organization of a *Southern* Baptist Convention in 1845 was visible evidence of the sectional spirit which had been growing for some time in Baptist ranks. Southern Baptists had developed a feeling of separateness from other Baptists of the United States and at the same time had come to possess a consciousness of a common Southern tie in their ideologies and institutions. After 1845 Baptists in the South thought of themselves as *Southern* Baptists.

Southern Baptists organized a *Southern* Baptist Publication Society at Charleston, South Carolina. North Carolina Baptists sanctioned the formation of a *Southern* Society and urged that "all Publications, as far as possible, be purchased" from the Society's "Depository in Charleston." [54]

The division in convention organization of the Baptist denomination in the United States over the question of slavery tended to ease, for a time, the tension which had been caused by the differences of opinion among the Baptists as to the eligibility of slaveholders to appointment as missionaries. During the decade of the 1850's the opinion of Southern Baptists was attuned with the opinion of Southerners generally in the "ebb and flow" of the slavery controversy as it manifested itself in the issues of the day. North Carolina Baptists believed in the "right of secession" but were more reluctant to sever the old bonds with the Union than were those states of the Lower South.

Thomas Meredith expressed the opinion of North Carolina Baptists regarding slavery in the territories in 1849 when he said,

---

[53] *Minutes North Carolina Baptist State Convention* (1845), p. 6; *Proceedings Of The Western Convention, Held at Boiling Spring Camp Ground, Henderson County, N. C., August 30th, and days following, 1845*, p. 34 (hereinafter cited as *Minutes North Carolina Baptist Western Convention*); *Minutes Beulah Association* (1845), p. 7; *Minutes Of The Thirteenth Anniversary Of The Liberty Association, Held at Jersey Church, Davidson Co., N. C., August 16, 18, 1845*, p. 6 (hereinafter cited as *Minutes Liberty Association*); Geo[rge] W. (Elder) Purefoy, *A History Of The Sandy Creek Baptist Association, From Its Organization In A.D. 1758, To 1858, Being An Enlargement Of The Centenary Sermon Delivered By Him At Its One Hundredth Annual Session At Love's Creek Meeting-House, Chatham County, N. C., On The 3rd Day Of October, 1858*, p. 217. (Hereinafter cited as *History of the Sandy Creek Association.*)

[54] *Minutes North Carolina Baptist State Convention* (1859), p. 20; *Minutes Cape Fear Association* (1850), p. 11; *Minutes Of the Forty-Third Anniversary Of The Chowan Baptist Association, Held At Pleasant Grove, Hertford, N. C.* [May 17-119, 1849], p. 18 (hereinafter cited as *Minutes Chowan Association*); *Minutes Flat River Association* (1849), p. 5; *Minutes Liberty Association*, p. 3; [*Minutes of the Pee Dee Baptist Association, September 24-27, 1847*], p. 6 (hereinafter cited as *Minutes Pee Dee Association*); *Minutes Of The Fourth Session Of The Union Baptist Association, Held With The Church, At Wilmington, N. C., Oct. 2nd-5th, 1846*, p. 6 (hereinafter cited as *Minutes Union Association*); *Minutes Union Association* (1847), p. 6.

"we believe Congress has nothing to do with it," because it is a right of "free and independent communities" to be able "to choose their own institutions." Meredith contended that the "late attempt" by Northern men "to interfere with the legislation intended for the use of the Territories" was, in a "land of boasted liberty," an "oppressive and ferocious policy." [55]

When Congress continued to debate the question of slavery in the territories during 1850, Meredith declared that so far as he had been able to learn Congress was "doing little more than quarrel about the slavery question, and other points" which had "no connection with their proper business"; and, he added, unless the "state of things" be "essentially changed," the "sooner" Congress adjourns and goes home, the "better" it will be for "all concerned." [56]

The slavery issue in Congress in the late 1840's led Southerners to believe their course to be one of two alternatives: either to submit to the continued encroachments upon their rights of equality in the Union and further outrages upon their rights guaranteed by the Constitution or to resist any further encroachments with firm, united, and concerted action. When a Southern convention was called to meet in Nashville, Tennessee, Meredith voiced the opinion of North Carolina Baptists again when he said that "this is a subject" to which "we turn with a heavy heart." "That the time should ever come [said he], when it can be a question, whether this glorious Confederation of States should be dissolved, is a consumation most devoutly to be deprecated." "And still," said Meredith, "at present, we can see no other alternative." Meredith declared that the "proposed abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, as also that in the territories coming within the latitude of the slave-holding states," was "so palpable a violation of the Federal Constitution" that he did not see how it could be "bourne" by the Southern states. He expressed the hope that the representatives of the nation would "respect the Constitution" and that the "current of mischief" would be arrested in Congress. In case, however, the North would not abide by the Constitution, Meredith saw "no alternative for the South, but to stand upon her reserved

---

[55] *The Recorder*, April 28, 1849.
[56] *The Recorder*, January 19, 1850.

rights"; and he believed if that were necessary there was "no more suitable way of carrying it into effect than by a Convention of the States." "We can but hope, therefore, that North Carolina will represent herself in the proposed Nashville Convention; and that men will be sent distinguished for their clear and cool judgment, not less than for their settled and disinterested patriotism." [57]

After the Nashville Convention and the Compromise of 1850, which was accepted as final, the slavery dispute abated for a time, only to be aroused again over the Kansas-Nebraska question. Dr. Francis Wayland's participation in the political controversy concerning Kansas and Nebraska was a shock to North Carolina Baptists. As a minister and as president of Brown University, Wayland was greatly admired and respected by Southern Baptists. He was a conservative at the time slavery was an issue in the Baptist boards (1840-1845) and declined to serve on the "select committee" appointed relative to a "mode of separate action and organization" of the Home Mission Society.[58] But in 1854 Wayland wrote his son: "I am glad to hear of your interest in the Nebraska question. It is the most important that has occurred in my time. We need to have the religious feeling aroused on the subject. It is now intolerably torpid. Keep within a sound discretion, and go forward in the business." [59]

The *Recorder* for March 31, 1854, (J. J. James, editor) said that one of the "most surprising things" in the "Politico-religious fanatical movement" was a "speech by Dr. Wayland" to the citizens of Providence, Rhode Island, "protesting against the Nebraska Bill." For Dr. Wayland, "an aged and learned Divine and scholar," who had ever "prided himself for the calm, sober and rational manner" in which he had discussed "literary, moral, and religious subjects," to "appear as an orator of a promiscuous assembly and a co-worker with political fanatics and agitators" was "more" than North Carolina Baptists could accept. James said that Wayland's speech was "about half political and

---

[57] *The Recorder*, January 26, 1850.
[58] *Minutes American Baptist Home Mission Society* (1845), p. 7.
[59] Francis Wayland and H. L. Wayland, *A Memoir Of The Life And Labors Of Francis Wayland, D.D., LL.D., Late President Of Brown University. Including Selections From His Personal Reminiscences And Correspondence*, p. 133.

half religious, appealing in the most direct manner to religious sympathy to prevent the regular and just legislation of the country." Furthermore Wayland had "greatly mistaken and misrepresented" the views of Southern men in regard to the moral character of slavery when he represented Southerners as "acknowledging" slavery to be a great "*wrong, utterly indefensible in itself and the great curse that rests upon the Southern States.*" [60] Because of the loss of confidence in Wayland the trustees of Wake Forest College ruled that "Wayland's *Moral Science,* be dispensed with, in the Instruction given at Wake Forest College." [61]

The editor of the *Recorder,* writing toward the close of the year 1856, said that there was "abundant cause for thanksgiving:" the nation had safely passed the "political crisis," the Union still stood in its "majesty and greatness," and "Fanaticism," which had "raged with great violence" in some sections, had been "overruled" and "peace and comparative quiet restored." [62]

The Abolitionists, however, were not satisfied with the Kansas-Nebraska Act nor the election of 1856. Under the caption "Northern Fanaticism" the *Recorder* reprinted the call of the Abolitionists for a convention to "sever the Union."

Call For A Northern Convention.

Whereas it is obvious to all, that the American Union is constantly becoming more and more divided by slavery, into two distinct and antagonistic nations; between whom harmony is impossible, and even ordinary intercourse is becoming dangerous.

And whereas Slavery has now gained entire control over the three branches of our National Government, Executive, Judiciary and Legislative; has -o [*sic*] interpreted the Constitution as to deny the right of Congress to establish freedom even in the Territories, and by the same process has removed all legal protection from a large portion of the people of the free States; and has inflicted, at many times and places, outrages far greater than those which our fathers rose in arms to repel.

And whereas there seems no probability that the future will in these respects, be different from the past, under existing State relations;

---

60 *The Recorder,* March 31, 1854.
61 Minutes Board of Trustees, Wake Forest College, Tuesday, June 10, 1856. (In bursar's vault, Wake Forest College, Wake Forest, N. C.)
62 *The Recorder,* December 18, 1856.

The undersigned respectfully invite their fellow-citizens of the Free States to meet in Convention, at Cleveland, Ohio, October 28 and 29, 1857, to consider the practicability, probability, and expediency of a Separation between the Free and Slave States, and to take such other measures as the condition of the times may require.[63]

The committee of arrangements for the convention were T. Wentworth Higginson, F. W. Bird, Wendell Phillips, Daniel Mann, William Lloyd Garrison, and Joseph A. Howland. More than 6,000 persons, representing sixteen states, signed the call for the convention. It was estimated that with organized effort the number of signers might have been increased ten-fold.

James concurred with the editor of the *Christian Observer*, a Presbyterian paper of Philadelphia, in his remarks on the call for the convention to sever the Union. It was the opinion of the editor that "partisan Fanaticism" was "capable of an enormity," for it presumed that it was "doing God service when persecuting the Church." He expressed "regret" that "sane men should dream of holding a large meeting to deliberate on the expediency and practicability of overturning the Constitution and government" of the country. In conclusion he said: "It will not be strange, if appeals shall be heard from the pulpit, within five years, for the aid of Sharp's Rifles as the proper instruments to consummate the purpose of these treasonable philanthropists." [64]

The call for this convention to sever the Union was a step toward translating into reality earlier resolutions of the American Anti-Slavery Society. In 1844 that body had

Resolved, That fourteen years of warfare against the slave power, have convinced us that every act done in support of the American Union rivets the chain of the slave—that the only exodus of the slave to freedom, unless it be one of blood, must be over the ruins of the present American church, and the grave of the present Union.

Resolved That the abolitionists of this country should make it one of the primary objects of their agitation to dissolve the American Union.[65]

Meredith had reprinted the resolutions in the *Recorder* in 1844 so that North Carolina Baptists might "form their own opinion" and be "on their guard against the pernicious influence of infidel

---

[63] *The Recorder*, October 15, 1857, quoting *The Christian Observer*.
[64] *The Recorder*, October 15, 1857, quoting *The Christian Observer*.
[65] *The Recorder*, June 8, 1844, quoting *The Anti-Slavery Standard*.

lectures under false colors." The plans of the Abolitionists to "sever the Union" in 1857 did not mature.[66]

The Abolitionists, who appealed to a "higher law" than the Constitution, remained in a Union whose Constitution recognized slavery but they increased the agitation of the slavery question as the election of 1860 approached. The South recognized its minority position and, after Lincoln's "House Divided" speech, considered that his election to the presidency would be a menace to Southern civilization. Consequently the victory of the Republican party and the election of Lincoln in 1860 left Southerners no alternative but to "stand on their reserved rights." North Carolina Baptists believed in the "right" of secession. They maintained that the compact forming a Federal Union "recognized" the right of "peaceful" withdrawal if the compact were "violated" or if the Union "infringed" upon the rights of a state. They also noted that "some" states were "so vigilant" as to enter the compact with the "explicit understanding" that they reserved the right to withdraw.[67]

After the secession of the states of the Lower South and the organization of the Confederate States of America in February, 1861, the Southern Baptists declared that the Southern states had, in "vindication of their sacred rights and honor, in self-defense, and for the protection of all which is dear to man," "asserted the right of seceding from a Union so degenerated from that established by the Constitution," and had "framed themselves a government based upon the principles of the original compact—adopting a character" which secured to each state its "sovereign rights and privileges." The Baptists declared that it was the aim of the Southern Confederacy to "cultivate relations of amity and good will" with the "late confederates" and the "world." Southern Baptists called attention to the fact that "thrice" the Southern Confederacy sent "special commissioners" to Washington with "overtures for peace, and for a fair, amicable adjustment of all difficulties," but the "Government at Washington" had "insultingly repelled" the "reasonable proposals,"

---

[66] Professor Edward Channing says ". . . But the convention was never held, because the sudden and terrific pecuniary pressure of the panic that struck the country [in 1857] made it impossible for any large number of persons to leave their business or to spend what little available money they had in railroad fares and lodging expenses." *History of The United States*, VI, 185.

[67] *Minutes North Carolina Baptist State Convention* (1862), p. 24.

and had insisted upon forcing the "seceded States back into an unnatural Union," or "subjecting them and holding them as conquered provinces." Southern Baptists said they had hoped "that at least the churches of the North" would "interpose and protest" against "invoking of civil war" and "deluging the country in fratricidal blood," but that the "churches and pastors" of the North were "clamoring for sanguinary hostilities."[68]

Before North Carolina seceded from the Union and joined the Southern Confederacy, J. D. Hufham, editor of the *Recorder*, declared that the "Administration at Washington, after holding out promises of peace as long as it suited their purposes, suddenly anounced to the government of the Southern Confederacy at Montgomery their intention to provision Fort Sumter thereby precipitating the seceded States into the horrors of war." And, "Not satisfied" with that, the President had issued a proclamation calling for "seventy-five thousand troops" to aid him in his "unconstitutional and unholy purpose of subduing the Gulf States," and had "even sent a requisition to North Carolina and the other border States for their respective quotas." [69]

North Carolina Baptists were more reluctant to sever the bonds of the Union than were the Baptists of the Lower South. There was considerable opposition to secession among Baptists of the western part of the state. Reverend S. P. Smith, who for several years was agent of the Western Baptist Convention, was elected in 1861 to the North Carolina State Convention in opposition to secession.[70]

Hufham declared that the state of North Carolina presented a "strange contrast" to what it had been before the call for troops. North Carolina's "attachment" to the Union before the call was "very strong." The state had "sympathized only to a limited extent" with the Gulf states in their secession and, "even after the bombardment of Fort Sumter," there were "some" who "still hoped" for a reconstruction of the government. The call for troops from North Carolina, however, destroyed the "last hope" North Carolina held for "reviving the Union"; and the "sons" of North Carolina, who had been "divided in sentiment"

---

[68] *Proceedings Southern Baptist Convention* (1861), pp. 62-64.
[69] "The State of the Country," *The Recorder*, April 24, 1861.
[70] James H. Foote, *The Methodist Armor Reviewed. The Rise And Progress Of The Baptists, And Outlines Of History Of The Brier Creek Association*, p. 209.

regarding the expediency of secession, stood together irrespective of "party names and party ties" as a "noble brotherhood ready to die in defense of Southern institutions and liberties." Governor J. W. Ellis had "indignantly refused" to comply with the demand for troops and had issued a proclamation for an extra session of the legislature and "every where" the people of North Carolina sustained the governor in his course.[71]

There is evidence, however, of Union sentiment among individuals and in certain localities throughout the entire state, but it was strongest in western North Carolina. There were some who refused to fight with the Confederacy and others who deserted the Confederacy. The Chowan Association, located in the extreme eastern part of the state, passed resolutions refusing to hold fellowship with members who sought "protection from the enemy" or deserted the Confederacy.[72] Despite the work of the secessionists and the fact that North Carolina as a state ultimately joined the Confederacy, there were some Baptists within the state who remained loyal to the Union.

North Carolina Baptists generally believed that the South had a "right" to demand "to be let alone" in the establishment of a separate and independent government. The Chowan Association, which met May 14-18, 1861, passed a resolution saying that they looked forward with pleasure to the early formal connection of North Carolina with her "sisters" of the Confederate States.[73]

A convention of the people of North Carolina, held May 20, 1861, unanimously adopted an ordinance of secession from the Union [74] and on May 23 passed an ordinance ratifying the constitution of the Confederate States.[75] Richard Wooten, a Baptist minister,[76] was a representative from Columbus County to the secession convention.[77]

The Southern Baptists passed resolutions in 1861 declaring that the South had been "foremost in advocating and cementing" a Federal union of states and that "impartial history" could not

---

71 "North Carolina in the Crisis," *The Recorder*, April 24, 1861.
72 *Minutes Chowan Association* (1863), pp. 3, 8.
73 *Minutes Chowan Association* (1861), p. 17.
74 *Journal of The Convention Of The People Of North Carolina, Held On The 20th Day Of May, A. D., 1861*, pp. 13-16. (Hereinafter cited as *Convention of the People of North Carolina, 1861.*)
75 *Convention of the People of North Carolina, 1861*, p. 31.
76 *Minutes North Carolina Baptist State Convention* (1860), p. 40.
77 *Convention of the People of North Carolina, 1861*, p. 4.

"charge upon the South" the "dissolution of the Union." [78] North Carolina Baptists expressed their deprecation of the "necessity of a separation" from the North. "Notwithstanding" the "geographical position" of the South and the "genesis" of the South's "peculiar institutions" which "divorced" the South "socially, religiously, and politically" from the North, the Baptists said they "saw many mutual advantages to be derived from a union" of all the states.[79]

To Southern Baptists secession did not mean civil war; rather, it was the exercise of a right which had been reserved when the states entered the compact forming a Federal Union. In the state convention and associations, North Carolina Baptists emphatically declared that they did not want war. They "washed their hands" of any blame for civil war because, said they, it was "forced" upon the South by the North.[80] North Carolina Baptists placed the burden of responsibility for civil war upon the North on the grounds that the North had trampled "under their wicked feet the written constitution" which they had been "toiling to undermine" for "twenty years." The Baptists said that it was the "avowed determination" of the North to subject the South to its control even to the entire destruction of the South's citizens and their property. In 1861 North Carolina Baptists declared that the United States government, in carrying out its purpose, had "imprisoned and murdered" many citizens, had "stolen" property, "pillaged" homes, and "burnt" houses.[81] And in 1863 the *Recorder* said, "Mercy folds her wings and sighs farewell, wherever Butler has control." [82]

According to the Baptists, the pinch of sacrifice during the years of the war was "intensified" by the conduct and outrages perpetrated by the Union soldiers. Events of the war "only

---

[78] *Proceedings Southern Baptist Convention* (1861), p. 63.
[79] *Minutes North Carolina Baptist State Convention* (1862), p. 24.
[80] *Minutes North Carolina Baptist State Convention* (1861), p. 22; *Minutes Chowan Association* (1861), p. 17; *Minutes Of The Catawba River Baptist Association. Held with the Church at North Catawba, Burke Co., N. C., October 11-14, 1861*, p. 6 (hereinafter cited as *Minutes Catawba Association*); *Minutes Flat River Association* (1862), p. 15; *Minutes Of The Twenty-Seventh Anniversary Of The Green River Baptist Association, Held With The Mt. Lebanon Church, Rutherford County, N. C., September 29 to October 1st, 1865*, p. 10 (hereinafter cited as *Minutes Green River Association);* John R. Logan, *Sketches, Historical And Biographical Of The Broad River And King's Mountain Baptist Association, From 1800 to 1882*, p. 187, quoting *Minutes King's Mountain Association* (1861) (hereinafter cited as *History Broad River and King's Mountain Associations*); *The Recorder*, April 24, 1861; *Proceedings Southern Baptist Convention* (1861), p. 63.
[81] *Minutes North Carolina Baptist State Convention* (1861), p. 22; (1862), p. 25; *Minutes Flat River Association* (1862), pp. 14, 15.
[82] *The Recorder*, January 12, 1863.

confirmed" the conviction of the Baptists that their "part" in the war was "necessary" and "strengthened" their opposition to a reunion with the United States.[83]

North Carolina Baptists believed in the "justice" of the cause for which the South was fighting and endorsed the "course adopted and pursued" by the "authorities" of the Confederacy.[84] The Baptists set apart special days for "fasting and prayer" and special hours for prayer for the Confederate soldier, the Confederate government, and a "speedy and honorable peace." [85] The Baptists of North Carolina contributed $74,610.62 for army colportage from April, 1862, to April, 1865.[86]

North Carolina Baptists, slaveholder and non-slaveholder alike, fought side by side with other Southerners in "defense" of their "institutions," their "homes," their "firesides," their "religion," their "liberties,"—those things, said they, which "men hold dear." [87] They recognized the odds against the South but believed, despite those odds, that victory would be theirs.[88] The *Recorder* described their attitude as follows:

> But . . . , we entertain no fears as to the result [of war]. The conflict may be long and bloody; many evils and much suffering may be inflicted; commerce may be crippled, and many brave men may lie down in death on the battle field, but victory and peace will at last be ours. Men, conscious of right and fighting for their liberties, their honor, their homes and all that they hold dear, can not be subdued.[89]

---

[83] *Minutes Flat River Association* (1862), p. 14; *Minutes Of The Third Annual Session, Of The United Baptists Association, Held With King's Creek Church, Caldwell County, N. C., October 15-17 1862*, p. 11 (hereinafter cited as *Minutes United Association*); *Proceedings Southern Baptist Convention* (1863), p. 54.

[84] *Minutes North Carolina Baptist State Convention* (1861), p. 22; (1862), p. 25; *Minutes Chowan Association* (1861), p. 17; *Minutes Catawba Association* (1861), p. 6; *Minutes Flat River Association* (1862), pp. 14, 15; John R. Logan, *History Broad River and King's Mountain Association*, p. 187, quoting *Minutes King's Mountain Association* (1861); *The Recorder*, April 24, 1861; *Proceedings Southern Baptist Convention* (1861), p. 62.

[85] *Minutes North Carolina Baptist State Convention* (1861), p. 22; (1862), p. 25; (1863), p. 15; *Minutes Catawba Association* (1861), p. 6; *Minutes Chowan Association* (1861), p. 16; *Minutes Flat River Association* (1861), p. 5; (1862), p. 15; (1863), p. 15; *Minutes Green River Association* (1865), p. 10; John R. Logan, *History Broad River and King's Mountain Associations*, p. 187, quoting *Minutes King's Mountain Association* (1861); *Minutes Raleigh Association* (1864), p. 7; *Minutes Of The Twenty-third Annual Session Of The Three Fork Baptist Association, Held With The Church at Ebenezer, Watauga County, North Carolina, September 4th and 5th Days, 1863*, p. 2; *Minutes United Association* (1862), p. 11; *Minutes Of The Sixty-Ninth Anniversary Session Of The Yadkin Baptist Association, Held With The Yadkinville Church, Yadkin County, N. C., October 4 to 7, 1861*, p. 16; *Minutes Yadkin Association* (1862), p. 4; *Proceedings Southern Baptist Convention* (1861), p. 62.

[86] Livingston Johnson, *History of the North Carolina Baptist State Convention*, p. 74.

[87] *Minutes North Carolina Baptist State Convention* (1861), p. 22; (1862), p. 24; (1863), p. 14; *Minutes Catawba Association* (1861), p. 6; *Minutes Chowan Association* (1861), p. 17; *The Recorder*, May 1, 1861; *Proceedings Southern Baptist Convention* (1861), p. 63.

[88] *Minutes North Carolina Baptist State Convention* (1862), p. 14; (1863), pp. 14, 15; (1864), p. 14.

[89] *The Recorder*, April 24, 1861.

MOBILIZATION OF NEGRO LABOR FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF VIRGINIA AND NORTH CAROLINA, 1861-1865

By TINSLEY LEE SPRAGGINS

The population assets of a warring nation consist of all able-bodied men who make up the fighting force. The women, children, physically handicapped, and inmates of prisons form an auxiliary force and become civilian war workers.

During the Civil War the Negroes, slave and free, were considered a part of the auxiliary force and they were of tremendous strength. The total slave population of the United States in 1860 was 3,950,511, all in the fifteen Southern states; the total of the free Negroes was 488,283, of which 251,000 was in the South and 237,283 was in the North. This was a total population reservoir of 4,438,794 Negroes. Of the two sections, the South had the largest Negro auxiliary force, 4,201,511; the North, only 237,283. Translated into percentages of the total white population, 8,039,000 in the South and 18,966,038 in the North, the Negroes equaled more than fifty per cent of the white population reservoir in the South but less than two per cent in the North.

Until the Civil War the national government had made no provision for using the Negroes in its regular army; [1] neither did the Southern states make any provision for using them when they seceded. This placed the 4,438,581 Negroes between the rivals, the Confederate states and the national government. It goes without saying that, in order to increase their military strength, the seceding states needed to make use of their Negro population as non-combat workers. Not only would the Negroes be useful to the South as laborers, but, due to their thorough knowledge of the topography of their section of the country, they would be of great value to the Northern troops in the

[1] Enlistment in the regular army of the United States was limited to white men up to July 17, 1862. On this date Congress authorized the President to receive into the "military or naval service" persons of African descent. *United States Statutes at Large*, XII, 599. (Hereafter cited as *U. S. Statutes.*) In reference to this act, Dr. Fred A. Shannon says, ". . . A beginning had been made . . . and from that time on the War Department made ample use of Negroes in the army." "The Federal Government and the Negro Soldier, 1861-1865," *Journal of Negro History*, XI (1926), 574.

capacity of spies, guides, and laborers. These unclaimed children of bondage could easily be changed to civilian workers, and, if necessary, to soldiers, by the Confederacy or the Union.

The Confederate states were quick to utilize Negro manpower as civilian war workers. As the war became critical and a conflict ensued between the Confederate Congress and the state governments over the impressment of slaves, laws were passed forcing slaveholders to send their slaves to aid the government. Also, legislation was passed drafting free Negroes to do necessary small military service. Even convicts in penitentiaries were called upon to work.

The Negroes were not only forced to do the necessary labor for the Confederacy, but, through the levying of a poll tax, they were also required to help pay the expenses of the war. The Negroes found out very early that the Union offered them more than the Confederacy, and therefore it is not surprising that they began to leave for the Union camps. When this drain of manpower assumed considerable numbers, pandemonium entered the Confederate states. The Southern legislators resorted to prohibitive laws to stay the migration. But the Negroes would not stop migrating.

Through desertion, the Union government became the recipient of a large majority of potential workers. Not having any legislation authorizing the use of this auxiliary force, the handling of the problem was left to departmental commanders. Major General B. F. Butler was the first to recognize the value of this influx as civilian laborers. Congressional legislation was enacted allowing the Union officers to keep them, offering freedom to those under their control, freedom to those in rebellious territory, and freedom to the entire Negro slave population. Once within the lines of the Federal government, Negro workers were found to be a potential labor reserve. The President, the Secretary of War, and the Quartermaster General expressed their opinion as to the value of using the Negroes as laborers. In addition, Congress appointed a commission to investigate the problem. Thus, under the battle-cry of FREEDOM and LIBERTY, the Negro manpower was changed from slave labor to free labor by the Union government, and the Union's assets were strengthened by this conversion.

Since the labor policy of the Federal government toward Negroes was initiated by the Commander of the Department of Virginia, that Department has been selected for this study, the purpose of which is to show: (1) the area of the Department of Virginia and North Carolina, (2) the work that the Negroes did for the Confederacy, (3) the factors which assisted the slaves in escaping from their masters, (4) the numerical strength of those Negroes entering the Department, 1861-1865, and (5) the potential value of these Negroes to the Union as laborers.

The most spectacular hostilities of the Civil War were in the eastern theater, between the Potomac and James rivers and between the Blue Ridge Mountains and Chesapeake Bay. Within this region, from start to finish, each belligerent concentrated its richest resources and strongest armies under its ablest generals. Washington, located on the Potomac River and between two slaves states, was in constant danger of being captured by the Confederates. Therefore the city was never allowed to be "uncovered" by troops. The capital of the Confederate states, Richmond, was on the James River, approximately 110 miles from Washington. The Union, taking the offensive, made it necessary for the Confederates to defend their capital, as the objective of the Union was to capture Richmond. During the entire struggle, several military departments were created to defend this area.

The Department of Northeast Virginia was created on May 27, 1861. It consisted of that part of Virginia east of the Allegheny Mountains and north of the James River, except Fortress Monroe and an area sixty miles around it. On August 17, 1861, this department was merged with the Department of the Potomac. The latter included Delaware, Maryland, the District of Columbia, the Valley of Virginia, and a portion of Virginia that lies east of the Allegheny Mountains and north of the James River, except Fortress Monroe and the surrounding sixty miles.[2] The Department of the Potomac lasted until June 27, 1865; the Department of the Rappahannock was established within the Department on April 4, 1862, however, and lasted to June 26, 1862. Also, some of the territory was merged into the Department of Virginia.

[2] Adjutant General's office, *General Order* No. 15 (1861).

In addition to the Department of the Potomac, including the area between Washington and Richmond, the Federal government created the Department of Virginia on May 22, 1861, but on July 15, 1863, changed it to the Department of Virginia and North Carolina.[3] Originally the area included Fortress Monroe and a radius of sixty miles around the Fortress, but the territory in North Carolina falling within this radius was transferred to the Department of North Carolina on January 7, 1862. After June 1, 1862, the area was extended to include the counties south of the Rappahannock River and east of the Richmond, Fredericksburg, and Potomac and the Petersburg and Weldon railroads. Another extension was made the next year when North Carolina was added and the Department was renamed that of Virginia and North Carolina. Later the counties of Accomac, Northampton, and St. Mary's, Maryland, were merged into the Department.

The purpose of the Department of Virginia and North Carolina was not only to assist in defending the area between the James and the Potomac, but also to make effective the blockade of the coast of Virginia and North Carolina. Accomplishment of the latter purpose meant the closing of all inland water passages which flowed into Chesapeake Bay and Pamlico, Albemarle, and Currituck sounds.[4] This was very important to the Union, because it would shut off a channel through which many supplies could be carried to the Confederate forces inland. By amphibious warfare, the blockade was made operative after the capture of Hatteras Inlet on August 29, 1861. This was a mortal blow to the Confederacy because the South was dependent upon external trade for its economic existence.

---

[3] Raphael P. Thian, *Notes Illustrating the Military Geography of the United States, 1813-1880*, p. 101. (Hereafter cited as Thian, *Notes.*)

[4] The estuaries of Chesapeake Bay and the sounds and the distance they extend inland are:

CHESAPEAKE BAY

River	*Distance (in miles)*
James	340
York	35
Rappahannock	185
Potomac	287

PAMLICO SOUND

Neuse	260
Pamlico-Tar	220

ALBEMARLE SOUND

Roanoke	380
Chowan	75

The Department of Virginia and North Carolina was organized with six commanding officers,[5] all of whom were major generals. By 1864 the Department was divided into four districts for the efficient administration of Negro affairs. The Department headquarters was located at Fortress Monroe until April, 1865, when Richmond was captured by the Union government. Fortress Monroe was the greatest fortress in the United States in the 'sixties. Colonel Cannon, who was stationed at the Fortress during the war, said it was the key to the Southern coast.[6] The districts and the territory embracing them were as follows: District I, all territory within the Federal lines north of the James River; District II, all territory under Federal control south of the James River; District III, all territory held by the Union in North Carolina; District IV, St. Mary's, Maryland, and Northampton and Accomac, on the eastern shore of Virginia. (See map.)

Thus it happened that the establishment of the military departments and the blockade cut off the Confederacy from much of the badly needed manufactures which she usually purchased from the North and from Europe. Since manufactures, including manpower, is an essential factor to a belligerent, it became necessary that an inventory be taken of the resources available and that these resources be channeled uninterruptedly for war use. To accomplish this, labor must be shifted into war production jobs. Under such conditions, requirements for workers are great. The army gets priority on all physically fit men of fighting age. Also, the army drains heavily upon private and public works in counties, cities, and towns. These gaps in industry and public works are filled from the supplementary forces.

Virginia, in taking stock of her resources in 1861, concluded that she had to increase her production of foodstuffs, manufac-

---

[5] The commanding officers were:
Major General B. F. Butler (May 22, 1861-August 17, 1861)
Major General John E. Wool (August 17, 1861-June 2, 1862)
Major General John C. Dix (June 2, 1862-July 18, 1863)
(The Department of Virginia, renamed Virginia and North Carolina, July 15, 1863)
Major General John G. Foster (July 18, 1863-November 11, 1863)
Major General B. F. Butler (November 11, 1863-August 27, 1864)
Major General Edward O. C. Ord (August 27, 1864-December 24, 1864)
Major General B. F. Butler (December 24, 1864-January 8, 1865)
Major General Edward O. C. Ord (January 8, 1865-June, 1865)
Compiled by the National Archives from the *Departmental Returns of Virginia and North Carolina*. Compare Thian, *Notes*, pp. 101-103.

[6] Fortress Monroe was the largest fortress in the United States and Col. LeGrand B. Cannon said, "It was the key to the Southern Coast." LeGrand B. Cannon, *Personal Reminiscences of the Rebellion, 1861-1866*, p. 45.

The Department of Virginia and North Carolina was organized with six commanding officers,[5] all of whom were major generals. By 1864 the Department was divided into four districts for the efficient administration of Negro affairs. The Department headquarters was located at Fortress Monroe until April, 1865, when Richmond was captured by the Union government. Fortress Monroe was the greatest fortress in the United States in the 'sixties. Colonel Cannon, who was stationed at the Fortress during the war, said it was the key to the Southern coast.[6] The districts and the territory embracing them were as follows: District I, all territory within the Federal lines north of the James River; District II, all territory under Federal control south of the James River; District III, all territory held by the Union in North Carolina; District IV, St. Mary's, Maryland, and Northampton and Accomac, on the eastern shore of Virginia. (See map.)

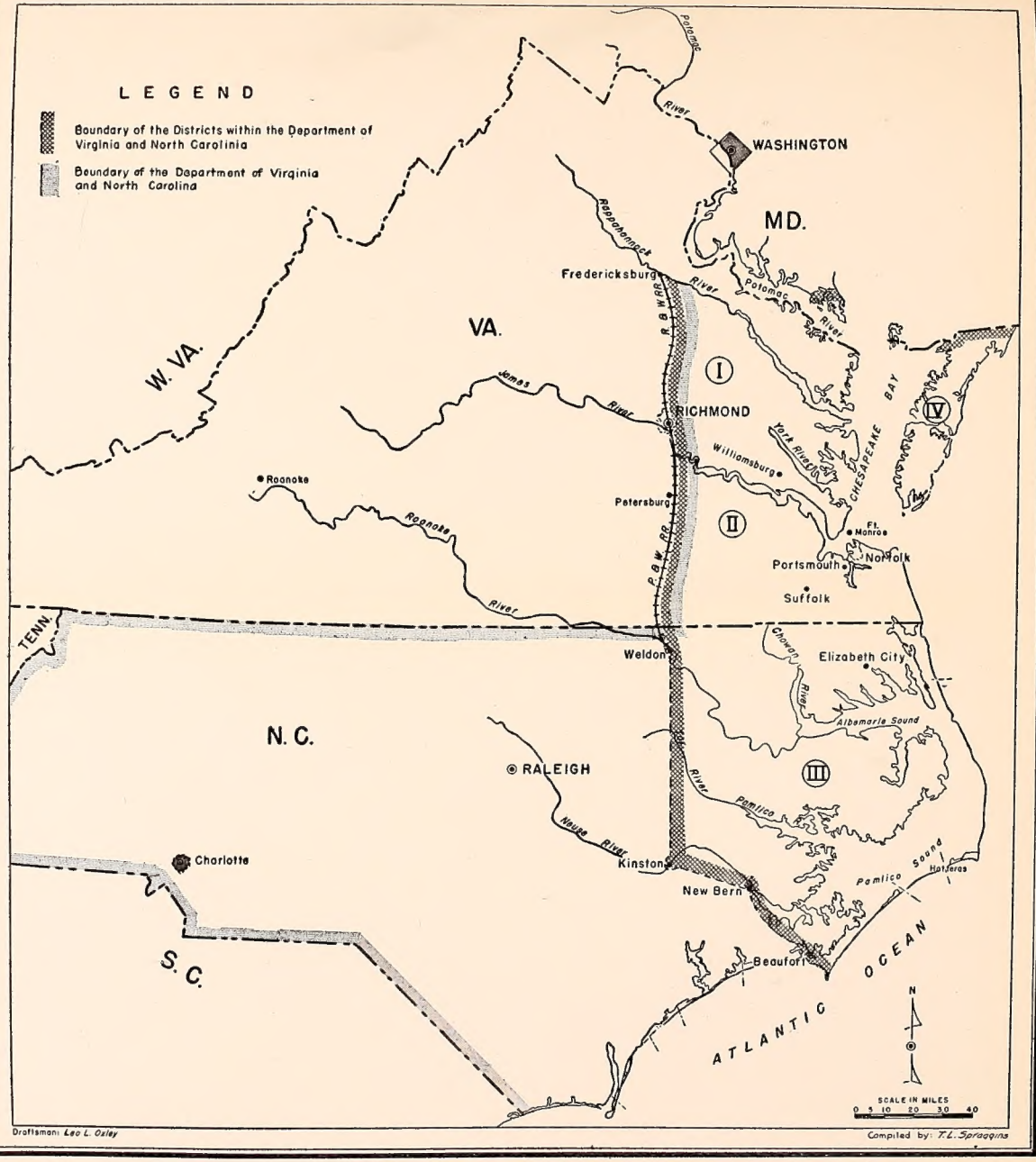
Thus it happened that the establishment of the military departments and the blockade cut off the Confederacy from much of the badly needed manufactures which she usually purchased from the North and from Europe. Since manufactures, including manpower, is an essential factor to a belligerent, it became necessary that an inventory be taken of the resources available and that these resources be channeled uninterruptedly for war use. To accomplish this, labor must be shifted into war production jobs. Under such conditions, requirements for workers are great. The army gets priority on all physically fit men of fighting age. Also, the army drains heavily upon private and public works in counties, cities, and towns. These gaps in industry and public works are filled from the supplementary forces.

Virginia, in taking stock of her resources in 1861, concluded that she had to increase her production of foodstuffs, manufac-

---

[5] The commanding officers were:
Major General B. F. Butler (May 22, 1861-August 17, 1861)
Major General John E. Wool (August 17, 1861-June 2, 1862)
Major General John C. Dix (June 2, 1862-July 18, 1863)
(The Department of Virginia, renamed Virginia and North Carolina, July 15, 1863)
Major General John G. Foster (July 18, 1863-November 11, 1863)
Major General B. F. Butler (November 11, 1863-August 27, 1864)
Major General Edward O. C. Ord (August 27, 1864-December 24, 1864)
Major General B. F. Butler (December 24, 1864-January 8, 1865)
Major General Edward O. C. Ord (January 8, 1865-June, 1865)
Compiled by the National Archives from the *Departmental Returns of Virginia and North Carolina*. Compare Thian, *Notes*, pp. 101-103.

[6] Fortress Monroe was the largest fortress in the United States and Col. LeGrand B. Cannon said, "It was the key to the Southern Coast." LeGrand B. Cannon, *Personal Reminiscences of the Rebellion, 1861-1866*, p. 45.


LEGEND
Boundary of the Districts within the Department of Virginia and North Carolinia
Beundary of the Department of Virginia and North Carolina
Potomac River
WASHINGTON
MD.
Rappahannock River
Fredericksburg
R.F.&P.R.R.
Potomac River
VA.
W. VA.
James River
RICHMOND
I
York River
Williamsburg
CHESAPEAKE BAY
IV
Roanoke
Petersburg
Roanoke River
P.&W.R.R.
II
Ft. Monroe
Norfolk
Portsmouth
Suffolk
TENN.
Weldon
Chowan River
Elizabeth City
Albemarle Sound
N. C.
RALEIGH
Tar River
Pamlico River
III
Neuse River
Charlotte
Kinston
Pamlico Sound
Hatteras
New Bern
Beaufort
S. C.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
N
SCALE IN MILES
0 5 10 20 30 40
Draftsman: Leo L. Oxley
Compiled by: T.L. Spraggins

tured salt, and saltpetre and the mining of coal, while curtailing the production of unnecessary commodities. In addition to the increase in production and mining, transportation and communication lanes had to be built or improvement had to be made on existing ones. In obtaining the laborers to carry on the necessary work, Virginia mobilized workers from the Negro labor market.

The Negroes had proved their value as a laboring force in Virginia before the conflict of 1861. When the state started on its economic revival in 1830, large numbers of slaves and free Negroes were employed in agricultural, tobacco, manufacturing, and mining industries.[7] By the help of its Negro labor, Virginia stood first of all the Southern states in the field of tobacco manfacturing.[8] Therefore, in defense of her citizens and their property, she looked to the Negroes for support, even though no law existed to use them. Her motives for utilizing this source of labor were the scarcity of white men due to enlistment and the fact that Negroes, as a result of their experience, could do certain types of work better than whites.

On the home front the Negroes were engaged in many activities for the Confederates. The war had exhausted the supply of agricultural workers; nevertheless, the civilians and the army had to be fed. A large number of slaves stayed on the plantations and produced food for the civilians and soldiers at the front. The need was so great that various wartime regulations were enacted to keep a supply of slaves in critical agricultural areas. A ceiling was put on the number of slaves the governor of Virginia could impress for public defense of the state at any one time. The ceiling was 10,000 or no more than five per cent of the slave population.[9] Later Virginia deferred slaves where "impressment would materially affect agricultural production." [10] By joint resolution of the General Assembly in 1864, Virginia asked the Confederate government to refrain, if possible, from drafting slaves from agricultural areas because they were needed for production of food.[11]

---

[7] Luther P. Jackson, *Free Negro Labor and Property Holding in Virginia, 1830-1860*, chap. II. (Hereafter cited as Jackson, *Free Negro Labor.*)
[8] Jackson, *Free Negro Labor*, pp. 42-43.
[9] *Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Virginia, 1862*, p. 6. (Hereafter cited as *Acts.*)
[10] *Acts*, 1863, p. 42.
[11] *Acts*, 1863-1864, p. 85.

The regulations retaining slave labor on the farms had good results. According to Charles Wesley, "There was an abundance [of food] in the country districts." [12] The rural people were not the only ones assisted by these agricultural workers. As a result of slave production, the burden of the Confederate army was lightened, and when the armies marched to battle they did not have to carry their rations with them. They lived upon the produce of the plantation. The people either gave food or sold it to them.

Negroes engaged in the business of selling the Confederates agricultural produce. The father of James T. Ayler, a free Negro in Suffolk, Virginia, gives such an example. In 1861-63 Ayler sold to the Confederates fowls, eggs, bacon, and other commodities they wanted. An investigator for the United States Claims Commission reported, "He [James T. Ayler] might as well have been in the employ of the Commissary Department." [13]

Next to agriculture, the Confederates of Virginia used a fringe of the Negro labor market in the manufacture of salt and saltpetre and also in the mining of coal. These items were very much needed for the preservation of food, the manufacture of munitions, and the iron industry.

When, however, the coast of Virginia was overrun by Union troops, she had to shift from evaporating her salt from sea water to producing it from brine wells in the western part of the state. Benjamin H. Smith, speaking for the salt manufacturers of western Virginia, stated that without slave labor "the manufacturers would go out of business." [14] Slaves were used because their labor was cheap.

The manufacture of saltpetre was of such prime necessity that Virginia gave J. Marshall McCue permission to carry free Negroes out of the state to be "used advantageously" [15] in the making of this article; and the Virginians were willing to give every assistance possible to enterprising and patriotic citizens engaged in the production of this basic commodity for the war.

---

[12] Charles H. Wesley, *The Collapse of the Confederacy*, p. 6.

[13] *Report of the Commissioner of Claims: Digest Upon Disallowed Claims*, Submitted to Congress in their *General Report*, 1879-1880, No. 12, 369. (Hereafter cited as *Disallowed Claims.*)

[14] Benjamin H. Smith to Edwin Bates, Attorney General of the United States, August 20, 1862. Attorney General's office, Letters Received Book, 1833-S-1862. The National Archives, Washington, D. C.

[15] *Acts*, 1861-1862, p. 146.

In another instance the state furnished convict labor to the coal operators. The governor was allowed to hire out free Negroes, slaves, and whites (not to exceed 150) in the state penitentiary to owners of coal pits. The money thus earned was to be placed in the public treasury.[16]

A block of the Negro labor market was utilized in the transportation and public work industries. Railroads were found for the first time in American history to be extremely useful in transporting troops and munitions of war. Their use was so indispensable to the war effort that the United States Congress gave the President authority to take possession of all railroads in the United States and to force the officers and servants of the companies to hold themselves in readiness for transporting troops and supplies as ordered by the military authorities. In the spring of 1862 Colonel Haupt was appointed Chief of Construction and Transportation in the Department of the Rappahannock. The colonel was authorized to open all military railroads in the Department in the shortest possible time. The order was not carried out by him, however, because the Union could not retain the area. The railroads were just as important to the Confederates as to the Union. Lee wrote the Secretary of War, James A. Seddon, on April 4, 1863, emphasizing their importance:

> Our railroads are our principal lines of communication, necessary for the transportation of munitions of war, and to the maintenance of our defensive lines and works; as much so as the lines and works themselves. We cannot retain our position unless the railroads can afford sufficient transportation, . . .[17]

In the same letter he made known that he applied for 100 slaves to work on the Virginia Central Railroad. They were also used extensively on other lines. Negroes were behind the lines wielding axes and driving spikes, while the whites were on the front fighting. Besides working on railroads, the slaves were used as laborers in building roads. The surveyor of roads was authorized to call on all persons where repairs or road building was necessary. If the persons called failed to come,

---

[16] *Acts*, 1863, p. 25.

[17] Robert E. Lee to James A. Seddon, *Official Records of the War of Rebellion of the Union and Confederate Armies*, series 1, XXV, part 2, 703-704. (Hereafter cited as *Official Records*.)

they had to send substitutes—whites or Negroes. Failure to do so carried a fine of seventy-five cents a day; in the case of a servant or slave the fine would be paid by the master or overseer.[18]

The draft act of March 13, 1863, provided that slaves impressed into service could be detailed for labor in the county or corporation from which they were called. The City of Richmond furnishes an example of the slaves doing work for a local government. In the summer of 1862 there was a great demand for pure, cool water. The city employed three Negroes to dig a well at Main and Eleventh streets. By September the Negroes had completed their labor and the citizens rejoiced and shouted as though Washington had been taken.[19]

Besides working for the Confederates in Virginia, the Negroes engaged in business enterprises and depended upon the soldiers for patronage. The Confederates did not have sutlers' wagons following the army as did the Federal army, because they did not have the white men to spare to sell supplies to soldiers. To a large extent they depended upon Negroes to furnish them with small supplies. James C. Muschett of Dumfries, Prince William County, is an example of such a case. Muschett, a free Negro by 1861, was allowed to operate a store at Quantico Mills and he sold liquors, tobacco, groceries, and dry goods, including Confederate uniforms,[20] to the soldiers stationed in the vicinity.

[18] *Acts*, 1861-1862, pp. 81-82.
[19] *Southern Literary Messenger*, XIII (1862), 502.
[20] The table below, which shows the quantity, items, and value of the items Muschett claimed that the Union forces took from him, gives an idea of the goods he had for sale.

A CONSOLIDATED CLAIM OF JAMES MUSCHETT TO THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT FOR LOSS OF GOODS DURING THE CIVIL WAR

CLAIMED LOST		
Quantity	*Item*	*Value*
995 lbs	Tobacco	860.00
8 tons	Hay	160.00
230 bus	Corn	272.00
9 bbls	Flour	87.00
2½ bbls	Meal	35.00
.....*	Boots and Shoes	300.00
300 yds	Silk and Worsted	450.00
.....*	Worsted and Cotton	300.00
.....*	Groceries	300.00
.....*	Hats and Ready-made Clothing	200.00
60 bus	Irish Potatoes	60.00
300 lbs	Bacon	45.00
1	Blacksmith Shop	75.00
300 lbs	Coffee	75.00
300 lbs	Pork	45.00
500 bars	Soap	60.00
1	Horse	150.00
.....*	Goods taken by orders of General Hooker	3,000.00
	TOTAL	6,474.00

* Quantity not listed.
Disallowed Claims, No. 11878.

The Confederate provost-marshal gave him a permit to go to Fredericksburg to make necessary purchases for his store. He made purchases in other places, too, because in 1864 he bought a boat load of goods from Alexandria, Virginia. It was a question with the Federal authorities whether he was dealing in contraband goods or acting as a spy for the Confederates. However, he was arrested and sentenced to six months in the Old Capital Prison.[21] In another example, the soldiers in the army of Northern Virginia bought cider, pies, and cakes from Negroes.

Thus the Confederates were able to keep a large portion of Negroes in critical areas where their labor was needed. They shifted workers to necessary war industries. Therefore, they were able to obtain support from the Negro auxiliary force on the home front.

The Confederate armies in the theatre of operations likewise tapped the Negro reservoir. The work done by the Negroes in the combat zone was the most potent force in demonstrating their strength to the Union commanders. From the beginning of the war and for the duration, Negroes did fatigue duty for the Confederate armies. Several methods were used to recruit these noncombatant warriors. They were voluntary lending of slaves to do military service; Confederate hiring of slaves; impressment of Negroes, free and slave, by the governor through the local courts; and impressment by military officers in the field.

Before the battle of Bull Run everyone's spirits were high. All classes of citizens were willing to put all of their resources at the disposal of the government to defeat the Union. At this pitch of enthusiasm the slaveholders were called upon to lend their slaves to work in and around camps. The masters willingly responded and furnished the slaves with rations. In June, 1861, the slaveowners of York, Warrick, and Elizabeth City counties were asked to send one-half their slaves, with rations, to work on entrenchments in Yorktown for three days.[22] The masters were not inclined to lend their slaves to the government when it became apparent that war would last longer than the antici-

---

[21] *Disallowed Claims*, No. 11878.
[22] *Harper's Weekly*, June 15, 1861.

pated ninety days. Nor was this the only reason for their reluctance; many slaves who were working for the army flowed in rivulets into the Union camp, and some were called away from the farms when they were needed for agricultural purposes. Regardless of this handicap of mobilizing necessary manpower, the Confederates had to have laborers to protect the entrances to Richmond. Since the slaveowners were dubious about lending their slaves, the government explored the possibility of hiring slaves from their owners. The Confederate States authorized military commanders to hire needed Negro laborers throughout the war and compensation was paid by the Confederate government. This method met a fate similar to that of the lending system. It did not supply enough workers. An advertisement in the Richmond newspapers in the winter of 1862 illustrates the operation of this plan. The Quartermaster General of the Peninsula publicly announced the hiring of Negro laborers, mechanics, and teamsters to work in the Peninsular area. The workers were assured of comfortable quarters, free medical attendance, and the usual allowance of clothing.[23] The pay was:

Laborers (if hired by the month and not less than six months)	$ 15.00
Laborers (if hired by the year)	100.00
Teamsters and mechanics—by the month	20.00

Furthermore, the masters were assured by the advertisement that the government would be responsible for the value of all slaves who had been captured by the enemy, had escaped to them, or had been killed in action. When this clause was brought to the attention of the Quartermaster General of the Confederate States, the Quartermaster of the Peninsula was directed to withdraw it, because the Quartermaster General of the Confederate States advised him, "No law exists authorizing you to bind the government to these terms." [24] The retraction of this guarantee to the masters did not help the officers to obtain the much-needed laborers. Only eighty-eight were hired as a result of the advertisement, but if the masters had been given some protection for their property many more laborers could have

[23] *Official Records*, ser. 1, LI, pt. 2, 458.
[24] B. Bloomfield to Major General J. B. Magruder, June 30, 1862, *Official Records*, ser. 1, LI, pt. 2, 458.

been obtained. Relief was sought by passing legislation mobilizing free Negroes.

Whereas at the beginning of the war the slaves were being used as war workers on the home front and the white men were fighting, the free Negroes held a singular position. As early as April 16, 1861, C. M. Hubbard of James City County brought this fact to the attention of the governor of Virginia. The governor was told of the importance of calling all able-bodied free Negroes between the ages of eighteen and fifty into military service to build entrenchments and forts in the Tidewater section.[25]

Provision was made in February, 1862, for tapping the free Negro reservoir. The local courts were to register all free Negroes between the ages of eighteen and fifty in their jurisdiction. The registration list was to be sent to the Adjutant General, and whenever a commanding officer of any post or department wanted laborers to erect batteries and entrenchments, or to perform other military services, he would send a requisition to the local courts. A board of three justices was to select the workers from the registration list. The sheriff was responsible for notifying the free Negroes of their call and if he failed to perform this duty he was subject to a fine of not less than fifty dollars nor more than one hundred dollars. The laborers were not required to serve longer than 180 days without their consent. Furthermore, those drafted into the public service as laborers were entitled to such compensation, rations, quarters, and medical attendance as any other laborers of similar character. Their pay, rations, and allowances were borne by the Confederate states, unless the services rendered were exclusively for the state of Virginia. Also, provision was made for those who wanted to volunteer, and they were called before those who were drafted.[26]

Table I is an example of a requisition from J. F. Gilmer, Colonel of Engineers and Chief of Bureau, requesting 1,029 free Negroes from twenty-four counties in Virginia.

---

25 Hubbard to Governor Letcher, April 26, 1861, *Official Records*, ser. 1, LI, pt. 2, 47.
26 *Acts*, 1861-1862, pp. 61-3.

TABLE I

REQUISITION FOR FREE NEGRO LABOR IN VIRGINIA, BY COUNTIES AND CORPORATIONS, March 19, 1863 [27]

County and Corporation	Number
Bath	9
Brunswick	58
Charles City*	100
Charlotte	23
Chesterfield	59
Dinwiddie	54
Essex*	50
Fluvanna	31
Goochland	62
Greenville	12
Hanover*	10
Henrico*	25
King and Queen*	40
King William*	20
Louisa	22
Madison	7
Nelson	9
New Kent*	20
Nottaway	13
Petersburg City*	100
Powhatan*	63
Prince Edward	52
Prince George*	50
Southampton*	142
Total	1,029

*Within the Department of Virginia.

The above procedures of securing Negro manpower for the Confederacy were supplemented by impressment of Negroes where the exigencies of war demanded their labor by the military officers. Later the governor, along with the military personnel, did the impressing.

A few days after McClellan landed at Fortress Monroe to prepare his Peninsular campaign, Colonel Magruder, Confederate commander, sent Lieutenant Colonel Ball to Richmond to obtain 1,000 Negroes and bring them to Lee's farm. These were needed

[27] *Official Records*, ser. 1, LI, pt. 2, 683.

to erect fortifications in the rear of his army in order to save it in the case of its being overpowered by superior numbers.[28] In another instance the Secretary of War authorized the impressment of 2,000 slaves for employment with the army at Wilmington, North Carolina, because Confederate forces were unable to obtain them by contract. The slaves were needed immediately.[29] This way of obtaining slave labor soon became very unpopular with the citizens in Virginia, especially those in the agricultural districts and those who lived near the Federal lines. Therefore, another method was used with the intent to please both the slaveowners and the army.

On October 3, 1862, the Virginia legislature passed an act providing for the public defense of the state. The act required that a census be taken of all the slaves between the ages of eighteen and forty-five. Upon requisition from the President of the Confederate States, the governor of Virginia would impress slaves to work on fortifications and to do other labor necessary for the defense of the state. The number that could be impressed should not exceed 10,000 or more than five per cent of the slave population from any county, city, or town. The sheriff received the slaves from the masters and delivered them to the agent of the Confederacy. The workers were not allowed to remain in the employment of the government longer than sixty days, or ninety days if the local authorities refused to furnish their slaves. The act further provided that $16 per month be paid to the master for the slave, plus a soldier's ration, medicine, and medical attendance for the slave. All expenses were to be borne by the Confederate States government. If the master furnished the slave's subsistence, however, he would be given sixty cents per day. In addition, the masters were paid by the Confederate States for the loss of slaves as a result of their going into the Federal camp, being killed by the "public enemy," or being injured from undue negligence on the part of the Confederacy.[30]

Table II illustrates the practical working of the act of October 3, 1862. Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States, sent Governor Letcher a requisition for 2,832 slaves to

[28] Magruder to Lee, April 8, 1862, *Official Records*, ser. 1, II, pt. 3, 430.
[29] *Official Records*, ser. 1, XLII, 1139.
[30] *Acts*, 1862, pp. 6-8.

be taken from twenty-nine counties to work upon the fortifications and perform any other labor necessary for the defense of the state. Allowances were made for those counties that had lost slaves as a result of their escaping to the Union camps.

TABLE II

REQUISITION FOR SLAVE LABOR IN VIRGINIA, BY COUNTIES, March 11, 1863[31]

(The number requisitioned is supposed to be 5% of the slave population)

County	Number
Albemarle	164
Amherst	54
Appomattox	35
Augusta	49
Bedford	233
Botetourt	41
Brunswick	222
Buckingham	141
Campbell	231
Charlotte	103
Cumberland	20
Fluvanna	63
Franklin	28
Greene	31
Halifax	242
Henry	57
Louisa	130*
Lunenburg	90
Mecklenburg	89
Montgomery	30
Nelson	126
Orange	50*
Patrick	24
Pittsylvania	307
Prince Edward	51
Pulaski	33
Roanoke	48
Rockbridge	64
Rockingham	75*
Total	2,832

*The calls on Louisa, Orange, and Rockingham counties were reduced from 199, 156, and 119, respectively, because of known losses from inroads of the Federal armies.

[31] *Official Records*, ser. 1, LI, pt. 2, 684.

The dual system of impressment, by military officers and by governors, complicated the matter of obtaining laborers. In some cases military commanders attempted to impress slaves when they had received all available ones for public defense. Governor Letcher refused Major General Samuel Jones's request to impress slaves to work at Saltville for this reason. Then too, many of the slaves who were legally called were stampeding into the Union lines whenever they found an opportunity. The slaveowners became displeased with both systems because these meant a heavy drain on their invested capital. Therefore the first law which was enacted by the state to impress slaves was repealed within less than six months after its enactment. The intent was to please the owners and to get more laborers.

The new law increased the maximum pay to the master to $20 per month. Those owners sending thirty to forty slaves to the induction station were to provide an overseer to guard their property. Also, the exemptions were widened to include agricultural counties that would be affected by drafting slaves, counties near the enemy lines, owners who could prove to the courts that they had lost one-third of their slaves through escape to the enemy, and soldiers in the army having only one slave each. This exemption also applied to every widow having a son in the army or whose husband had died in service. Further, the Confederate States was held responsible for the safe return of the slaves; if they were lost by death in service, were incapacitated by injury or disease, or escaped to the enemy, the government had to make "full compensation to the owners." [32] By accepting these agreements, the age limit was extended to fifty-five, an increase of ten years above that fixed in the act of 1862. An owner who refused to send his slaves was subject to a maximum fine of $10 for each day the slave was withheld. Failure of the sheriff to deliver the drafted slaves carried a fine of from $50 to $200.[33] This act did not remedy the situation; Lee's surrender at Appomattox was the only thing that stopped the dissension over impressment by the state and Confederate States governments. Regardless of the strife between these governments over mobilizing Negroes, the Negroes,

[32] *Acts*, 1863, p. 42.
[33] *Acts*, 1863, p. 46.

as has been shown, did work for them and their labor was valuable to the Confederacy. They threw up earth works, dug ditches, built fortifications, did picket duty, and performed many other services for the Confederacy on the fighting front. The Quartermaster General of the United States, M. C. Meigs, said of the Confederate Negro worker that "the labor of the colored man supports the rebel soldier and enables him to leave his plantation to meet our armies. . . . " [34]

In addition to the fact that the Negro furnished his labor to the government, he was required to pay a poll tax along with the whites in order to support the government. All free Negro men above twenty-one years of age were taxed sixty cents on February 3, 1863, and two months later they had to pay $1.40 more. A tax of ninety cents was levied on all slaves above twelve years of age.[35]

Another force which caused the collapse of the mobilization system was the Negroes themselves. In most cases they did what they could to keep from going into the combat area because of the dangers of warfare and because the treatment they received from the military personnel was none too pleasant. Furthermore, the Negro was not willing to aid in perpetuating his own enslavement and that of his race. Whenever the slaves found an opportunity to escape into the Federal camps they did so, bringing with them their labor to be used by that government in winning the war. The success of the war meant emancipation for them and their brethren who were left in slavery.

The slaves had a right to believe that the Federal camps were a place of refuge because they were well informed of the trend of the events through the propaganda mills of the abolitionists, the house servants, who listened to their master's guests discuss public issues, and the intellectual free Negroes. All of these forces riveted in the minds of the slaves the idea that once within the Federal lines they would be protected from bondage. William A. Johnson, a contraband at Fredericksburg, Virginia, told the Federal authorities, "the Negroes at Richmond and throughout the South have long forseen the present state of

[34] *Annual Report* of M. C. Meigs to the Secretary of War, 1862, *Executive Document*, 37th Congress, 3d Session, IV, No. 1, 81.
[35] *Acts* (passed at adjourned session, 1863, also at an extra session, 1862-63), pp. 4, 52.

things and look anxiously for the coming of the Union Army." [36] Another contemporary Negro, Lunsford Lane, tells how he learned of political problems by serving such outstanding leaders as Calhoun and Preston of South Carolina and Judge Gaston and other leaders at political gatherings and barbecues.[37] The information picked up at these meetings was relayed to other Negroes. Therefore, the Negroes, taking advantage of the information furnished them, began to flow into the Union lines.

The Negroes began moving into the Federal lines as soon as the Union had possession of any portion of Confederate territory. A few days after Virginia held her popular election on secession, Negroes came into Fortress Monroe, the only place in southeastern Virginia in possession of the Union. It was on Thursday night, May 23, 1861, that the first three Negroes entered the Fortress asking for protection. The next morning the guards brought them before Major General B. F. Butler, commander of the Department of Virginia, for a decision as to what to do with them. Before giving judgment, Butler questioned the Negroes about the activities of the colored people and the Confederates in the vicinity.

From the investigation Butler found out the following facts: the Negroes were field hands employed by Colonel Charles Mallory at Sewell Point to build batteries; the colonel was preparing to send a number of them South to do fortification work for the Confederacy; two of the Negroes had wives in Hampton and they had several children in the neighborhood. With these facts, Butler concluded that the South was utilizing the Negro auxiliary force to defeat the Union and that this aid was very valuable to the Confederates. Therefore, he decided to give the Negroes protection for their labor. They were set to work assisting the masons in building a bakehouse.

The next afternoon Butler had a conference with Major M. B. Carey, agent for Colonel Mallory, at Mills Creek Bridge about the Negroes who came into the Fortress. The major wanted to know what Butler was going to do with the escaped slaves. The agent was informed that they would be retained by the Union government as contrabands of war, since they

[36] *Harper's Weekly*, June 7, 1862.
[37] William G. Hawkins, *Lunsford Lane; or Another Helper from North Carolina*, pp. 288-289. (Hereafter cited as Hawkins, *Lunsford Lane.*)

were employed in the defense of the Confederacy and were claimed by the Confederates to be their property. Butler, as a major general of the United States Army and commander of the Department of Virginia, made capital of the Southern ideology by claiming the slaves as property of the United States. Thereafter, all Negroes who came into the Federal lines were jocularly called contrabands. Technically, they remained the property of the Federal government until July 17, 1862.

The Negroes ignored the technical point and continued to take refuge in the Military District of Fortress Monroe. Each day after the coming of the pioneer Negroes one could see others approaching the Fortress. A private, stationed at the Fortress up to mid-July, 1861, stated that on Sunday eight Negroes came; on Monday, forty-seven came; and others followed in groups of twenties, thirties, and forties.[38] It was reported that by June 6,200 Negroes were there. Also, when the Union had to evacuate Hampton in July, 1861, orders were given to the Negroes to leave the village and go to Fortress Monroe so that they would be safe from the Confederates. They were permitted to carry their prize possessions with them. All during that night Negro men, women, and children thronged the roads; some left in boats on their way to the haven of comfort and safety. This migration swelled the Negro labor reservoir at the Fortress to 900. They were classified as follows:

Age Group	Number
MEN	
Able-bodied	300
Past hard labor	30
WOMEN	175
CHILDREN	
Under 10	225
10-20	170
Total	900

Of the 900, seventy-two per cent were employable; the children under ten years of age are excluded in determining this percentage. Thus, sixty-seven days after the first three Negroes

[38] Edward L. Pierce, "The Contrabands at Fortress Monroe," *Atlantic Monthly*, VIII (1861), 628.

entered the Fortress, the Union government had a sizable labor supply. The inland waterways, flowing into the Chesapeake Bay where the Fortress is located, were used by the Negroes to enter the Union lines. For example, a group of Negroes in the neighborhood of Back River left their homes in June, 1861, in a rowboat with a quantity of furniture, bedding, and a dressed hog, came down the Chesapeake Bay, and landed in safety at Old Point Comfort. They marched into the Fortress. One is said to have remarked on entering the Fort, "De Lord is in it. I knowed he'd do it." [39] In another instance, five Negroes came down the Nansemond River, November 11, 1861, in a small boat, bringing with them information about the Confederates' batteries on the river and the location of the Confederate forces in the area.[40] Thus it happened that the migratory laborers brought not only personal equipment to Fortress Monroe but also valuable knowledge of the Confederate activities.

On March 13, 1862, Virginia attempted to cut off this channel of escape by passing "An Act to prevent the escape of slaves in the Tidewater counties." [41] The act provided that upon application of any three freeholders, the county courts should have power to adopt such necessary measures as in their opinion might be indispensable to prevent the escape of slaves in boats to the public enemy. Further, the courts might direct all boats to be removed from the water and destroyed, if necessary, to prevent the escape of the slaves. In such an event the owner would be compensated by a county levy. This regulation may have checked the Negroes from using the rivers as a lane of escape from their masters, but it did not stop them from coming into the Military District of Fortress Monroe.

---

[39] New York *Daily Tribune*, June 13, 1861.

[40] The following letter to the Commanding General of the Department of Virginia is significant:

November 11, 1861

"General: I learned the following from ...., colored, who, with five others, all colored, came from Nansemond River last night in a small boat:

He says that there are two batteries on the Nansemond River, about one-half mile apart—the first about four miles from the mouth—both on the left bank. Each mounts four guns, about 24-pounders. The first is shaped thus: v v v v. The first is garrisoned by forty men of the Isle of Wight regiment, the second by eight. One gun in each fort will traverse; the chasses of the others are immovable. Both open in the rear; very flimsy and trifling affairs. River about three miles wide opposite the batteries. Can land midway between them. The Isle of Wight regiment is at Smithfield. The Petersburg Cavalry Company is at Chuckatuck. There are thirteen regiments of South Carolina troops at the old brick church near Smithfield, commanded by Colonel Pender. At Suffolk there are 10,000 Georgia troops. They have been coming in for the past three weeks in small detachments. This man says that the farmers are starving their Negroes to feed the soldiers." *Official Records*, ser. 1, IV, pp. 630-31.

[41] *Acts*, 1862, p. 104.

Nine days after the enactment of the above law, the commission appointed by Major General Wool to study "the number [and] age . . ." of the Africans in the Military District of Fortress Monroe [42] reported that 1,508 Negroes were in the district. From Table III one may note the places studied and the age group, sex, and number within each locality. The largest of them was at camps Hamilton and Butler, 49.3 per cent; Fortress Monroe was second with 45.8 per cent; and Newport News, third with 4.9 per cent. Further, it can be seen that there were more men at Fortress Monroe than women and children. The latter were located at Camp Hamilton.

TABLE III

POPULATION OF THE NEGROES IN THE MILITARY DISTRICT OF FORTRESS MONROE, BY AGE GROUP AND SEX, March 22, 1862.[43]

	Adult		Children		Total		Total
Place	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Both Sexes
Fort Monroe	387	117	93	94	480	211	691
Camp Hamilton and Camp Butler	191	224	161	167	352	391	743
Newport News	74	.....	.....	.....	74	.....	74
Total	652	341	254	261	906	602	1,508

In December of the same year C. B. Wilder, Superintendent of Negroes for the Department, reported to the Orthodox Friends Society that 6,054 Negroes were in the District.[44] The places and numbers are given below:

PLACE	NUMBER
Ft. Monroe	1,000
Hampton and Camp Hamilton	2,500
Ft. Norfolk	632
Norfolk	794
Craney Island	1,128
Total	6,054

[42] The Commissioners appointed by Major General J. E. Wool consisted of Colonel T. J. Cram, Inspector-General; Colonel LeGrand B. Cannon, Aide-de-Camp; and Major William P. Jones, Aide-de-Camp, *House Executive Document*, 37th Congress, 2d Session, VII, No. 85.

[43] *Report of the Africans in Fortress Monroe Military District*, by Major General John E. Wool, Commanding General of the Department of Virginia, *House Executive Documents*, 37th Congress, 2d Session, No. 85, p. 10. (Hereafter cited as *Report of Africans.*)

[44] New York *Daily Tribune*, January 9, 1863.

Thus by December the labor supply had increased to four times that of the preceding March. This army of laborers arrived at the military district of Fortress Monroe expecting the Federal government to use them as an auxiliary force to aid the army. They could do fatigue duty or assist in any other capacity for the prosecution of the war. They were not "ninety-day wonders" and did not wish as early a discharge from the camp as did the whites, who had volunteered. The Negroes who entered the Union territory during the first days of the conflict did so without any legal authority from the politicians in Washington. It was the politicians' intention to keep the Negroes out of the camps, but Butler had a chance to see at first hand how valuable the Negroes were to the Confederates in Virginia, not only on the home front, but also in the camps and other defensive works. Therefore Butler, without legal sanction, began to draw workers from this migratory group.

It was Butler's need of laborers that caused him to set a precedent. To him it was not an exchange of freedom for work, but he gave protection for work. When he arrived at the headquarters of the Department of Virginia in May, 1861, barracks had to be built, the grounds had to be cleared, wells had to be dug, railroad tracks had to be laid from the wharves to the Fortress, a distance of a quarter of a mile, and the moat surrounding the Fortress had to be cleared of oyster shells. Besides these needs, Butler was ordered to stop the Confederates from erecting batteries near the Fortress, to capture enemies' batteries in or about Craney Island, and to capture batteries within a half day's march of the Fortress. To meet these needs, the Negroes assisted in constructing buildings, in improving the grounds, in erecting batteries, in serving the officers, and in storing provisions landed from vessels; thus they relieved many whites of fatigue duty. They worked willingly and proved to be very useful to General Butler.

On May 24, 1861, Butler communicated with General Winfield Scott, Chief of Staff of the United States Army, relative to the former's action taken in regard to the slaves entering Fortress Monroe. In the communication he told of the work the Negroes were doing for the rebels in the neighborhood, and he also stated that it would have been nearly or quite impossible for

them to erect any batteries without Negroes' labor.[45] The Chief of Staff approved the action taken by Butler and forwarded the letter to the Secretary of War, who agreed with General Scott. Three days later, and on several other occasions, Butler had to obtain further approval and advice on the contraband problem because of the constant increase of the population. In a letter of May 30, 1861, Secretary of War Cameron advised Butler not to return any slaves to their owners. He was to employ in the service those needed, keeping an account of the labor they did, its value, and the expenses of their maintenance. Meantime, the question of their final disposition was left for future action of the government.[46]

In addition to the approval of the War Department, public opinion, as expressed in newspapers, endorsed Butler's position on the contraband question. *Harper's Weekly* stated that the government must obviously act upon the principles of Butler's letter. Another example is that of the New York *Daily Tribune*, which stated that the new doctrine might be exceedingly popular with the Negroes, but that their leaving the Confederacy might pinch the master seriously before the end of the War.[47] From Brooklyn, New York, a writer took a religious point of view:

> Thou shalt not deliver, unto his master, the servant that has escaped from his master unto thee. He shall dwell with thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose in one of thy gates, where it liketh him best: thou shall not oppress him.[48]

The writer was of the opinion that this was reason enough to endorse Butler's policy. Consequently, by the approval of the War Department and the public endorsement, the commander was free to receive all Negroes who came into his lines and to employ those he needed. In due time more Negroes came into the District than could be employed. This excess labor supply forced another problem on the government and the commanders. There was no authority from Washington for the commanders

---

[45] Butler to Scott, May 24, 1861. MS. in the National Archives. All further letters cited may be found in the National Archives, unless otherwise stated. The National Archives has, among other valuable documents, indexes to letters received and sent by the Secretary of War, departmental commanders, and other army personnel. For material available, consult the *Guide to the Material in the National Archives* (Washington, 1940), and the supplements to the *Guide*, which are published quarterly.

[46] Cameron to Butler, May 30, 1861.

[47] August 24, 1861.

[48] New York *Daily Tribune*, June 4, 1861.

to care for the Negroes who were not employed by the government. When the Negroes entered the camps they came in rags—some naked and with their flesh torn, and some without shoes. Men, women, and children came, some in every stage of disease. Therefore, the basic needs of these pioneers were food, shelter, clothes, and medical attention. The care of the unemployed Negroes was a perplexing problem to Major General Wool. In writing to the Secretary of War, Wool asked for some positive instruction as to what to do with the women and children who were not working. "Humanity," said Wool, "requires that they should be taken care of." [49]

The problem was becoming so onerous that the commanders appointed superintendents of Negro affairs to give relief to the Negroes and to rehabilitate them. They were provided with shelter, but some of the barracks, old tents, and huts were uninhabitable. In Norfolk they were quartered in a pest house, the name being derived from its former use. Further, those not employed by the government and those who had no means of subsistence were provided with rations; children under fourteen years of age were issued half rations. The number of daily rations given to all the Negroes in comparison with those employed in the Military District of Fortress Monroe between the months of November, 1861, and February, 1862, is shown in the following table.[50]

MONTH	RATIONS GIVEN	EMPLOYED
November	858	453
December	821	451
January	478	392
February	506	383

The data from the table show that during the period an average of 665.8 rations was given and an average of 419.8 persons was employed. Thus it may be said that for every person employed, nearly two persons received rations. Besides these allowances of food, additional provisions in bread were given the Negroes. The number given during the four months was 772.

The Negroes who worked helped to clothe those who were unemployed. The government withheld part of the wages of

[49] John E. Wool to Cameron, September 18, 1861.
[50] *Report of Africans*, pp. 4-5.

the workers and turned it over to the Quartermaster Department to purchase clothes and shoes for all the Negroes. From November, 1861, to February 28, 1862, the Quartermaster Department purchased and issued clothing to the Negroes valued at $5,526.92 and shoes to the amount of $834.80.[51] The clothes purchased for the Negroes were of fair quality, and in most cases the Federal government did not have enough for the contrabands. William Cramwell and Benjamin Tatham, comprising a committee appointed by the Orthodox Friends Society to study the condition and wants of the colored refugees in the Military District of Fortress Monroe and other camps in Washington and Virginia, reported that the Negroes on Craney Island had a quantity of second-hand clothes and forty or fifty pairs of shoes. Those at Fort Norfolk did not have sufficient clothing.[52]

On August 24, 1863, the report of Olando Brown, Superintendent of Negroes, gave some idea on the number of Negroes who received government assistance wholly or partially. (The report covered the Negroes in the Union lines in the counties of Norfolk, Nansemond, and Princess Anne.)

NEGROES HELPED BY THE GOVERNMENT

In Whole	2,681
In Part	340
Total	3,021[53]

The commanders of the Department of Virginia and North Carolina encouraged the Negroes not employed by the government to work for themselves so that they might learn the value of working as free men for wages. Furthermore, they could exhibit to the Southern men their ability to take care of themselves. These Negroes found employment in fishing, oystering, huckstering, the mechanical arts, and farming. The necessity of providing shelter for the contrabands caused a large number to be used in the building trades. L. C. Lockwood, a missionary to the freedmen at Fortress Monroe, spoke of the capabilities of the Negroes as free workers, saying, "In all they do, from the

---

[51] *Report of Africans*, p. 4.
[52] New York *Daily Tribune*, January 9, 1863.
[53] MS. taken from the *Census of the Colored Persons Within the Union Lines in the Counties of Norfolk, Nansemond and Princess Anne*, July 1 and August 20, 1863, Olando Brown to Col. Hoffman, August 24, 1863.

eloquence of the exhorters to the skill and industry of the artisan and the farmer, they excite surprise and admiration." [54] One will agree with Lockwood's statement and add that the commanders were doing all they could to give relief and to rehabilitate the Negroes into a new life, but in some cases their kind efforts were handicapped by subordinates who took advantage of the Negroes by withholding their supplies and money.

Other than the commanders giving assistance to the Negroes, the humanitarians of the North organized freedom "aid" and "relief" societies to provide for the welfare of the Negroes. The people who composed these societies came from all walks of life. The societies had speakers, whites and Negroes, to present the case of the contrabands to the people in the North; those interested gave money. Sewing circles, churches, business houses, and uplift societies made contributions.

Further, the relief and aid societies sent workers into the camps to labor among the Negroes. Some of the best trained whites, as well as Negroes, came as teachers. On September 17, 1861, the American Missionary Association organized a day and evening school at Hampton for the contrabands. This laid the foundation for Hampton Institute. Olando Brown, in his report cited above, stated that 1,323 were able to read in August, 1863.

Besides establishing schools for the Negroes, the societies gave other direct assistance to them such as agricultural implements and seed to operate farms, tools that were indispensable in the building trades, clothing, and medical supplies. They operated stores and sold goods to the contrabands at cost. This was done in competition with the ones operated by sutlers, who were charging excessive prices for their commodities.

The anxiety of the humanitarian groups to do something for the Negroes brought many societies into the field. This caused much duplication and waste, but under such a vast program of social welfare this could be expected. But the societies, along with the commanders, did improve the condition of the Negroes during the latter's transition from slave laborers to free laborers.

---

[54] Quoted in S. P. Remond, *The Negroes and Anglo-Africans*, pp. 9-10.

The Negro auxiliary force, being assured of protection and assistance from the Union commanders and the humanitarian societies, had greater incentive to put its labor at the disposal of the Federal government. There were factors operating, however, that made their escape to the Union camps easier, such as the extension of the area under Union control, the efforts of some Union officers, and the attitude of some slaveholders.

The Union lines were extended into the interior of Virginia and North Carolina in 1862 and 1863, as a result of the campaigns of Generals McClellan, Burnside, and Foster. The Federal government was in control of the Peninsular area almost up to the city of Richmond, and the city of Fredericksburg. In North Carolina the line was as far west as Kinston and as far south as Beaufort. This brought the lines closer to the Negroes. Consequently, the Negro reservoir began to increase, especially of those below and above fighting age. This may be seen by referring again to Olando Brown's report of August 24, 1863. He gives the census of Negro population in the Union lines in Norfolk, Nansemond, and Princess Anne counties as 18,983: male, 8,558;[55] female, 10,425. This represents an increase of 1,259 per cent over the figure for the Military District of Fortress Monroe the first three months of 1862 (1,508) and a 314 per cent increase over that for the same district in December, 1862 (6,054). Brown further classifies the Negroes by age groups:

AGE GROUP	NUMBER
Under 10	5,369
10-20	4,126
20-45	1,338
45-over	3,158

Another result of the extension of the Union lines was that a large number of free Negroes came into the District of the Department of Virginia and North Carolina. From Table IV one may see the number of free Negroes in the Department on February 1, 1864.

---

[55] The smaller number of men than women may be due to the men enlisting in the army. For the month of June, 1863, there were 932 men serving in the Department of Virginia and North Carolina. Extract from *Department Returns of Colored Troops* for the month of June, 1863. Cited in Elson A. Woodward (editor), "The Negro in the Military Service of the United States."

TABLE IV

STATUS* OF THE NEGROES IN THE DEPARTMENT OF VIRGINIA AND NORTH CAROLINA, BY DISTRICT, February 1, 1864[56]

District	Slaves	Free Negroes
Number 1	8,780	1,669
Number 2	13,947	7,258
Number 3	14,645	2,774
Number 4	11,504	2,959
Total	48,876	14,660

*Status as of April, 1861.

After the President's proclamation of 1862, the Union officers and soldiers would inform the slaves on plantations which they captured that they were free. The men would be permitted to join the army, and the women and children would be sent to Norfolk and would be provided for from the government farms. The fact that 7,289 transients were in the Norfolk District seven months after the proclamation was issued proves that the slaves took advantage of the offer of the military personnel to leave their masters.

Not only was the foregoing true, but as the army advanced into Confederate territory, the masters with their families would run away from their slaves and join the Confederates in the interior of the states, leaving their slaves behind to serve the Union government. There was one such case when General Burnside captured New Bern. Nearby on a deserted plantation he found some slaves who had been left behind by their fleeing masters. Among them was an excellent cook, "Aunt Charlotte," who had been born in Charleston, South Carolina, but came to New Bern as a slave to one of the wealthiest families in the area. When the plantation was taken, the master's home was turned over to the Sanitary Commission for a hospital. "Aunt Charlotte" was employed by the inspector to cook for the sick soldiers at six dollars per month. A staff correspondent of

[56] *Annual Report of the New England Freedmen's Aid Society*, February 1, 1864, which was submitted by Lt. Col. J. B. Kinsman, General Superintendent of Negro Affairs for the Department of Virginia and North Carolina.

Harper's Weekly had the following to say of "Aunt Charlotte:"

> The sick and wounded soldiers had reasons to bless the culinary accomplishments of this venerable contraband cook, and to praise the alacrity with which, in times of their greatest need, she exerted her skill to save them from suffering.[57]

Also, "Aunt Charlotte" was reported to have had a great deal of character, to be always reliable, and to possess no mean administrative abilities. She managed the other Negroes on the plantation as if her mistress had been there.

In another instance a correspondent in western Virginia, passing through Cannelton, reported that he saw very few inhabitants in the town except some Negroes. He inquired among them concerning the whereabouts of the whites, and if they had run away from their masters. A Negro woman replied: "Golly no—Massa run away from me." [58] Hence, by the masters eluding the Union forces, they can be held responsible for many of their Negro workers going over to the Union government.

TABLE V

POPULATION OF THE NEGROES IN THE DEPARTMENT OF VIRGINIA AND NORTH CAROLINA, BY SEX, February 1, 1864[59]

District	Total Both Sexes	Total Male	Female
Number 1	10,449	5,024	5,425
Number 2	21,205	10,932	10,273
Number 3	17,419	8,522	8,897
Number 4	14,463	7,007	7,456
Total	63,536	31,485	32,051

Table V illustrates the results of the factors discussed above. The total population of Negroes in the districts of the Department of Virginia and North Carolina on February 1, 1864, was 63,536 for both sexes. This number was 335 per cent of that for the District of Norfolk in August, 1863 (18,983). Also, in comparing the aggregate total of 13,013 officers and men present and absent in the Department of Virginia, North Carolina, *et cetera* for December, 1861, under the command of Major Gen-

[57] August 16, 1862.
[58] New York *Daily Tribune*, August 7, 1861.
[59] New York *Daily Tribune*, August 7, 1861.

eral John E. Wool,[60] with the Negroes in the Department in February, 1864, Wool's military strength was 79.5 per cent less than that of the Negro population. By June 1, 1862, Wool had under his command 14,007 troops;[61] this figure was 77.8 per cent less than the total Negro population referred to above. Thus by 1864 the Negroes entering the Department of Virginia and North Carolina exceeded the number of troops the Union had in the department in December, 1861, and in June, 1862.

Some of the Negroes who came into the Union lines were very intelligent; others brought useful military information concerning the Confederates; some were skilled in trades. William A. Jackson, an ex-coachman of Jefferson Davis, furnishes an example of an intelligent contraband. Jackson could read and write and converse in a manner which showed that he had been used to good society.[62] Further proof of the contrabands' intelligence was shown soon after the capture of the forts around Hatteras Inlet. It was reported that intelligent contrabands began to arrive in the Union lines, often bringing news of important military activities in several directions.[63] A contraband from North Carolina at Fort Norfolk said that he was a cabinet maker and turner by trade. He also claimed that during a period of twenty years he had paid his master $6,000 for his freedom, but that the master refused to release him; so he escaped.[64] If one should accept the contraband's statement to be true, then he had been fairly successful in his trade, and he could be very helpful to the Union government in its construction program.

The Negro auxiliary force in other military departments began to enter the lines of the Union when they learned of the kindness the Negroes received upon entering the Department of Virginia and North Carolina. They could be counted by the thousands in departments of the South, Potomac, Gulf, and Cumberland by the winter of 1862. The problem was thus

---

[60] Abstract from *Returns* of the Department of Virginia, North Carolina, etc., for December, 1861. *Official Records*, ser. 1, IV, 632.
[61] Statement of troops in Department of Virginia, June 1, 1862, *Official Records*, ser. 1, XI, pt. 3, 204.
[62] *Harper's Weekly*, June 7, 1862.
[63] Robert U. Johnson and Clarence C. Buel (editors), *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, I, 635.
[64] New York *Daily Tribune*, January 9, 1863.

forced upon the politicians in Washington, and it became national.

In the early days of the war the politicians debated the wisdom of using the Negroes, but nothing was done. The question was left to the departmental commanders and they solved it as they saw best. Therefore many complications ensued. All did not follow Major General Butler's policy. In General Dix's offer, which was made to the counties of Accomac and Northampton, an example is furnished in which a commanding officer deviated from that policy. In November, 1861, when Dix wanted to open a line of supply to Baltimore via the Eastern Shore of Virginia, he sent the people of the above-named counties notice that if they would come into the Union without resistance, he would not allow his regimental or corps commanders to accept any slaves within their lines. Dix was taking advantage of the favorable proportion of the Negro population to that of the white. It was as follows:

WHITE	13,659
NEGRO	
Slaves	5,469
Free	7,290
Total	26,418[65]

The total number of Negroes, slave and free, was 12,759, approximately a ratio of one Negro to every white. Further, if the whites approved of his proposition, he could count on a loyal force of 20,949 (whites and free Negroes) or 74 per cent of the people in the counties, leaving the masters with the other 26 per cent. The people accepted the protection of General Dix and he was able to get three-fourths of them and his supply line to Baltimore.

Other instances where generals differed from Butler were in the cases of John C. Fremont, commanding the Western Department, and David Hunter, commanding the Department of the South. Fremont, an ardent abolitionist, declared all the slaves in Missouri free. Hunter did the same thing in his department; he also armed the slaves. These methods of handling the Negroes coming into the Union lines were applauded by the

[65] *Official Records*, ser. 1, V, 430.

abolitionists; the border states became uneasy, and Congress became excited. Finally the President had to step in and declare both acts null and void. In some other cases commanders allowed masters to enter their camps and take their escaped slaves.[66] It so happened that under such a system many complex problems arose. Therefore the politicians had to abstain from debating the Negro problem and to take some direct action on it, because it was apparent that the Negroes, if left alone, would be a source of strength to the Confederates.

The special session of Congress that Lincoln called to meet on July 4, 1861, proceeded to lay the foundation of recognizing the importance of the Negroes as an auxiliary force for the suppression of the "rebellion." In this session of Congress, the border states' men were in control and were led by John J. Crittenden of Kentucky. The men in Congress who wanted complete abolition of slavery had to compromise with the border states' men, because the latter were unwilling to jeopardize the chances of having the border states joining the Confederacy. Nevertheless, something had to be done about the Negroes who had entered the camps up to this time. On August 6, 1861, Congress passed an Act to Confiscate Property Used for Insurrectionary Purposes. The act provided that the owner would lose his right of ownership if his slave claimed to have been employed on military or naval fortifications against the United States, or if he had taken up arms against the United States in the service of the Confederacy. The virtue of this law consisted in the fact that Congress was willing to acknowledge formally the usefulness of Negro manpower to the war. It also legalized the contraband policy of B. F. Butler at Fortress Monroe. In other respects, the law had many points of doubt and ambiguity. "These may have been due," said Edwin Bates, Attorney General, "to the careless haste in which Congress drafted the bill." [67]

The antislavery group objected to the above act because they wanted the government to do more than recognize the slaves

[66] On March 13, 1862, Congress enacted a law to prohibit such practices. The personnel of the armed forces was not to allow anyone to enter Federal territory to take away escaped slaves. Anyone found guilty of violating this act would be dismissed from the service. *U. S. Statutes*, XII, 354.

[67] Howard K. Beale (editor), "The Diary of Edwin Bates," American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, IV (1930), 210.

as being useful to the Union. To them slavery, along with the "rebellion," should perish and the Negroes should be accepted as free workers.

It was in the second session of the Thirty-Seventh Congress that a marked change took place over the Negro question. It was due to the rising influence of the radical Republicans. Congress had hardly convened when the change became apparent. Lyman Trumbull, Senator from Illinois, introduced a bill for the confiscation of Confederate property and for giving freedom to all slaves. The bill was thoroughly debated with almost all the members taking part in the discussion. After eight months of arguing the bill, it became a law on July 17, 1862.

The significance of the law was that it changed slave labor into free labor. This was the first time in the history of the United States that Congress had passed such legislation for the Negroes. The slaves—men, women, and children—were given their feedom if their master had committed treason, if he were found guilty of being disloyal to the government, if he had borne arms against the United States, or if he had given aid or comfort to the enemy. Besides converting slave labor into free labor in these ways, it was provided that those slaves would be forever free who had escaped and taken refuge in the lines of the army, had been captured by the army, had been deserted by their masters, or had been found within any place captured by the forces of the United States. The act also fixed a minimum wage for the Negro government workers.[68]

Virginia, in retaliation, enacted a counter-law protecting her citizens and labor system from the "iniquitous legislation of the United States." [69] It stated that any public official who emancipated any slaves according to the provisions of the Federal act would be liable for twice the value of the slaves. No doubt this stringent measure of Virginia may have been successful in influencing the United States' officials in the state of Virginia not to enforce that part of the act relating to the master's disloyalty; but, on the other hand, it did not render impassable the lane of freedom for the slaves to become workers.

The lane of freedom was widened after January 1, 1863, by

---

[68] *U. S. Statutes*, XII, 378.
[69] *Acts*, 1862, pp. 12-13.

the Emancipation Proclamation, which liberated all slaves in "rebellious" territory. Since the counties of Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Anne, and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth, were under Federal control, they were exempted from the provisions of this proclamation.

The war had got well on its way before the Union learned that it had ignored a mighty force. This Negro force, upon its own initiative, began to penetrate the Union lines. The Negroes were received by the commanders because they were the ones to see that the power of the "rebel" rested upon their "peculiar system" of labor. As military strategists, it was their duty to disdain no legitimate aid that would save the lives of their gallant soldiers, diminish their labor, provide for their wants, and lessen the burden of their people. Therefore, they decided to attack the enemy in the most accessible quarters by retaining his Negro reservoir as the slaves came under their control. The retention of the Negroes caused many leaders to discuss their value as a potential weapon to smite the Confederacy on every hand, to attack his armies and strongholds, to occupy his posts, and to clear the great rivers for the Union government.

President Lincoln, for political reasons, at first accepted the border states' attitude that the purpose of the war was to defend and preserve the Union. This war aim excluded the Negroes. Lincoln maintained this aim until he issued his Emancipation Proclamation. Up to the time of the proclamation, the President could see no positive good in the arguments of the slaveholders and yet he was unwilling to endorse a program of unconditional emancipation so that the slaves could take an active part in the war. He was willing to drain this source of labor away from the United States to such far countries as Haiti or Liberia. The kind masters who would liberate their slaves would be compensated by the national government "for the inconveniences produced by such change of system." [70] The freed slaves and the free Negroes who wanted to go would have their passage paid by the government. The sum was not to exceed $100 for each emigrant.[71] If this magnanimous offer

[70] *U. S. Statutes*, XII, 378.
[71] *U. S. Statutes*, XII, 378.

had been accepted, it would have been one of the greatest wastes of manpower ever conceived by any government. Fortunately the border states refused to accept Lincoln's emancipation, compensation, and colonization plan, because they doubted the government's ability to pay for them. The free Negroes also declined the proposal. The following statement of a Southern Negro, Lunsford Lane, who went North to live as a freeman, is significant in expressing the idea of the Negroes. Lane stated:

> We have no desire to leave the United States for residence in Liberia or the West Indies. The South is our home; and we feel that there we can be happy, and contribute by our industry to the prosperity of our race, and leave the generation that succeeds us wiser and better.[72]

Frederick Douglass, another Negro leader, said of the colonization plan that "for a nation to drive away its laboring class was 'political suicide.'" [73] These reverses caused Lincoln to change his mind and consider the Negroes a source of labor worthy of use in all branches of industry, and, in certain cases, in the army.

Lincoln, in his proclamation of 1863, advised the Negroes to work for reasonable wages and also informed those Negroes who were physically fit that they might enlist in the armed services of the United States. In addition, he forced those persons taking the oath of allegiance to abide by and faithfully support all acts of Congress passed during the war with reference to slaves, so long as they were in force.

The two Secretaries of War under Lincoln were not as slow as he was in estimating the worth of the Negro laborers. Simon Cameron, a successful businessman and Secretary of War from March 4, 1861, to January 11, 1862, realized that the slaves constituted a military resource. "Their labor," said Cameron, "may be useful to us; and if withheld from the enemy would lessen his military strength. Further, why deprive the South of supplies by blockade and leave them men to produce them." [74] Thus he was in favor of employing the Negroes to work for the government on deserted farms to save the crops that were left

---

[72] Hawkins, *Lunsford Lane*, p. 205.
[73] Frederic M. Holland, *Frederick Douglass: The Colored Orator*, (*American Reformer*, series 1,) p. 286.
[74] *Hou. Ex. Doc.*, 37th Cong., 2d Sess., II, pt. 2, p. 14.

by the slaveholders, and if the produce could not be directly used by them it could be sold in the North.

Cameron's successor, Edwin Stanton, a corporation lawyer and antislavery Democrat, thought as Cameron did concerning the Negroes. This laboring population could be used to revive trade in cotton, rice, and sugar, and these products could be exchanged for necessary war materials in the North, thus re-establishing free trade between the North and the South and in the course of time reviving trade over the entire country.[75]

Stanton further commented by saying that with the Negroes' assistance in the armies, the latter would be able to operate effectively in Confederate territory because the Negroes could cultivate the corn and forage to feed the animals, thus saving the government a portion of the burden of getting this feed from the North. In addition, it would be a great aid and economy for the government to raise these foodstuffs in the field of operation and to utilize the cheap Negro labor. Besides, the Negro population, loyal to the Union, would be of great assistance in holding the conquered territory and cutting off the "rebels'" resources. Therefore Stanton saw in the Negroes a potential laboring force to revive sectional trade relations, to produce food for the animals, and to do garrison duty.

Other reasons why the Negro manpower should be employed in the war were expressed by the Quartermaster General, M. C. Meigs. The opinion given by him was most democratic. He insisted that all loyal citizens, black and white, be used to put down the "rebellion"; however, the Negroes were animated by a double motive, namely, political and personal liberties. This West Point graduate and engineer went on to say that it was impossible to cast aside the millions of Negroes who offered themselves for work. Their services would be most valuable to the government because they were accustomed to the climate, inured to labor, and acquainted with the country.[76]

In 1863 Congress appointed a Freedmen Inquiry Commission[77]

---

[75] *Hou. Ex. Doc.*, 37th Cong., 3d Sess., IV, 17-19.
[76] *Hou. Ex. Doc.*, 37th Cong., 3d Sess., IV, No. 1, p. 81.
[77] The Commission consisted of Robert Dale Owen, James McKaye, and Samuel G. Howe. Robert Dale Owen was the son of Robert Owen, the Scottish philanthropist. He spent most of his time in the United States and was a leading advocate of emancipation. His letters and pamphlets on Negroes had a great influence on the political leaders in Washington in using the Negroes in winning the war. Compare *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIV, 118-120.

to investigate how the colored people could be usefully employed by the government. The commission made two reports, one in June, 1863, and the other in May, 1864, on the condition of Negroes in Washington, D. C., eastern Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Florida. After an exhaustive study, the commission advised Congress that the United States should obtain the cooperation of the Negroes as soldiers and military laborers for the "speedy suppression of the rebellion and restoration of permanent peace." [78] The need was apparent in the places visited by the commission. They found that the demand for Negro laborers always exceeded the supply. An example to illustrate this point was given in the case of Major General Burnside, who had a standing requisition for 5,000 colored laborers, and at no time was Colyer, Superintendent of the Poor and Negroes, able to furnish as many as 2,000. Major General Dix was also unable to fill the requisitions coming from Washington to Fortress Monroe.

The committee further advised Congress to employ 100,000 Negroes to work on entrenchments, on garrison duty, in the ambulance corps, in hospitals, and as guides and spies. By doing this, the strength of the army would be increased by one-eighth.[79] That is, supposing that the estimated strength of the army would be 800,000, by employing the Negroes the number would be 900,000. Thus these 100,000 recruits would relieve the whites of fatigue duty.

An analysis of the attitudes of the above leaders reveals the thought that by Negro labor Confederate military resources could be weakened, foodstuffs could be produced for the army in the theatre of operations, trade relations could be revived between the sections, the Negroes would be working for their personal freedom, and the duration of the war could be reduced. Congress, sensitive to public opinion, began during the war to prepare for the restoration of permanent peace by empowering the President to fill the manpower needs from the Negro reserve. The President therefore ordered the commanders of the de-

---

[78] *"Final Report* of the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission," May 15, 1864, *Senate Documents*, 38th Cong., 1st Sess., No. 53, pp. 108-109.

[79] *Preliminary Report* of the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission, June 30, 1863, p. 15.

partments to employ as many Negroes as could be advantageously used for military and naval purposes at reasonable wages. Now that the politicians at Washington had solved the problem of integrating the Negroes into the army as laborers, the commanders of the Department of Virginia and North Carolina were free to employ them in any capacity in which their experience and training could be serviceable in the war effort.

PAPERS FROM THE FORTY-SIXTH ANNUAL SESSION OF THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, RALEIGH, DECEMBER 6, 1946

INTRODUCTION

By Mrs. Ernest A. Branch

The forty-sixth annual session of the State Literary and Historical Association was held at the Sir Walter Hotel in Raleigh, Friday, December 6, 1946. Meeting concurrently with the Association were the North Carolina Folk-Lore Society, the North Carolina State Art Society, the Archaelogical Society of North Carolina, The North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities, and the North Carolina Symphony Society, Inc.

At the morning session of the Association, President Robert B. House of Chapel Hill presided and Dr. Nannie May Tilley of Duke University read a paper entitled "Agitation against the American Tobacco Company in North Carolina, 1890-1911." Mrs. Bernice Kelly Harris, a novelist, gave a talk on "A Layman's View of the Book Business," and Mr. LeGette Blythe, editorial writer of *The Charlotte Observer,* presented a review of North Carolina books and authors of the year. Following these papers a business meeting was held, at which the report of the secretary-treasurer was presented and accepted and resolutions were passed expressing regret at the loss of members who had died during the year; expressing appreciation for the generous hospitality of the Raleigh Woman's Club in graciously tendering to the Literary and Historical Association and its sister societies a tea on the afternoon of Thursday, December 5; and thanking the officers and committees for a successful meeting of the Association.

At this meeting a motion was made, seconded, and carried which invited the North Carolina Society of County Historians to meet with the State Literary and Historical Association and allied societies at the 1947 annual sessions.

The State Literary and Historical Association is pleased that the allied societies continue to meet with it, and it feels that the contacts with the members of these societies are mutually beneficial. Since 1914, and perhaps earlier, the Folk-Lore Society has met annually with the State Literary and Historical

Association. The program of 1926 included the meetings of the North Carolina State Art Society. In 1939 the Archaeological Society and the North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities also joined the group, while in 1945 the North Carolina Symphony Society, Inc., met with the Association. It is felt that a gathering of the members of the several societies and associations of the state is inspirational and educational, and stimulates the cultural advancement of North Carolina.

Officers for the year 1946-47 were elected as follows: president, Dr. Carlyle Campbell, Raleigh; vice presidents, Mrs. Charlotte Hilton Green, Raleigh, Mrs. Lawrence Sprunt, Wilmington, and Mr. Carl Sandburg, Flat Rock; acting secretary-treasurer, Mrs. Ernest A. Branch, Raleigh.

At the Association's evening session, Mr. Ralph B. Coit of Greensboro, governor of the Mayflower Society of North Carolina, presented the Mayflower Society award to Miss Josephina Niggli of Chapel Hill for her book *Mexican Village*, which was judged the best book published during the year by a resident of North Carolina. Instead of presenting a replica of the Mayflower Society Cup as has been customary, a certificate of award and a check for $50.00 were presented to Miss Niggli in lieu thereof. Dr. Robert B. House, Chapel Hill, president of the Association, delivered his address entitled "On Autobiography" and Dr. Edwin Mims of Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee, delivered the principal address entitled "Semi-Centennial Survey of North Carolina Intellectual Progress."

It is believed that the papers printed below will be of interest to the readers of the *Review*. All of them relate generally to North Carolina except the address of president, but it is nevertheless worth preserving as the president's address presented at the annual session of the State Literary and Historical Association.

ON AUTOBIOGAPHY

By Robert Burton House

My theme is autobiography, which is the frank, healthy use of the personal pronoun, "I," in writing, as contrasted with the impersonal style. It may be a work in which the writer's subject is entirely himself, or it may be a work of larger scope, but, if it is, the writer leaves no doubt in the reader's mind that what is set down is limited by the personal point of view of the writer. Autobiography may be presented in many forms,—a letter, a diary, a journal, a poem, an essay, a volume. The autobiography of the subject, whenever it can be found, always forms the kernel of a biography, and disguised autobiography has always been a major element in literature. But always, and increasingly with the nineteenth century, frank, undisguised autobiography has been a prevalent literary and historical form. The reason is not far to seek: it is hard to write of complicated modern times in the style of the *Iliad* or of *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.*

Accordingly we find modern writers, no matter how much they attempt imaginative literature and so-called definitive history, obeying an urge to go back over their lives and set down a confession, the sum and substance of which is, "At least this is the way it seemed to me." Moreover, there is a deep psychological and spiritual reason for this contemplation of personal experience: the individual seems, even to himself, to be lost in the mass unless he objectifies on paper at least the main features of his own personal life. Autobiography thus becomes a stimulus and a guide to more robust personal living.

Walt Whitman has expressed briefly the autobiographical urge:

> One's-self I sing, a simple, separate person,
> Yet utter the word Democratic, the word En-Masse.
>
> Of physiology from top to toe I sing,
> Not physiognomy alone nor brain alone is
> worthy for the muse, I say the Form
> complete is worthier far
> The Female equally with the Male I sing.

*This article appeared in *Popular Government*, Vol. X, No. 10 (December, 1946.)

Of Life immense in passion, pulse, and power,
Cheerful, for freest action form'd under
the laws divine,
The Modern Man I sing.

We need to have the modern man sing himself in order to arrive at that irreducible up-thrust of individual reality which is essential to the larger joining of person to person, without which our dreams of local, social, national, and international democracy remain ineffective because they have no human content. History, Carlyle tells us, is the essence of innumerable biographies. And Carlyle relied always on autobiography as far as he could get it, for his biography. He always went to the man himself for a letter, a diary, a sketch, to determine and to interpret that man's mainsprings of love, thought, and action—in himself, in society, and under God.

My thesis, therefore, is that we need to read, write, and speak more autobiography. It is a literary and historical purpose I have in mind, and a practical aim also. The greatest good is a good life, and honest autobiography is an inspiration and a guide to a good life. We need to assert the significance of individual worth, and to study the process of individual worth in order that we may live better in an age obsessed with collectivism.

A man's own autobiography resources and confirms his memory, which certainly gets sketchy and tenuous if he is not diligent and honest in setting down notes as he goes along. A memory thus resourced by reading and reading these notes stiffens and confirms a man's personality and disciplines it. It gives a man a line on his strength and on his weakness. We ought to preserve and systematize these notes, and publish them if we can, because no man knows the value they may possess for another. Autobiography is not only the most personal of literary arts, it is the most neighborly of literary acts in swapping experience and know-how in the art of living.

"All men of whatsoever quality they be," writes the Renaissance artist Benvenuto Cellini, "who have done anything of excellence, or which may properly resemble excellence, ought, if they are persons of truth and honesty, to describe their life with their own hand."

"Dear Son:" writes Benjamin Franklin,—"Having emerged from the poverty and obscurity in which I was born and bred, to a state of affluence and some degree of reputation in the world, and having gone so far through life with a considerable share of felicity,—the conducting means I made use of, which with the blessing of God so well succeeded, my posterity may like to know, as they may find some of them suitable to their own situations, and therefore fit to be imitated."

Wordsworth tells us that to every form of being there is assigned an active principle, that it determines the course of each being's life, and that it is the highest form of creative adventure in particular for each man to find his active principle and to live by it. Cellini and Franklin are famous examples of men who contemplated with joy and gratitude to God the unfolding of this divine urging in themselves. They wrote because they wanted to communicate their joy and wisdom to others. It is true that they wrote classics of autobiography because they lived classics in life. But it is also true, and the exact point I am stressing, that their lives were better because they examined them and ordered them according to their active principles. Socrates, himself a great autobiographer, tells us that a life not thus examined is not worth living. This joy in one's-self, this urge to examine, record, and communicate, this gratitude to God for wisdom and happiness runs all through the Bible; it crowns Greek literature in the life and death of Socrates; it makes Latin life more intimate to us in Caesar, Horace, Cicero, and Pliny; it continues in the *Confessions* of Saint Augustine. It is an abundant and master portion of all literature, and, I think reaches its flower in Wordsworth's *Prelude,* one of the greatest autobiographies, and one of the greatest poems. We neglect such resources at our peril.

"It is this life of the individual, as it may be lived in a given nation," says George Santayana, another great autobiographer, "that determines the whole value of that nation. But for the excellence of the typical single life, no nation deserves to be remembered more than the sands of the sea; and America will not be a success if every American fails."

I do not think that every American is at all likely to fail, but I do think that every American would profit by paying more at-

tention to a better way of life and to autobiography as an aid. Carlyle in his great essay on biography lays down a principle that applies also to autobiography: "to have an open, loving heart and an eye to discern wisdom. This it is that opens the whole mind, quickens every faculty to do its fit work, that of knowing—and of vividly uttering forth." "The stupidest of you has a certain faculty, were it but of articulate speech and of physically discerning what lies under your nose.—You do not use your faculty; your heart is shut up; full of greediness, malice, discontent; so your intellectual sense cannot be open."

The positive of this principle has been recently illustrated in the volumes of Mr. Josephus Daniels and *The Memories of an Old Time Tar Heel* by Doctor Kemp Plummer Battle. These are two North Carolinians in the great autobiographical tradition. They embrace life with loving hearts and eyes capable of discerning wisdom. And they achieve remarkable perspective, the fruit of which is humour. Every event, says Benedetto Croce, makes two appearances in history, first as tragedy, second as comedy.

"Right here," says Doctor Battle, "let me give a short psychological lecture. The narration of piquant anecdotes is good medicine for depressed spirits. It diverts action from the nerve cells where melancholia is poisoning happiness to those which bring merriment. I have found by experience that the practice brings relief to the mind and health to the body. Let no one sneer at jocularity in its place. Inopportunely used it is a nuisance. Why was it given to us if we are to hide it in the recesses of the brain?" Mr. Daniels is a man of fierce loyalties, but time has toned down the heat and bother of things. He says that he is planning to write *A Shirt-sleeves Diplomat* and *Life Begins at Seventy*. In addition to the best kind of literature and hisotry, Doctor Battle and Mr. Daniels present good psychology, philosophy, and practical religion. We need to do more reading, writing, and talking along the lines they lay down.

It is a great loss to North Carolina literature and history that such men as Collier Cobb, Francis D. Winston, M. C. S. Noble, and Walter Murphy never got around to writing their autobiographies. But it is not a total loss because they each one had the power to etch their sayings on the memories of their hearers. I hear them quoted almost every day, and it is possible that

some modern Boswell may yet bring them before us in their manner as they were. They certainly talked of life, immense in its passion, pulse, and power, embracing it with deep affection; discerning it with wisdom and wit; and increasing the stature of themselves and their listeners by their joy in themselves and their fellow men. They were worthy approaches to that transcendently great talk which survives immortally in Plato's *Dialogues,* Boswell's *Life of Johnson,* and Goethe's *Conversations with Eckermann.* We all have the same subject matter, but we need to lift our conversational sights and extend the range.

As to writing letters, diaries, journals, and the larger summing up, I think most of us quail at the task. The helpful rule here is to write only what can be seen in perspective, and one thing at a time. A good autobiography should have a beginning, a middle, and an end.

The beginning is unfailingly the master portion of an autobiography, because our sources of strength and joy lie in our memories of childhood and home. It is said that precious memories may remain of even a bad home if the heart knows how to find what is precious, and that anybody approaching middle age can write well of his own childhood. Wordsworth says that this is so because the soul discerns there her own native vigor. But, says Ernest Dimnet in *My Old World,* this past lies dormant and needs awakening by the effort of appropriate reading and writing:

"But how can I forget the long slow years in which my soul ripened in peace in its closed garden? Probably each one of us has his own world, that is to say, the time when he was less conscious of reacting upon his surroundings than of being nurtured by them. The recollection of that time is our individual poetry. When we speak of those far away days we are seldom inclined to be boastful; what we try to convey is the impression which remote objects, elusive sensations, evocative sayings, or, as we say, characters-out-of-a-book have left upon us. We allude to them in a different mood from that in which we record what we have done, or imagine we have done."

Anyone who tries sincerely to recapture these memories of childhood will find that he can do so, and that the effort unlocks his best creative resources.

As to the middle period, the things we have done or imagine we have done, we need to concentrate on our letters, diaries, and notes, as tentative efforts toward perspective and summing up. These are the modern man's confessional. The essays of Montaigne and of Lamb, the *Journal* of Emerson are models of such informal writing. I also like this extract from *Autobiography With Letters* by William Lyon Phelps:

I have always been eaten up with ambition, I have had the longings described by Faust as he sat at his desk in the moonlight, and I worry about innumerable little things. I have never had a placid temperament. I have had two prolonged attacks of nervous prostration, one at the age of twenty-six and one at the age of fifty-nine, and my religious faith remains in possession of the field only after prolonged civil war with my naturally sceptical mind. Yet I have certainly lived a happy life.—Perhaps the chief source of my happiness lies in my gift of appreciation. I must have been born with it. When I was a child everything unusual excited me; now that I am old everything usual has about the same effect. Happiness is more dependent on the mental attitude than on external resources. This would be an absurdly obvious platitude, were it not for the fact that ninety-nine out of a hundred persons do not believe it.

I like this because it is an expression of happiness in the modern world exactly in line with the tone of autobiography through all the centuries.

The end of an autobiography as a conclusive summing up is seldom written because the writer still feels that he is in the middle period. Such a conclusion is intimated in the beginning, and it is tested out in the middle period. It is somtimes expressed as in the chapter entitled "Emeritus" in Bliss Perry's *And Gladly Teach,* one of the urbane, Christian voices of America.

More and more I have turned to books for reinforcement of my youthful faith in progress. The most durable foundations for hope for a better future for humanity seem to me to be found in history, literature and religion. I should of course add 'Science' if I thought I had a really scientific mind.—I have said almost nothing about that transcendent relationship which we call religion, for I think religion is something to be lived and not to be talked about, except by the very few who are capable of making real the things which are invisible.

From the self, through society, to God seems to me to be the master witness of autobiography to the master movement of the soul. I conclude with John Wesley, one of the few who could make visible the things which are invisible:

> Today I entered on my eighty-second year, and found myself just as strong to labour, and as fit for any exercise of body or mind as I was forty years ago. I do not impute this to second causes, but to the Sovereign Lord of all. It is He who bids the sun of life stand still so long as it pleases Him—We can only say, 'The Lord reigneth!' While we live, let us live to Him.

AGITATION AGAINST THE AMERICAN TOBACCO COMPANY IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1890-1911[1]

By NANNIE MAY TILLEY

The first American Tobacco Company had its roots in the development of Bright or Flue-Cured Tobacco and in the growing popularity of the cigarette fad. More or less accidentally and by force of circumstance the cultivation of tobacco was started on the sandy piedmont soils of North Carolina and Virginia, and by the mid-1850's it was coming to be known that on such soils tobacco leaf grew with a brighter color and with a lower nicotine content than when produced on soils naturally more fertile. Then came the general use of the flue and the thermometer, and by the late 1870's farmers had virtually mastered the techniques of producing yellow leaf, or Bright Tobacco, or, according to technical terminology, Flue-Cured Tobacco.

In two other important respects this new type of leaf differed from its parent stock, the dark, heavy tobacco of the tidewater area. It was divided into many grades rather than the three grades of short leaf, long leaf, and lugs which sufficed for classifying the old dark type of tobacco. The best leaves, known as wrappers, were in great demand for the outer coverings of chewing tobacco, but when tightly packed into hogsheads they were no longer suitable for such use by manufacturers of chewing tobacco during the 1870's, 1880's, and 1890's. Nor could a tobacco grower often fill a hogshead with leaf of one grade. As a result of this changed situation farmers ceased prizing or packing their leaf into hogsheads and began to sell it loose on the auction sales floor. The old Richmond hogshead market languished, and such places as Danville, Durham, Winston-Salem, Reidsville, and ultimately Wilson, Rocky Mount, and Greenville became great markets. The new method of selling was thus based on changed demands of manufacturers and on the greater number of leaf grades, the latter a very complex question which was not soon mastered by the growers. In fact, tobacco leaf is graded by two rules, one from the point of view of the farmer according to position on the stalk, and the other from the point of view of the manufacturer according to its use in the processing of

[1] This paper is a summary of a portion of a study entitled "The Bright-Tobacco Industry, 1860-1929," now in publication by the University of North Carolina Press.

chewing tobacco, smoking tobacco, or cigarettes. Along with these changes went an accelerated rate of selling. As may readily be seen, the combination immediately offered opportunities *par excellence* for speculation between the farmer and manufacturer. Furthermore, many manufacturers scattered over the nation desired wrappers, and a little speculator on the Durham market, for instance, might easily take part in maneuverings which would cheat the distant manufacturer as well as the farmer. Then, too, a little group of speculators, leaf dealers, order buyers, agents, or howsoever termed might combine their wits and their holdings of leaf to the disadvantage of the home manufacturer as he sought to obtain certain grades of leaf on the local auction floor. When their operating capital was large, such speculators were known as leaf dealers, or, in later years, as tobacco merchants, but when they had access to paltry funds only and resold their purchases on the auction floor, they were pinhookers. The leaf dealers, however, usually added to the value of the leaf by redrying it, although fundamentally their general tactics were similar to those of the pinhooker. Quite often all classes of speculators were subsidized by warehouse owners who shared in the profits.

The advance of the cigarette to popularity represents a shift in social behavior which perhaps cannot be explained. Smoking of no kind—not even a pipe—came into general popularity before the Civil War. It may well be that smoking received impetus from the invention and development of the friction match which rendered the matter of securing a light vastly more convenient. Or perhaps Americans began smoking cigarettes in emulation of European royalty, or people of fame and fashion. It has also been suggested that the cigarette offered a quicker method for securing comfort from tobacco and was therefore particularly pleasing to the energetic Americans. Furthermore, since the new fad was far cheaper than cigars, some have felt that the panic of 1873 and its dreary aftermath sent many to the use of cigarettes. Be that as it may, cigarettes did become popular during the 1880's and their manufacture required a grade of leaf known as cutters. This grade, which was cut into long shreds, was not quite so difficult to produce as wrappers, but at the same time it required more attention from the grower than the grade known as smokers.

From the Civil War until approximately 1885 the career of the speculator depended on wrappers and to some extent on smokers. After 1885, however, he also found wonderful opportunities in cutters—opportunities which were materially lessened by the formation of the American Tobacco Company. In order to follow the speculator's career with wrappers, smokers, and cutters, it will be necessary to observe his tactics, his growth in numbers, his connection with the warehouseman, his tight little organizations, his place in politics, and his generally soft and easy existence.

Danville, Virginia, might be called the place of origin of the loose-leaf auction style of marketing tobacco.[2] There the speculators learned valuable lessons in obtaining quick profits from the auction sale of leaf tobacco. In the words of a Danville booster who wrote of conditions prior to 1885: "fluctuations in prices afford a rich field for dealers and speculators . . . , and a good deal of the crop finds its way to their establishments." [3] So lucrative was the business that 52 leaf dealers flourished on the Danville market in 1873, 96 in 1878, and 142 in 1885. Nor did these numbers include the pinhookers who, at that time, were not licensed. To illustrate the extent of obtaining profits from dealing in leaf tobacco, the career of Peter W. Ferrell (1832-1914) is of interest. Ferrell, who as early as 1869 conducted a "snug little business by buying and selling Tobo.," soon became one of the most prosperous dealers in Danville with an established clientele not only in the United States but also in Canada, Australia, and Europe. He also served as president of the Danville Tobacco Association throughout the greater part of the 1870's.[4] Later, in a sketch of Ferrell's career which appeared in a volume prepared by a staff of writers, it was stated that he had waxed prosperous until cut off by the American Tobacco Company. Then there was Matthew P. Jordan (1850-1903) who, leaving Person County in 1871, served as a clerk in a Danville mercantile house for a few months

[2] A special edition of the *Danville Daily Post*, December 25, 1879, contains perhaps the best single account of the loose-leaf auction method of selling tobacco as it developed in Danville during early post-bellum years.

[3] Edward Pollock, *Illustrated Sketch Book of Danville, Virginia; Its Manufactures and Commerce* ([Danville], 1885), p. 127.

[4] B. L. Ferrell, writing to his son, P. W. Ferrell, on February 23, 1869, referred to the latter's "snug little business"—Sutherlin MSS (Duke University Library). For other facts relative to P. W. Ferrell's career see *Danville Daily Post*, December 25, 1879; Pollock, *Illustrated Sketch Book of Danville, Virginia; Its Manufactures and Commerce*, pp. 158-159.

before venturing on the sales floor as a pinhooker. So fruitful were his speculations that soon, by virtue of greater capital and an enlarged field of action, he elevated himself to the rank of leaf dealer. By 1895 he was closely connected with the P. Lorillard Company of New York, evidently serving as their agent. Jordan's initial years as a despised pinhooker had apparently been forgotten in 1893 when he became president of the Danville Tobacco Association.[5] Even more spectacular was the career of John Blackwell Cobb (1857-1923), a native of Caswell County, who, at the age of nineteen borrowed $500 and began a prosperous career in the tobacco business.[6] These illustrations might be multiplied at considerable length. Continued resales on the auction floor by speculators caused one reliable witness to declare in 1876 that volume of sales and average prices as officially given for the Danville market should be reduced by twenty per cent in order to reveal the true situation.[7] Duval Porter has given the following graphic account of the speculating fraternity as it had developed in Danville by 1890:

> [When the Civil War] was over a marvelous change came over Danville. The war-prices paid for tobacco soon drew to it a crowd of tobacco speculators from both Virginia and North Carolina. There was a rush and a roar on all sides. . . . Fortunes were made in a single year. Men, who came there on foot a few years before, rode back to see their poor relations in phaetons. Wood choppers and haulers turned pin-hookers, and in a few years built palaces. . . . Most of them had spent their lives from boyhood to manhood in the tobacco fields in Virginia and North Carolina, and were the best judges of tobacco under the sun. . . . They soon banded together and became an army of pinhookers and tobacco sharps, veritable hawks, who pounced down upon the farmers as they landed in the warehouses, and would often pluck fifty dollars out of him before he could say 'Jack Robinson,' by buying his tobacco and selling it right before him. They brought the warehouses to terms, and soon constituted a large percentage of the Tobacco Association. . . . The whole town seemed to catch the infection, and nothing more toothsome in the way of information could be imparted by the average Danvillian ten years ago (1881) than to point out some palatial residence and say, "Five years ago the owner of that house came here as poor as a church

---

[5] *Southern Tobacco Journal*, October 14, 1893; *Tobacco*, November 22, 1895, p. 8.
[6] *Who Was Who in America*, I, 234.
[7] *United States Tobacco Journal*, October 10, 1876.

mouse, and now he is worth every cent of one hundred thousand dollars."[8]

As auction sales markets were established in North Carolina, the same situation developed there. Exclusive of pinhookers the number of leaf dealers in North Carolina jumped from 123 in 1875 to 327 in 1885. In 1873, when S. M. Hobson and Hamilton Scales (1821-1890) established the Planter's Warehouse in Winston, they advertised in the local paper that the forthcoming railroad would afford "facilities for transportation which will enable speculators to compete with [the] Danville market in the matter of freights." [9]

In Durham the dramatic situation involving warehousemen as leaf dealers during the 1880's should serve to show that speculation in leaf tobacco was rampant before 1890. In 1869 John S. Lockhart (1841-1897) began the manufacture of smoking tobacco in Durham, but, being unable to compete against Bull Durham, he began buying leaf tobacco for speculation. Though remarkably successful, he soon established an auction sales warehouse in order to widen his opportunities for speculating.[10] In the same town E. J. Parrish (1846-1920), a warehouseman on a far larger scale than Lockhart, also purchased large quantities of leaf tobacco for resale. Both were closely allied with W. T. Blackwell (1839-1903), who in 1882 had sold his interest in the Bull Durham manufacturing plant and established the Bank of Durham. Moreover, in 1884 the front portion of Parrish's three-story prize house, where he packed and stored his leaf purchases, served also as the banking and reception rooms for the Bank of Durham. When Blackwell's bank failed in 1888, so did Lockhart and Parrish.[11] Records of the Bank of Durham support the following analysis of the failure which appeared in a New York trade journal:

---

[8] *Men, Places and Things as Noted by Benjamin Simpson* (Danville, 1891), pp. 206-207.

[9] *Western Sentinel* in *Tobacco*, March 12, 1942, p. 4.

[10] W. K. Boyd, *The Story of Durham: City of the New South* (Durham, 1927), p. 79; *Durham Tobacco Plant*, May 22, 1876; *Southern Tobacconist and Manufacturers Record*, May 11, 1897; H. V. Paul, *History of the Town of Durham, N. C.* (Raleigh, 1884), pp. 96, 155-156; *Historical and Descriptive Review of the State of North Carolina* (2 vols., Charleston, 1885), I, 142.

[11] *Tobacco*, November 16, 1888, p. 5, November 23, 1888, p. 1; Paul, *History of the Town of Durham, N. C.*, pp. 96-98, 144-148; John D. Cameron, *A Sketch of the Tobacco Interests in North Carolina* (Oxford, N. C., 1881), p. 110; Andrew Morrison, *The City on the James: Richmond, Virginia* (Richmond, 1893), p. 122; Records of the Bank of Durham, especially bills of exchange, 1883-1888, and account book, 1883-1887 (in Duke University Library). Parrish and Lockhart were brothers-in-law.—*Southern Tobacconist and Manufacturers Record*, May 11, 1897.

Mr. Blackwell had considerable money on hand at the time [when he sold his manufacturing interests], and, whether it was among his prospective plans or not, he soon after started the Bank of Durham, which soon became known among the tobacco people of North Carolina, Virginia, and as far north as New York, for the large part it played in the movements of North Carolina leaf tobacco. It was the depository of many of the leading tobacco merchants and growers of Durham and vicinity, and discounted the paper of the warehousemen, and helped to carry many of them over several tight money markets during the few years of its existence. In fact, in more ways than one it was a most potent factor in Durham's tobacco market, and none of the competing bank officials ever sought to make themselves as influential in this line of trade or take the risks that Mr. Blackwell's and the Bank of Durham did. While many of these facts were known to those familiar with the special features of the Durham tobacco business, yet the news of the failure of the bank was a startling surprise. . . .

The cause of the failure is doubtless due to the efforts of Blackwell and others to bull the leaf tobacco market, and we look for more freedom and less monopoly in this line of trade in Durham hereafter.[12]

It will be recalled that the widespread use of wrappers and the small quantity produced opened the way for speculation in leaf tobacco in post-bellum years—a speculation which also came to include smokers. With the rise of cigarettes, a new grade, especially adapted to their manufacture—the cutter—offered even nicer opportunities for speculators who early saw the changed trend. On January 1, 1889, some months before the formation of the American Tobacco Company, strange news came from the second-hand speculator market at Richmond:

Cutters have had a high day all the year [1888] and the accumulations of the early purchases have paid handsome profits lately, with a further bright future for all of this class in new or old stock. This has been a very profitable crop to planters and dealers this year, *but unfortunately the profits were necessarily limited to a comparatively few early buyers. To the booming cigarette is due this prosperity.*[13]

Speculation in cutters began its "high day" in 1886 as price fluctuation for that grade became sharp. Three years before the formation of the American Tobacco Company speculators in leaf tobacco complained bitterly of the "schemes and plans used

---

[12] *Tobacco*, November 16, 1888, p. 5.
[13] *Richmond Dispatch*, January 1, 1889. (The italics are mine.)

by large manufacturers to monopolize the trade." [14] Now these "schemes and plans" involved nothing more than the purchase and storage of cutters by the various large manufacturers of cigarettes. The first move in this direction had come as early as 1877 when the F. S. Kinney Tobacco Company, nationally known manufacturers of cigarettes, owned a large rehandling and storage plant in Danville where their purchases of cutters were redried, stemmed, and prized for shipment to their factories in New York and Baltimore. The Kinney firm also maintained buyers on several markets in North Carolina. Allen and Ginter of Richmond, perhaps then the leading manufacturers of cigarettes in the world, in 1887 established stemmeries and redrying and storage houses at Henderson, North Carolina, for convenience in obtaining cutters. Scarcely a year later, another cigarette firm, the Kimball Tobacco Company of Rochester, New York, erected for the same purpose a large stemmery and storage house at Oxford. Meanwhile, W. Duke, Sons and Company bought and stored cutters at Durham. These various firms with Goodwin and Company of New York were shortly to be merged into the American Tobacco Company. Despite these precautions, W. Duke, Sons and Company were forced early in September, 1887, [more than two full years before the chartering of the American Tobacco Company] to purchase 275 hogsheads of cutters from Richmond dealers.[15] Very likely some of these selfsame cutters had been produced within a stone's throw of Duke's factory. Moreover, such lots of cutters had furnished a toll for the warehouseman, a second toll for the small leaf dealer who first purchased them, a third toll to the railroad which hauled them to Richmond, a fourth toll to the big-time leaf dealer of Richmond who sold them to W. Duke, Sons and Company, and a fifth toll to the railroad which hauled them back to Durham. Quite often some of these cutters had been resold on the auction floor, thus adding two other tolls. The farmer knew he stood at the bottom, and manufacturers knew they were being squeezed. Then by virtue of the cigarette machine the American Tobacco Company was formed in December, 1889.

---

[14] *Tobacco*, December 31, 1886, p. 7, January 14, 1887, p. 8.
[15] *New York Journal of Commerce*, September 6, 1887.

But earlier the farmers had tried to correct the situation principally by attacking the auction sales system which was the real core of the speculator's activities. The first attack came through the Grange, or Patrons of Husbandry, in the early 1870's, but, since the auction markets of North Carolina were not well established at that time, the chief attack centered at Danville, where warehouse interests were well organized.[16] Grange members appeared unanimous in their decision to force a reduction in warehouse selling charges. One Danville warehouseman, William P. Graves (1820-1892), sympathetic with the farmers, dissolved his firm and entered the business anew without a partner but with the following advertisement, first published on April 16, 1873: "I do not buy tobacco myself, nor am I interested with any one who does." [17] For this unorthodox behavior he was soon eliminated from business by having his house removed from the sales schedule of the Danville Tobacco Association. Two other sales houses of Danville advertised briefly that they had caused a reduction in selling charges. Slight pressure from the Danville Tobacco Association, however, soon sent these two houses back into the fold. Members of the Grange then established their own sales house,[18] which failed because of ridicule from the tobacco trade and omission from the sales schedule.

With the rise of the Farmers' Alliance movement in 1887 the farmers began another attempt to force lower selling charges. This time they went further than to establish their own sales houses; they also planned to enter the manufacturing business. In 1888, more than one full year before the incorporation of the American Tobacco Company, the movement was in full swing, with several evidences of success, chiefly in North Carolina. The Farmers' Alliance included many of the leading growers of the area, and newspaper comment was vigorous. It is not necessary to dwell on the enthusiasm of that movement. The participants were determined to destroy monopolies. In fact the

---

[16] *Confidential Circular No. 6* (Issued by the Executive Committee of the State Grange of Virginia, Richmond, January 13, 1875), p. 15; "An Old Circular" reprinted in *Progressive Farmer*, January 12, 1892.

[17] *Greensboro Patriot*, January 22, April 16, 1873, December 9, 1874. See also advertisements of Star and Pace's warehouses of Danville in *Greensboro Patriot*, March 18, September 16, December 9, 1874.

[18] *Greensboro Patriot*, April 26, 1876.

entire Farmers' Alliance movement was committed to war on monopoly, and antitrust sentiment filled the air of North Carolina well before the formation of the American Tobacco Company. In 1888, when noting the growth and power of the movement in North Carolina, one well qualified observer, who was also a leaf dealer, declared that the Alliancemen "are moving against several trusts." [19] An occasional newspaper of the state appeared frightened at the movement and now and then turned a cold shoulder on the organization. Then in December, 1889, came news of the formation of a trust right in the tobacco belt —the American Tobacco Company. Furthermore the program of the American Tobacco Company included war against speculators in leaf tobacco, which was also the foremost tenet of the Farmers' Alliance.

What were the farmers to do—fight the new monopoly, or join the trust in its fight against speculation in leaf tobacco? The question was embarrassing and confusing.

Early in December, 1889, the American Tobacco Company presumably informed local tobacco boards of trade that no cutters would in the future be purchased save on the auction floor directly from the grower.[20]

In the final analysis the American Tobacco Company now controlled the market for cutters. The roar from the leaf dealers was loud and angry. Local newspapers on various markets arose to their aid with angry fulminations. Typical statements came from Thad R. Manning, editor of the Henderson *Gold Leaf*, who declared on December 5, 1889, that the law, the Farmers' Alliance, or some power should defeat the scheme of the American Tobacco Company to control cutters. One week later he stated that the warehousemen and leaf dealers did not "propose to be downed by the cigarette trust." Then the warehousemen, leaf dealers, and tobacco boards of trade began whispering to the farmer of the evils of a trust. Their suggestions were varied, specious, amazing, and voluminous. Furthermore, they stressed the very heart of Alliance principles.

---

[19] William E. Dibrell in *New York Journal of Commerce*, October 2, 1888. For a general account of the Farmers' Alliance in North Carolina see John D. Hicks, "The Farmers' Alliance in North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review*, II (April, 1925), pp. 162-187.

[20] See, for example, Henderson *Gold Leaf*, December 5, 1889; *New York Journal of Commerce*, December 3, 10, 1889; *Tobacco*, December 27, 1889, p. 5.

The farmer stood in indecision while the din and clamor increased in tempo if not in reason. Bankers and other business men of the small market towns joined the tobacco boards from fear that collapse of the latter would also bring their business foundations to collapse. But the farmer hesitated. On January 11, 1890, in response to overtures from local editors speaking for the organized tobacco trade, Alliancemen of twenty-five counties of North Carolina and Virginia sent delegates to a meeting at Oxford to organize for fighting the American Tobacco Company. They passed resolutions to cooperate and to hurl all traitors from high seats in the government; and they then resolved themselves into a secret committee to hear a representative of the American Tobacco Company. The representative stated that the aim of his company was to get rid of the middleman on the warehouse floor.[21] Again, on April 28, 1891, delegates from twenty-nine North Carolina and Virginia counties gathered at Henderson, North Carolina, where the local tobacco board of trade tendered them a banquet serving ice cream, sherbet, and cake as well as the sympathy of the tobacco trade. Again the farmers could bring themselves to do no more than offer vague resolutions condemning the tobacco trust and all trusts.[22] They were told that their markets would cease to exist if they failed to support warehousemen and leaf dealers. Though considerably shaken in their views, the Alliancemen refused to commit themselves to any definite scheme. And so the farmer stood, not quite able to do anything specific but vociferously angry with the American Tobacco Company as a trust.

Meanwhile the leaf dealers sought foreign markets, became buyers for the American Tobacco Company, or unloaded their holdings on that company often through their friendship with its buyers who felt a sympathy for the distress of their former colleagues. Many, too, did not survive the panic of 1893, and some few joined forces to form strong firms for exporting leaf tobacco. All in all, their ranks were not too seriously depleted.

The first clash between leaf speculators and the American Tobacco Company left the farmer puzzled but still hating trusts.

---

21 *Progressive Farmer*, November 19, 1889, January 21, February 18, 1890, April 20, 1897; *New York Journal of Commerce*, January 14, 1890; Oxford *Day* in *Gold Leaf*, January 16, 1890.

22 *Gold Leaf*, April 23, 1891; *Southern Tobacconist and Manufacturers Record* in *Gold Leaf*, May 14, 1891. Note also Oxford *Public Ledger*, February 5, 1892.

Yet some newspapers, as the *Burlington News* and the *Asheville Citizen,* held that the American Tobacco Company was to be dreaded less than speculators.[23] Many editors, however, frankly supported the speculators and condemned the American Tobacco Company on every imaginable pretext. Some who attacked the tobacco trust were undoubtedly actuated by honest convictions against monopolies. In fact, rising opposition to trusts of all kinds prevailed throughout the entire country; it was popular and no doubt wise to berate them. The tobacco farmer was dragged along somewhat against his better judgment until the furor against the trust convinced him that perhaps the American Tobacco Company was his real enemy. To an observer with far more evidence and removed from the struggle by half a century the decision is equally as difficult to make. With its advantageous position the American Tobacco Company could undoubtedly regulate prices of cutters to its own advantage. But the earlier career of the speculator contained nothing to indicate any concern for those in other branches of the industry.

So matters stood in the mid-1890's before the real struggle began. According to the somewhat dubious claims of its officials the American Tobacco Company, in part because of the national campaign waged against cigarettes, went into other phases of manufacturing leaf tobacco. Small manufacturers of chewing and smoking tobacco, who rightly feared for their businesses, joined in the clamor of the leaf dealers. In the press campaign waged against the American Tobacco Company one influential editor in the City of Raleigh and another in Reidsville "had the backing of R. J. Reynolds," [24] a subsantial manufacturer who feared that his business would be engulfed by the American Tobacco Company. In later years the influential Raleigh editor claimed to have been actuated only by concern for the farmers who received such low prices following the organization of the American Tobacco Company. But his most vigorous fight against the company came after he received "the backing of R. J. Reynolds," whatever that phrase—one of the editor's own coinage—may mean. Leaf dealers redoubled their attacks and virulent criticisms were poured forth on the American Tobacco

---

[23] See, for example, *Burlington News,* May 1, 1890.
[24] Josephus Daniels, *Tar Heel Editor* (Chapel Hill, 1939), p. 473. See also pp. 343, 474-479.

Company. Many weekly and daily papers joined in the fray, and tobacco trade journals waxed more violent than any. Constantly farmers were told that the American Tobacco Company was stealing their crops. Yet in the same decade and despite the tobacco trust the farmers of the eastern Carolinas in amazing numbers shifted from the cultivation of cotton, which did not pay a living income, to tobacco, and the weekly papers of that area carried enthusiastic stories of the greater profits to be derived from its culture.[25] Nevertheless the fight continued with great stir. Far more vigorously waged in North Carolina than in Virginia, the struggle ramified from its economic setting into the religious, political, social, and educational life of the area.

Obviously there were other causes for this struggle than angry leaf dealers, frightened manufacturers, honest antitrust convictions, or the low prices received for the unusually heavy crop of tobacco in 1899. Several other factors appear to have entered into the struggle. In the first place, political conditions in Virginia and North Carolina were unsettled from activities of the Farmers' Alliance and the recurrence of the white supremacy issue. The fight of the *News and Observer* (Raleigh) against the American Tobacco Company probably reached its most venomous point during the campaign and subsequent administration (1897-1901) of Governor Daniel L. Russell (1845-1908), a Republican elected by fusion with the Populist party. Negroes again held public office in the state, and people feared conditions similar to those of Reconstruction years. It was a period marked by violent political campaigns, activities of the famous Red Shirt organization, adoption of the "grandfather clause" to prevent Negroes from voting, and withal a period of violence and uneasiness, with the re-establishment of white supremacy as the dominant concern.[26] The editor of the *News*

[25] Typical of the attitude toward the shift from cotton to tobacco in the coastal plain was the following comment made by a farmer in 1898: "Go in the old cotton counties of Edgecombe, Greene, Pitt and a number of others, and you will find the old gin houses gone down and tobacco barns erected in every direction; the farmers paying off their old cotton mortgages and moving forward with new life and vigor!"—*Progressive Farmer*, February 8, 1898. See *Wilson Times* in *Southern Tobacco Journal*, January 4, 1904, for a similar statement. In 1901, those who had shifted to tobacco in the vicinity of Darlington, South Carolina, regarded the newly adopted crop as a "mortgage lifter."—*Southern Planter*, August 1901, p. 476. Note also an enthusiastic account by Josephus Daniels of the successful adoption of tobacco culture by cotton farmers in Wilson County, North Carolina, in *Tar Heel Editor*, pp. 151-153. Daniels declared that the first sale of leaf tobacco in Wilson in 1890 amounted to only 50,000 pounds but shortly before 1939 the annual sales had reached 85,884,666 pounds.

[26] R. D. W. Connor, *North Carolina: Rebuilding an Ancient Commonwealth, 1584-1925* (4 vols., Chicago and New York, 1928-1929), II, 443-481.

and Observer, an active leader in the white supremacy campaign, was thus forced to attack the American Tobacco Company with more vigor. From the point of view of the politician, reason demanded such a move. James B. Duke (1856-1925), the organizer of the American Tobacco Company, and his family were Republicans,[27] a party associated in the minds of North Carolinians with the interests of big business and monopoly. The Republican party in North Carolina relied strongly on the Negro vote. The Duke family therefore represented an indirect threat to white supremacy. Had the tobacco farmers decided to join Duke against the speculating leaf dealers and frightened tobacco manufacturers, the state might easily have been lost from the ranks of the Democratic party. Leaf dealers who generally stood with those fighting for white supremacy thus found themselves well supported by unexpected friends.

It is indeed doubtful that the struggles of the leaf dealers would have received any marked notice after their first outcry in the early 1890's had it not been for the political situation. Certainly the leading state daily would not have publicized the questionable schemes of James F. Jordan (1859-1919), an embittered leaf dealer of Greensboro, who from late in 1899 until the following year sought to corner all the leaf tobacco of North Carolina in order to gain the upper hand over the American Tobacco Company. Other political leaders in the state also encouraged the Jordan plan which, had it been successful, would have placed the farmers at the mercy of Jordan and his associates.[28] One of Jordan's long harangues appeared in the *News and Observer* on December 31, 1899, under the unique headline: "Ruin of the Tobacco Grower—How the Middle Man Was Knocked Out." Certainly the two suggestions were incompatible.

In most instances, whether significant or not, agitations against the American Tobacco Company diminished considerably after the white supremacy issue of the late 1890's had been

---

[27] Unsigned, "Benjamin Newton Duke," Ashe's *Biographical History of North Carolina,* III, 99 (hereinafter cited as Ashe's *Biographical History);* W. W. Fuller, "James Buchanan Duke," Ashe's *Biographical History,* III, 110-111; John Spencer Bassett, "Washington Duke," Ashe's *Biographical History,* III, 88.

[28] Jordan's scheme may be followed in detail in Raleigh *News and Observer,* December 7, 13, 24, 31, 1899, January 19, 1900; *Greensboro Patriot,* January 3, 1900; *Progressive Farmer,* February 20, 27, March 13, 20, May 29, July 24, October 16, 30, 1900; *Gold Leaf,* January 25, March 29, 1900; *Southern Tobacconist and Manufacturers Record,* April 17, August 7, 1900.

more or less settled. During the period of settlement the administration of Governor Russell ended and the Democratic party again held undisputed sway. Moreover, the American Tobacco Company obtained a controlling interest in the Reynolds firm on April 4, 1899,[29] after which time it was no longer necessary for Reynolds to back opposition to the company. But the tobacco farmer, whose indecision had been so clear in 1890, had been largely convinced in the ensuing decade of agitation that his misfortunes came directly from the machinations of the American Tobacco Company. He was beginning to feel sorry for himself instead of angry as he had once felt toward monopolies.

Directly after the Russell administration came another blow at the leaf dealer—a blow also delivered by the same agency. On September 27, 1902, after a bitter struggle between the American Tobacco Company and the Imperial Tobacco Company of Great Britain, the two firms signed an agreement on certain concerted lines of action [30] which virtually eliminated English manufacturers as customers for leaf dealers in North Carolina and Virginia. The roar from the speculators was naturally loud and bitter, although the aid from important newspapers was negligible in comparison with that received during the most heated period of the white supremacy struggle. Furthermore, the editor of the *News and Observer,* though clinging to his former policy of blaming all low prices on the American Tobacco Company, more than once in 1903 advised farmers to choose their soils carefully and produce leaf of good quality for which there was a demand. This time the leaf dealer was crafty indeed. His chief method of attack, in line with that advocated by agricultural journals for many years, lay in advocating smaller plantings of tobacco. The reasoning of the leaf dealer in advocating crop reduction was perhaps most clearly put by a "conservative independent" dealer in Wilson, North Carolina, in October, 1903:

> . . . if the farmer would leave off tobacco for another year it would force the trust to pay higher prices for the tobacco and enable the independent buyer, who is now loaded up to the neck, to get rid of

---

[29] *Report of the Commissioner of Corporations on the Tobacco Industry* (3 vols., Washington, 1909-1915), I, 274.

[30] *Report of the Commissioner of Corporations on the Tobacco Industry,* I, 169-176, 303-308.

his stock, which they will not be able to do if the farmers continue to make large crops. If the independent buyer continues to be loaded up, as he is at present, he will not only be unable to buy any more tobacco, but having all of his money tied up in tobacco, which he has bought at a higher price than now prevailing, he will be compelled to sell out at a loss, which will seriously embarrass him financially and drive him from the market.[31]

There are numerous records of different ways in which leaf dealers hoped to escape loss from this second blow. They placed some faith in the excellence of the stocks which they held; they hoped for adverse weather conditions which would cut the farmers' yield; and they sometimes hoped that agricultural labor might become even more scarce. Many also hoped to sell their redrying plants to the Imperial Tobacco Company. During this period so much stored leaf was destroyed by fire, accidently or otherwise, that insurance companies cancelled risks on much of the leaf so stored.[32] For the speculator it was indeed a sad period, but a period during which tobacco trade journals and local newspapers in various market towns criticized the American Tobacco Company from every conceivable angle. The farmer was repeatedly told of the evils of the tobacco trust, but the lot of the leaf dealer in general failed to improve. His sad plight received a judicious analysis from the president of the Danville Tobacco Association in 1908 in terms recalling better days:

. . . . the buyers, while wiser men now than they once were, are sadder men, and particularly the leaf dealers, many of whom have dropped from the ranks altogether. The Leaf Dealers' lot has not been a happy one the last few years, although he has scoured the earth finding and making markets for our products. Considering the capital and energy invested, perhaps he has been the poorest paid of all connected with the business, and between the upper and nether mill-stones he has received little or no consideration.[33]

The reactions of the farmers during this sad period for the speculators are exceedingly interesting. In North Carolina it can be said that their leadership was poor, being centered in individuals desirous of political advancement and in disgruntled

---

[31] *Wilson Times* in *Southern Tobacco Journal*, October 5, 1903.
[32] *Charlotte Observer* in *Progressive Farmer*, February 23, 1904; *Southern Tobacco Journal*, January 11, August 8, 1904.
[33] Minutes of the Danville Tobacco Association, III, 9. (Property of Danville Tobacco Association, Danville, Virginia). See also *Danville Register*, October 11, 1908.

leaf dealers and small manufacturers. Many politicians sought the farmers' vote by championing their cause against the American Tobacco Company. J. Bryan Grimes (1868-1923) and John S. Cunningham (1861-1922) undoubtedly used the organization known generally as the Tobacco Growers' Protective Association to further their own political ambitions.[34] When small manufacturers with outmoded plants sought to persuade the growers' organizaton to purchase such factories and enter the business of manufacturing tobacco with the former owners as manager, Cunningham aided and abetted the move rather than stand with the Virginia planters, who desired to follow the more sensible plan of redrying and storing their leaf for sale to the American Tobacco Company or to any organization willing to pay a fair price. On this issue the organization was split, and it was not until about 1908 that many North Carolina planters began to see the greater wisdom in redrying and storing their leaf. Meanwhile from 1902 until about 1910 one of the most active leaders among the North Carolina farmers was J. O. W. Graveley (1862-1932), a leaf dealer of Rocky Mount, who somehow wormed his way into the farmers' organization as an official lecturer and constantly urged growers to enter the manufacturing branch of the tobacco industry.[35] Under the leadership of these men North Carolina tobacco growers rode many miles, attended countless meetings, and passed innumerable resolutions condemning the trust and planning vaguely to do great things.

The Virginia growers followed the wise leadership of Samuel C. Adams (1853-1926) of Charlotte County. Adams organized the Virginia tobacco-growing counties and some of the bordering counties in North Carolina and secured the adoption of a definite program for storage and redrying.[36] With the establishment of several cooperative plants by 1907, many North Carolina farmers joined the Virginia group in the sale of stored leaf to

---

[34] Grimes, formerly in sympathy with the Jordan plan, soon became secretary of state of North Carolina. Of the many indications of Cunningham's interest in politics perhaps the most direct are to be found in *Tobacco Leaf* as reprinted in *Southern Tobacco Journal*, August 8, 1904.

[35] *Southern Tobacconist and Modern Farmer*, May 1907; *Southern Tobacco Journal*, November 7, 1904, April 17, May 9, 16, July 17, 1905, March 19, 1906. See also Samuel C. Adams in *Progressive Farmer*, August 30, 1906.

[36] See especially *Southern Tobacconist and Manufacturers Record*, August 16, 1904. For the venomous opposition of the organized tobacco trade see Richmond *Times-Dispatch*, August 16, 1904; *News Leader*, August 17, 1904. Adams's reply to these attacks appeared in *Southern Tobacconist and Manufacturers Record*, August 30, 1904.

the American Tobacco Company. So many farmers entered the Virginia organization under Adams' leadership that in 1909 it was renamed The Mutual Protective Association of the Bright Tobacco Growers of Virginia and North Carolina. In the same year the association's membership approved "a policy of friendship and good faith with the American Tobacco Company." A reporter for the *News and Observer* marveled in editorial fashion: "Perhaps for the first time since the tobacco trust was organized a 'band' of tobacco growers have [*sic*] endorsed the American Tobacco Company." But the editor of the Henderson *Gold Leaf,* in a town more or less dependent on trade in leaf tobacco, cautioned the farmers not to run after false gods but to remember supply and demand, the true arbiters of trade.[37]

As the plan began showing marked signs of success, it was natural to expect criticism from the few leaf dealers remaining. When the criticism came in September, 1909, it was indeed acrimonious, patronizing, and unreasonable. Delivered by R. Louis Dibrell (1855-1920) of Dibrell Brothers in Danville, a strong firm of leaf dealers which had survived by absorbing smaller firms, the attack was aimed at Adams personally. Dibrell charged Adams with having changed his opinion in regard to the tobacco trust and with profiting personally in the sale of the farmers' leaf to the American Tobacco Company. No part of Dibrell's attack was more revealing than this sentence: "I contend that the only way to secure to the farmers the benefit of all available competition is by auction sale in loose condition." [38] It should be noted that Dibrell sold leaf to the American Tobacco Company whenever the opportunity arose. Perhaps he cannot be blamed for wanting a toll from the farmers' tobacco, but neither can the farmer be blamed for seeking to save that toll for himself.

In conclusion it need only be stated that the farmers' organization failed by virtue of the assault on Adams' personal honesty, the dissolution of the first American Tobacco Company in 1911, and rising prices prior to and during the First World War.

---

[37] *News and Observer,* August 24, 1909; *Gold Leaf,* September 2, 1909.

[38] *Danville Register,* September 5, 1909 (reprinted also in *Southern Tobacco Journal,* September 13, 1909). Adams replied in the Yanceyville (N. C.) *Sentinel* (reprinted in the *Southern Tobacco Journal,* September 13, 1909.)

NORTH CAROLINA BOOKS AND AUTHORS OF THE YEAR: A REVIEW

By LeGette Blythe

Several years ago I was one of the speakers at the annual meeting of this association, and this second invitation to be on the program pleased me very much. I gave but fleeting attention to the fact that the person who arranged that program is *not* the one who arranged this one.

Some years ago also I served as one of the judges in the Mayflower cup contest and I am happy that this year I repeated in batting a thousand in the selection of the winner. I only hope that my enthusiasm for this book won't betray the name of the winner before his name—her name—the winner's name— is announced tonight with the official presentation of the Mayflower cup.

In fact, I am enthusiastic about several of the books in this year's contest. In the usual words of the judge who presents the medal to the winner of the high school oratorical contest, the members of the committee, I'm sure, regret that we cannot give the cup to each of the contestants. There were a number of well written and significant books in the 1946 contest.

There has been considerable discussion, as a matter of fact, of the advisability of changing the basis of award of the cup. Some persons feel that the contest covers too divergent territory and that it is difficult to choose as winner a book in one field—fiction, for instance—when there is perhaps equally as good a book in another field. This year, as an example, there were several very fine novels published by North Carolinians, and at the same time there were excellent books in other fields—essays, biographical works, poetry, and even volumes so closely akin to technical works that it was debatable whether or not they were actually eligible. In other years there have been works in the field of the drama, notably Paul Green's exceptionally fine symphonic drama, "The Lost Colony." I am not suggesting that the basis of the award be changed; I am merely pointing out a fact that for several years has been noticed and discussed. It is a subject that sponsors of the award might well consider.

My function on this program, however, was to discuss the books in this year's contest. I shall mention three or four others that have been published since the contest closed and though published in 1946 will be among the significant volumes in next year's Mayflower contest. But I shall be brief, since I well realize the limits of both newspaper space and audience patience—even an audience as polite, and as inured to punishment, as this one.

And, incidentally, if you think that I'll be saving the 1946 Mayflower winner to the last—well, you may be fooled, and again, you may not be.

Quite a number of years ago in Baltimore a clever gentleman well along toward being the nation's most pronounced smart aleck did the South what I have long considered was one of its finest favors when he termed it "the Sahara of the Bozart." Perhaps his smart crack at the South's literary aridity had nothing to do with the renaissance that followed. Perhaps it was just a coincidence that it followed. That point long will be debated. But it followed. And how it followed! Well you know it. And it is still on the move. Hardly a train or a plane or a panting automobile comes South but what it bears some old or young, lean or protuberant, wise or only self-esteemed publisher's editor of literary agent bent upon discovering another *Look Homeward, Angel* or *Gone with the Wind,* or smelling out another *God's Little Acre* or *Tobacco Road.*

Recently I had as guest a personal friend who is editor of one of New York's greatest publishing houses. He was on a literary treasure hunt south. "Listen," he said to me, "Southern authors are the rage. Every publisher is trying to line up a stable of southern writers." You notice the term he used, which is also what literary agents call their meal tickets. "Yes," he went on, "if you are a southern writer you have a better chance, everything else being equal, of selling your book. Southern writers right now, as they have been for some years, are quite the stuff." And then he added, in this highbrow, literary manner of speaking that big editors customarily employ, "Say, you fellows down here in North Carolina aren't doing so bad. In fact, you won't find any finer writers' colonies in the South than those over at Chapel Hill and Southern Pines. And you are doing O. K.

around Charlotte." I insert the gentleman's remarks to show you first-hand that the literary gentlemen speak understandably, and that they recognize the South—and North Carolina—as a veritable writing oasis. Mr. Mencken's barren ground has bloomed.

In asking us to be judges of the Mayflower contest this year, the secretary of the association suggested that if we considered *no* book in the group written by a North Carolinian during the last year as worthy of the award, we should withhold presentation of the cup this year.

I have discussed the books with only one other judge—and with him in only a superficial way. So I do not know what the others think. But in my opinion several of this year's books—although the list is small—are better than several winners in past years. Several contestants this year have won the cup, and their books this year perhaps are enqually as good as those that won. *Janey Jeems,* by Mrs. Bernice Kelly Harris, for instance, is probably equally as fine a novel as her winning *Purslane* of several years ago, perhaps better. Like *Purslane,* it is a story of the little people of eastern North Carolina, the people that the world so quickly and glibly and perhaps unjustly and improperly term the little people, for her people are those who in countless communities built and preserved the nation.

I would like to emphasize my admiration of this book. It is the story of Janey and her man Jeems and their struggle to build a home and rear a respectable, God-fearing family. It is a realistic novel, sometimes stark, always simple, earthy. Mrs. Harris has pictured these people photographically as well as artistically. Her camera in a delightful way gets the mannerisms and colloquialisms of their section to give her story authenticity. But though it is a realistic novel and though Mrs. Harris has used her camera freely, *Janey Jeems* is realism that isn't raw. The book is earthy but in no sense compounded of dirt. She hasn't limited her picture-taking to shots of the privy out back.

Again, although *Janey Jeems* is a novel of the South, there isn't a magnolia blossom or a hoop-skirt or a white-goateed colonel or a julep in it, nor a pillared mansion, nor a lynching, nor a white planter-Negro tenant romance, nor a snuff-dipping pellagraed, Mother Hubbarded old hag gnawing on cawnbread and fat back, and sopping 'lasses. (Would that we could get some of that wonderful food nowadays!)

And lastly, it is a story, cleverly revealed in the last pages, of a Negro family in the South, written by a southern author who knows Negroes and has for them a sympathy and understanding neither approached nor understood by the professional race-relations expert. The reader feels that it could just as easily have been a story of white people. Thus Mrs. Harris has demonstrated the fact that to write an authentic and highly readable and sympathetic story of Negroes in the South it is not necessary to follow the usual—and usually inaccurate—pattern.

But I have given perhaps too much attention to this novel in the space and time I have for covering the 1946 books in North Carolina.

Another former Mayflower winner, Josephus Daniels, repeats an able performance in his newest volume of his autobiographical series. *The Wilson Era: Years of War and After,* a comprehensive volume devoted to the period of Mr. Daniels' most distinguished public service, is a valuable document. As one reviewer has suggested, it can never be ignored by future historians, because it develops material never before recorded, it offers portraits of Woodrow Wilson and many other great figures of his time from angles slightly different from those already presented, and all this it colors and flavors with the Daniels personality.

Mr. Daniels in this long volume writes of men and events of the First World War days and the period that followed with a zest and a liveliness that gives them the freshness of contemporaneousness. He demonstrated the trained newspaperman's ability to scent out news and to appraise the significance of his discoveries. His was an inside view, a ringside seat. He was down in the engine room of the ship of state in those days. He lets us see how the machinery was oiled, how the gears meshed, the wheels went round. And although Mr. Daniels has lived long and for decades has been in the forefront of those theaters where great events were developing, either to cover them or participate in them, or both—he writes with the freshness and lightness—and may I even say with the jauntiness—of youth.

Several others whose books are in this year's contest are among North Carolina's best known authors.

Katharine Newlin Burt, for instance. Mrs. Burt, wife of Struthers Burt, another of the state's most eminent authors, has long been known for her excellence of craftsmanship. She has contributed frequently to the leading magazines. Her 1946 novel, *Lady in the Tower,* is a story of romance in a terrifying towered house high on the Hudson. It is done in her usual manner of skilled craftsmanship.

A group of well known Chapel Hill authors are in the contest, another is a former member of the faculty of the University of North Carolina who recently resigned from the University of Iowa faculty to devote his time to writing. Several others of the university faculty have written books whose appeal will be limited but whose values are pronounced and whose excellence in their respective fields has been pointed out in reviews commending them highly.

The student of languages and the ordinary layman who during the last several years *have* been watching with misgivings and even alarm the tendency of certain alleged educational leaders in America—and especially in North Carolina—to eliminate as fast and as completely as possible all studies that tend toward the cultural as opposed to what they call the vocational (In my mind it is difficult to set one group over as opposed to the other) will be interested in H. R. Huse's comprehensive discussion of the study of foreign languages. The book, *Reading and Speaking Foreign Languages,* emphasizes the value of having an understanding of foreign languages, discusses needed reforms in teaching languages, as related particularly to the "stepped up" methods used by the armed services during World War II, and suggests ways of teaching language courses in a more efficient and entertaining manner than teachers heretofore generally have employed.

The two other books that might well be grouped with the Huse study are Rupert Vance's tremendous volume, *All These People,* and Ervin Hexner's *International Cartels.*

These three books, of course, will not find their way into the best seller lists. They are limited in interests, particularly the Hexner discussion of cartels. But they are important, and the fact that they were published, along with numerous other books of value and significance but of limited reader interest, demonstrates the value of such institutions as the university presses.

The Vance study, a volume of more than 500 large pages, with index and numerous maps, charts, tables, and graphs, is a careful analysis of the nation's resources in the South. The *New Republic* called it "the best available handbook on the American population." J. F. Frederick, writing in *Book Week,* declared it "remarkable for its candor, for its objective and impartial treatment, for its consistency of tone." "Comment and interpretation are infrequent," he added, and "cautiously, obviously well considered. Vance seems to me to achieve the true scientific purpose of presenting the whole picture, all the pertinent facts."

No ordinary newspaperman, I'm confident you will agree, could be expected, if he had the time and space, which he never has, to launch into an extensive discussion of any study of international cartels. One would be hard put to find a more involved subject, and certainly one less understood. Yet cartels are tremendously important, and interest in this subject is growing as the layman begins to learn something about it.

This book will help him. Dr. Hexner has done a tremendous amount of work in preparing it. "The book presents a clear-cut description of the cartel concept, the structure and policies of international cartels as well as their political repercussions," one reviewer points out. "It should provide interesting reading to the executive and technical personnel of our chemical and related industries. It gives data on methods, chemicals, miscellaneous raw materials and manufactured goods and is recommended to both the layman and the student of chemical economics." Another reviewer declares that "Hexner has performed an important service by demanding that views as to cartels be based, not on slogans and prejudices, but on solid factual foundations."

Two small volumes—small in size but in my opinion large in content—are Paul Green's essay, *Forever Growing,* and Norman Foerster's *The Humanities and the Common Man.* Both concern teaching. Mr. Green calls his essay "Some Notes on a Credo for Teachers." The books are very much alike in spirit. Mr. Green protests against this business of teaching through labeling and identifying, and stresses the importance of teach-

ing the subject itself rather than what some person has said about the subject. Man cannot rely too much upon science as the chart and milepost of life; man must realize and act upon the knowledge that life, abundant life, is a thing rather of the spirit.

"When we forget our tokens and labels and signs and hierarchy of pigeonholing and think of the works, the stories and plays and poems, themselves, we find that they are part of the creative process of life and men in life, and as such we can enjoy them, be enriched and refreshed through them. Our learned findings of influences and kinds and types only get in the way and are a hindrance. They get between the appreciator and object of his appreciation. . . . "

Why not, says Mr. Green, as he notices his daughter doing a paper on "Coleridge as a Romanticist," let her simply do a paper on Coleridge? "What of Coleridge as just—poet?," he asks. "Or what of Coleridge's poetry—just that—with all its magic and exquisite imagination and delicacy of tone and touch and thought?" Why not, says he, teach the product rather than the label on the can? Why not taste and enjoy the contents rather than memorize the label on the outside? Yet so much of our modern education is a matter of learning labels, filing away second-hand, synthetic, and sterile stuff. I remember that when this little book came out I gave it an enthusiastic review that ended with a sincere if theatrical "Amen, Brother Green!" I still say, "Amen."

Dr. Foerster's book, a thin volume of sixty pages given to a general discussion of higher education, argues for the humanistic as opposed to the naturalistic program. So many present-day universities, Dr. Foerster points out, are naturalistic. "Today," says he, more than a century after the famous Emerson address before the Phi Beta Kappa society, "the humanistic view of life and of education has been almost completely displaced, for the first time in the history of the Occident, by a naturalistic view of life and of education. In theory, our break with the past is all but complete. In saying this, he goes on, "I do not forget that in the realm of values we are, in practice, still living on our inherited capital, having acquired no other. We are daily assuming, for example, freedom of will, moral responsibility, human dignity, perhaps even ideal causes or ends more important to

us than life itself. We are doing this unconsciously; we are continuing humanistic assumptions and practices because we are human. But they are in the background. In the foreground, in deliberate thought and speech, in the books, the articles, the classroom lectures, in our official philosophy that we seek to promote and put to use, our conceptions are overwhelmingly naturalistic."

So much of present teaching, says Dr. Foerster, holds "that man is simply an animal, though not a simple animal. Man's place in nature has been found, and he has no other place. . . . He is an organism in an environment, a bundle of drives seeking expression. . . . In the understanding of human nature we may safely ignore the pre-scientific 'wisdom of the ages'—the humanistic wisdom of Plato and Aristotle and Confucius, the religious wisdom of Buddha and Jesus."

Dr. Foerster's essay is an argument against this view, an appeal for the inauguration of a humanistic approach to higher education with all men—the common man as well as the privileged and sophisticated—sharing in the richness of this life, and a discussion of how it may be attained.

A delightful little book of an entirely different type is the *lone* entry in the field of poetry, Professor Harold Grier McCurdy's *A Straw Flute*. I am no critic of poetry. Collections of words, neatly lined out upon the page, that have neither rhyme nor reason to me are not poetry. And to the long-haired gentlemen and the closely cropped-headed women in the severely masculine suits, Professor McCurdy's little book may not be poetry. For it makes sense, it is filled with the commonplace, and horror of horrors, it rhymes! So, I might add, do Keats and Wordsworth. But perhaps they, like Professor McCurdy, were a couple of rhyming old-fogies.

Give me just an instant to read his "Biographical:"

In Salisbury I was born;
The old elm-town is set
In an island of wheat and corn.
I should not want to forget
Either the streets I walked,
The houses, the stores, the people,
Nor yet the impersonal maple

(To which, perhaps, I talked)
And the fields I wandered over:
Which, summertime or winter,
Make in my heart a center
As sweet as a handful of clover.

I come now to four other books that are somewhat related in content. Bill Sharpe is North Carolina's press agent. He has traveled into every cove and cranny in the mountains and sailed into all the sounds and around all the islands down on the coast. All the while he has been taking pictures and notes and getting impressions and remembering good stories. Many of these he recalls entertainingly in his book, *Tar on My Heels.*

C. H. Hamlin in his *Ninety Bits of North Carolina Biography* gives thumbnail sketches of North Carolinians who have pioneered in many fields. The sketches were prepared primarily for children of the junior high school age, but they will entertain and inform their elders as well.

So will George F. Ivey's memoirs which he calls *Humor and Humanity.* Comparable to the *My Memoirs* of his brother, J. B. Ivey of Charlotte, published several years ago, this volume by the Hickory furniture manufacturer contains information of interest and value.

The fourth is the delightful volume of reminiscenses of one of North Carolina's greatest men of the last generation. It is Dr. Kemp Plummer Battle's *Memories of an Old-Time Tar Heel.* The book, edited by his son, William James Battle, provides the reader in this harried day a look into another and perhaps more gracious era, certainly an era peopled by gracious and courteous and kindly, if determined and vigorous and challenging, ladies and gentlemen. Particularly pleasing will this small volume be to former students of the University of North Carolina who were at Chapel Hill in the days when the late Dr. Battle was still a beloved figure on that campus.

Two other books in the Mayflower contest remain for a brief discussion. They are Josephina Niggli's *Mexican Village* and Noel Houston's *The Great Promise.* In looking over the *Herald Tribune* book review yesterday I noticed that Oliver LaFarge listed *Mexican Village* as one of his recent favorites. I believe that would be the feeling of almost anyone who might read it. Miss Niggli and Mr. Houston, along with Paul Green and James

Street and others of writing reputation, are making Chapel Hill one of the nation's greenest writing oases, as Mr. Mencken now doubtless would agree.

Mexican Village is a collection of ten short stories having their setting in this small village tucked away in a valley in Mexico. They are rather long short stories averaging about forty-five pages. But this book escapes being merely a collection of short stories, because of the fact that Miss Niggli uses the same characters—a number of them, and there are more than eighty altogether—in each of the stories. The locale, too, is the same, or substantially the same, and when the reader has finished he has the feeling that he has almost read a novel in which the lives of these interesting people have been happily explored.

The writing is superb in *Mexican Village.* The characters emerge into life and liveliness, the village, its streets and places, its fountain, its Church of the Miraculous Tear, the River Road and the cliffs along the river, quickly become places that you can see and touch and tread upon.

Miss Niggli goes in for no purple writing, no high soaring. She stays right there in her village and she keeps her typewriter, or her pen or pencil (I don't know how she writes: I merely know that she does!) firmly upon the work bench before her. She does a job of craftsmanship. But it is more than that. Her book is a creative effort of great artistic value. She does superbly the many little clever things that reveal the artist. Deft touches make tremendous differences. They bring, sharp and clean, pictures, smells, tastes. Perhaps if one word could describe *Mexican Village,* it would be the word flavor.

I liked it immensely.

The Noel Houston novel, a story of the period of the McKinley administration done with skill and telling a lively story of a group of the liveliest characters you'll see in many a book, was likewise one of my favorites in this year's group.

The historical novelist does a great amount of work that is neither appreciated nor known by the average reader. He may work for weeks or months to find out certain information he needs and after he has found it, he may use only a paragraph or a sentence or a word. The person who has done any writing in the field of historical fiction will readily understand that, and

give allowance for it. Mr. Houston did a tremendous job of research in building this long historical novel. That he did it, and did it well and in workmanlike manner, is revealed everywhere in the story. These small touches, to my mind, make the difference between a fair job and a very good job. What sort of dessert, for instance, would Sawyer Bolton have eaten at dinner in one of Washington's fashionable homes? What sort of evening wrap would she have worn? How would she have dressed—the details, remember—in one of the new boom towns of the west?

Noel Houston's book is a fascinating study of the period, and aside from the authentic manner in which it has been developed it is a thoroughly readable story.

These are the 1946 Mayflower contestants.

And now, just a mention of new books by three of the state's most prominent authors: Paul Green's *Salvation on a String,* a collection of short stories laid in the section of North Carolina he knows well and about which he usually writes, the same area explored by Mrs. Harris; Jonathan Daniels' personally conducted tour through the labyrinthine stone corridors of Washington's offices and the also wandering but softer minds of Washington's officialdom, *Frontier on the Potomac;* and Marian Sims' new novel, *Storm before Daybreak,* which entertainingly and in her usually clever manner reveals the complexities that arise when a soldier returning from the Pacific finds himself in love with the wife of his worthless runaway brother. These three books will be in next year's contest, along with many other excellent ones, I am confident.

I am happy to have participated in this program and in the awarding of the cup this year to a most excellent book in a list of many excellent ones—and I trust that my too-long discussion has not revealed to you the name of the winner. I wish in closing to express my faith in North Carolina writers and my pride in what they have done and will continue to do.

A SEMI-CENTENNIAL SURVEY OF NORTH CAROLINA'S INTELLECTUAL PROGRESS

By Edwin Mims

It seemed to the makers of this year's program that it might be well to have one who lived and taught in North Carolina eighteen years and who has lived in another state thirty-four years, all the while revisiting the state nearly every year and profoundly interested in all that has happened here since 1912, give some impression of the intellectual progress in North Carolina over a period of fifty years. I eagerly accepted, perhaps somewhat rashly, the opportunity to make such a review. I am playing the role of the inside and the outside spectator of this progress, duly conscious of the danger of any generalizations that have to do with so complex a fact as the life and thought of an old commonwealth.

It is natural for one who has passed the three score years and ten of his life to indulge in reminiscences. I am painfully aware this evening of the old familiar faces that I saw when as a young man I taught at Trinity College and at the University of North Carolina and moved here and there throughout the state. I feel their presence tonight: Kilgo, Bassett, and Few; Alderman, Venable, Edward Graham, and Alphonso Smith; W. L. Poteat and Benjamin Sledd; McIver, Aycock, Walter Page, Dred Peacock, Robert W. Winston, Joseph P. Caldwell, Mrs. Lindsay Patterson, and Margaret Busbee Shipp; and many others whom we have heard on similar occasions. Only a few of that far away day remain, and they help me to visualize our former comrades: Josephus Daniels, Clarence Poe, E. C. Brooks, R. D. W. Connor, L. R. Wilson, Archibald Henderson, Howard Rondthaler. I am conscious too of those who died young—inheritors of unfulfilled renown, such as Erwin Avery, John Charles McNeill, W. K. Boyd, and many others who deserve a place among the builders of this state.

But I must not let the temptation to dwell upon such personalities interfere with my consideration of the more general theme. Necessarily I am not concerned with the progress in other lines, such as agriculture, industry, good roads, the development of a great public school system for both races, nor with the remark-

able growth in the buildings, equipment, and endowments of the higher institutions of learning. These are known to all men and have contributed to the wonderful development of this commonwealth during the past half century. I am emphasizing only the ideas to which these things may have led, the philosophy underlying these movements. We have, for instance, the tradition of the orator and his power with the masses; I shall speak only of those who preserved their ideas in some form of writing that appeals to the popular mind and imagination. I shall use literature in a rather broad sense as including scholarship, criticism, and social interpretation. No one would claim, I believe, that North Carolina has produced its quota of men who have been able to write adequately, felicitously, and finally of all the cultural elements that we identify with an enlarging civilization. It is all the more important that we should emphasize those who have had power with the written word, and especially those who attracted attention beyond the state's bounds.

As a point of departure let me cite some passages from writers themselves in order that we may have some basis for a contrast with contemporary conditions. I hope we in the South have learned to take advantage of wholesome and constructive criticism, and are not disposed to consider as "traitors" those who have been honest enough to write of our limitations and deficiencies. We naturally think first of Walter Hines Page, who in 1886 wrote his now celebrated letters for the *State Chronicle,* generally entitled "The Mummy Letters." While they had been often referred to, they were not reprinted until Burton J. Hendrick in the fourth volume of his *Life and Letters of Walter Hines Page,* entitled "The Training of an American," reproduced them. He had passed over the early period of Page's life in the first volumes because there was so much public interest in his correspondence as ambassador to England during the First World War. I doubt if 100 copies of the volume were sold in North Carolina, and perhaps even a smaller number of his so-called novel or fictionalized autobiography entitled *The Southerner.* Some of the ideas sound like ancient history now, but, especially in the light of his later writings and constructive efforts, they may be more dispassionately considered by a later

generation. Among other things Page said in these letters:

> There is not a man whose residence is in the state who is recognized by the world as an authority on anything. Since time began, no man or no woman who lived there has even written a book that has taken a place in the permanent literature of the country. Not a man has ever lived and worked there who fills twenty-five pages in any history of the United States. Not a scientific discovery has been made and worked out and has ever become famous.
>
> There is no appreciation of scholarship, no chance for intellectual growth. . . . When every intellectual aspiration is discouraged, when all the avenues that lead to independent thought and to mental growth are closed, there is absolutely no chance for ambitious men of ability, proportionate to their ability.

That was the reason, he contended, why so many men left the state and became leaders in other states, and why even the tide of population was away from North Carolina. He compared the state unfavorably even with Georgia, Tennessee, and Virginia, and yet it was his belief that the people of North Carolina were "as good folks as the sun shines on," and that they needed only intelligent and brave leadership to make it count among the states of the republic. "I think the time has come for getting at the truth, for independent action, for a declaration of independence from the tyranny of binding traditions." And again: "We are going ahead in business, but in the intolerance of the people, in the intellectual force and in cultivation we are doing nothing." We were doing nothing in getting more liberal ideas. "The presumptuous powers of ignorance, heredity, decayed respectability and stagnation that control public action and public expression are absolutely leading us backward intellectually." You will recall that he referred to three ghosts that were frightening the public—religious orthodoxy, the Confederacy, and the Negro.

One of the men who read these letters was Charles B. Aycock, then an unknown lawyer in Goldsboro, who wrote Page, February 26, 1886, expressing his "hearty approbation of your recent letters to the *Chronicle*:"

> I have read with great pleasure what you have had to say and I feel it is the duty in view of the abuse heaped upon you by the various editors of the state to say, what I know to be the truth, that fully three-fourths of the people are with you and wish you godspeed

in your efforts to arouse better work, greater thought and activity, and finer opinions in the state. I am glad to see the statement that you intend to live in North Carolina. Come back; but don't come until you have made enough money to live and fight for at least a half dozen years. I wish heartily that you and Joe Daniels had a round half million and were running a daily in Raleigh; it would be worth more to North Carolina than all the living and dead Mummies have been in a quarter of a century.

Page wrote much to the same effect in his so-called novel and in the *Rebuilding of Old Commonwealths* (1903), although by that time he had become vitally connected with some of the great efforts made in behalf of public education and was recognized throughout the state as one of the best friends the colleges and universities had. He never lost an opportunity to use his magazine, the *World's Work,* to forward these agencies that took part in the genuine reconstruction of the South. But he never ceased to criticize. As late as 1911 he wrote me the following letter relating to some articles that I had written at his solicitation for the *World's Work,* articles that afterwards were the foundation of my book on *The Advancing South*:

It is unfortunate, but it is true, that an infinitesimal part of the population of our southern states, for the last hundred years at least, has had any intellectual curiosity. . . . I don't know whether this is a psychological result of the dogmatism that followed the slavery controversy or whether it is the result of rural life and isolation—or more likely it is the result of physical causes such as hookworm and malaria. But whatever it is the result of, the one thing that differentitates the mass of southern men from the mass of Massachusetts men, say, is this lack of intellectual curiosity.

Therefore the southern people don't buy magazines or books. . . . We published a book on cotton, which is far and away the best book published on the subject. We have tried many plans, and with great persistence to sell it down south; but the men who grow cotton know more about cotton than the man who wrote the book! In other words, they have no intellectual curiosity. . . . Much of my life has been given to work that I meant to help the old land and the people thereof, and the rest of it shall be given in the same way. But as for any visible, concrete appreciation or reward—Lord, no, no—no!. . . . You don't have to pay for a magazine to talk about an article; you have read a piece about it in the paper. Why read any more then? Reading comes hard to many men that you know; don't you know it does.

Does that sound unnecessarily harsh? If you have followed the writings of Dr. L. R. Wilson, for many years librarian at the University and later dean of the School of Library Science of the University of Chicago, you have seen many articles and reports which confirmed Page's diagnosis. For many years he made a careful study of the reading habits of southern people, especially of North Carolina, of their private and public school and college libraries, their bookstores, publishing houses, and publications. With pitiless accuracy of research he established such facts as the following as of 1924: that only thirty-five of the sixty-two towns in the state possessed public libraries; that these libraries contaiined a total of 213,000 volumes (or one book to every twelve men, women, and children); that one-half of the common schools of the state had no libraries at all; that the grand total of all the college libraries, the state library, and the library of the Supreme Court was 444,000 volumes. The showing with regard to the subscriptions to newspapers and periodicals was no better. An examination of the bookstores and newsstands confirmed the statement that publishers took no note of North Carolina as a book market.

The good thing about Wilson is that he was not content to state these and other less flattering facts, but he used every means at his command to change this state of affairs. There is no better evidence of the intellectual progress of the state than what has happened since these statistics were first given. Wilson proved himself to be one of the half dozen men who had most to do with the growth of the University. It may be said that he created a new sense of what it meant to be a professional librarian, not only in North Carolina but throughout the whole country. We like to think of him as having returned to Chapel Hill to see some of the results of his long and patient labors.

Another critic of conditions in North Carolina is Howard W. Odum, who besides being professor of sociology at the University has been until recently the director of the Institute for Research of Social Science. He has not hesitated to criticize severely his own people. In 1924, speaking at Emory University, his alma mater, he laid down these fundamental theses which he illustrated with apt instances very near at hand:

We do not know enough.
We do not think enough or well enough.
We do not read enough or well enough.
We do not write enough or well enough.
We do not DO enough or well enough.
We do not work together well enough, and
We talk too much;

and he asked pertinently:

Are we not tired of being ranked last in education, in literacy, in lawlessness, in prison and penal standards, in simplicity and beauty of our homes, of our towns, of our country houses and communities, of our churches and school houses, in our treatment of the underprivileged, whether of individual or race. . . . Why then are we so barren of individual leaders who represent the highest achievement in their fields?

In the face of much criticism, and with the backing of the University administration and the cooperation of men like Rupert B. Vance, h ehas for twenty years been a great leader and especially has stimulated the writing of reports, articles, and books that have attained nation-wide recognition and admiration. *The Journal of Social Forces* is generally recognized as the best journal of sociology in America, while such books as *Southern Regions, Human Geography of the South,* and *Among These People* have become standards for the study of Southern problems.

When due recognition has been made of progress in many lines, there yet remains the fact that North Carolina has been notably lacking in the production of creative literature and the fine arts. May I cite the words of Paul Green, written as a foreword to the third series of *Carolina Folkplays* in 1928:

From its beginning 300 years ago until the present, North Carolina has made no lasting contribution to the art of the world. No one has set himself aside in high-minded and intelligent devotion to record a single one of these lives, nor to propound in the devious ways of art any of the hopes, struggles, disappointments, and attainments that made up the sum of existence.

This State has never produced a single great work of art. . . . So far as they count we can call the hog till our tongues drop out and there will be no stir in the pastures. . . . Have we had a great painter? A great musician? A great sculptor? A great architect? A great poet? Novelist? Dramatist? Essayist? Biographer?—A

great anything so far as the subject of art is concerned? We have not. We've not had even an adequate one in any of these. Other states have had. True, we have had O. Henry in the short story, and have named cigars, drugstores and hotels after him, but still, if I may say so, he remains for me a man without a vision, not a great writer. . . . He was an ingenious man, but not a great one. . . . One of the first and most apparent helps towards an escape from this artistic lethargy and emptiness is to become acutely conscious that such is our condition.

Green closes with an appeal couched in the language of the Negro spirituals, "Rise and shine:" "Come out of your hiding place. Where shall we find him who shall light up the struggles of our people? Through all these years they have failed to touch the heart of a single North Carolinian. Who has sung of our mountains . . . who tells the romance of the farmer's life among his tobacco, his cotton, and corn? Nobody. And the Negro and his life that was and is to be?"

Green, writing in 1925 in the *Reviewer,* which a Chapel Hill group had taken over from a Richmond group, reviewing the seventeenth volume of the *Library of Southern Literature,* sarcastically referred to the "thousands of pages, selections from some hundreds of authors, sent forth unashamedly to convince the world that we were a wronged people, that our literature would bear comparison with that of any time and any place." He makes the point that all the reputations of southern authors had been made by northern critics, and calls attention to the "loud, ranting note, the usual rhetoric and spectacular hyperbole bestowed upon earth-departing spinsters, shave-tailed poets, nine-day wonders, crossroad philosophers, minute Alfred Tennysons, and nostalgic whimpering Poes." The trouble with southern literature, he contended, is that our emotions have lacked the chastening and subduing of reflective thinking. "We have written and lauded one another, founded magazines to boost ourselves, drawn our boundaries around us and refused the caustic consolation of scholarship and criticism because it did not tickle our naive and foolish vanity." Much more to the same effect is found in the all too brief career of the *Reviewer.*

It is a striking fact that if you examine even this *Library of Southern Literature* you will find that North Carolina writers, even though two of the editors were North Carolinians, have less

space than those of any other southern state. In Stark Young's *Treasury of Southern Literature,* out of 184 selections, only six are by North Carolinians, though the book contains illustrations of every form of writing. In two recent anthologies of southern poems, one of them compiled by Addison Hibbard, then a member of the English department of the University of North Carolina, there is only one North Carolina poet, namely, Olive Tilford Dargan.

With these criticisms in mind we are now prepared to consider how within a period of fifty years efforts have been made to overcome the limitations and deficiencies that have been suggested. Our inquiry may well begin with the election of Edwin A. Alderman to the presidency of the University of North Carolina in 1896. I need not with this audience emphasize the qualities that made him an outstanding figure in this state and indeed throughout the nation, nor suggest the periods of his career that led to such distinction. We have not always had in mind the difficulties which he encountered in his first campaign as an associate of Charles D. McIver. In some passages read from his diary before this Association a year ago, some of his criticisms, sometimes humorous, sometimes pathetic, sometimes tragic, it is quite evident that he had a critical approach to his problems and that he was not always merely the consummate orator that he came to be in his later years. We know now that he would probably have remained at the University of North Carolina if Governor Aycock and Mr. Josephus Daniels had been able to give even a moderate hope that the University might receive as much as $100,000 a year; it was then receiving only $25,000. At a later time, fretting under the criticism that came from his later efforts in Louisiana and in the South, he spoke of "the frightful, frantic unreasonable sensitiveness of the South." "There is sadness in it and pathos, a scar left by the isolation of slavery, pride of war, the poverty, the injustice of Reconstruction, its individualism." He cried out at one time that he would like to write a book to be entitled *Up From Slavery* and added, "I want to be free when I die."

It is a far cry from such words as those to the time when he delivered before Congress his address on Woodrow Wilson, which seemed to gather up all the experience of his long labors in

North Carolina, Louisiana, and Virginia in words that no political leader of the South could have uttered. He had become one of the most attractive personalities of his time. John H. Finley, editor of the *New York Times*, referred to him as "democracy's most eloquent voice." "He has often spoken for America in shining and stately sentences that will be permanently preserved in American literature. I have reread beside it the oration of Pericles and there it deserves to be placed. His voice was like a well loved viol, fashioned in mellow shapeliness. . . . It will tell future generations what manner of speech crowned our language in our day." He cites one sentence as typical of Alderman's work of a lifetime: "To live in a liberal and lofty fashion with hearts unspoiled by hate, eyes clear to see the nearness of a new and mighty day in a new and mighty land." Finley's words, spoken to the American Academy of Arts and Letters, served to indicate that Alderman had become a national figure, one whom President Butler could hail as "the most consummate and moving of our country's orators." In such recognition of his services to the South and to the nation many of the limitations through which he passed in his early career may well be forgotten. The long struggle that he had with the forces of ignorance, prejudice, and passion ended in victory, but let it be remembered that his body rests not on North Carolina soil, but at the University of Virginia, to the reconstruction of which he made his greatest contribution.

The year after Alderman's election to the presidency of the University of North Carolina, Walter Hines Page delivered his celebrated address on "The Forgotten Man" at the recently established Normal and Industrial College in Greensboro. It was a frank appeal to accept our own conditions, without illusions, to face our own problems like men, and, when necessary, "with all respect for the past, to lift dead men's hands from our life." Some of his points of view have already been suggested as to what caused the backwardness of the state; what was new was the consciousness that something had happened since 1886 when he had written the "Mummy Letters." As one now reads the entire address—so cordial, so suggestive, so constructive—one wonders at the storm of abuse that broke about his head, because of what he said about the political and ecclesiastical sys-

tems that had neglected the forgotten man and even more the forgotten woman. It is a striking fact that, despite this criticism, he was expressing in his own forceful and attractive way the ideas that were to dominate the leaders of the next twenty years. Many of the sentences and phrases became the slogans of forward-looking men who maintained with him that the greatest undeveloped resource in any state is the untrained masses of the people, that a democratic society must be based upon such strength, and that "a public school system generously supported by public sentiment and generously maintained by both state and local taxation, is the only effective means to develop the forgotten man, and even more surely the only means to develop the forgotten woman."

Three years later Charles B. Aycock was elected governor of North Carolina on a distinct pledge to wage an active and aggressive campaign for the education of all the people. Just as he had been impressed by the early letters of Page to which reference has already been made and had been for a long time an associate of Alderman and McIver in their great educational campaign, so now he turned the whole force of his administration towards the accomplishment of this stubbornly held idea. I should like to remind this audience of some of the golden sentences of his speeches in his campaign for the governorship and on through his administration. One of the differences between him and other public speakers was that he invariably reduced to writing his addresses, which have been preserved in *Life and Speeches of Charles B. Aycock,* by Connor and Poe.

> If you vote for me, I want you to do so with the distinct understanding that I shall devote the first years of my official labors to the upbuilding of the public schools of North Carolina. I shall endeavor for every child in the state to get an education.
>
> If more taxes are required, more taxes must be levied.

One of his first acts was to call together in his office forty representative educational leaders to launch the campaign. They issued a "Declaration against Illiteracy" which he made his own on every stump of the state. Some of us may recall that when a previously appointed committee brought in a report stating that North Carolina had twenty-three per cent of its white citizens in a state of illiteracy and was therefore next to the last in

the list of states, some felt that it would not do to make such a statement, that it would dampen the enthusiasm of people at the very start. The governor, after listening to the discussion, finally said, "Is it true?" and they all admitted that it was. Then, he said, "Put it there, and I will repeat it on every platform from which I speak and thus bring about a state of affairs in which it will not be true."

When some objected to the constitutional amendment that after 1908 all whites who were not able to read and write should be deprived of the right of suffrage, Aycock refused to budge and even threatened to withdraw from the campaign. He won out, and when at the end of his administration an effort was made to give to Negro schools only those funds which their taxes supplied, he made one of the greatest speeches of his life. "While universal suffrage is a failure, universal justice is the decree of Almighty God, and we are entrusted with power not for our own good alone but for the Negro as well. . . . If we fail to administer equal and exact justice to the Negro we shall in the fullness of time lose power ourselves. . . . The Negro's destiny and ours are so interwoven that we cannot lift ourselves up without at the same time lifting him. . . . The amendment that calls for the restriction of funds to Negro taxes is unjust, unwise and unconstitutional. . . . Let us not seek to be the first state in the Union to make the weak more helpless."

He had the satisfaction of knowing that by 1910—a period of ten years—the percentage of whites over ten years of age unable to read and write had declined from nineteen and four-tenths per cent to twelve and three-tenths, and among the Negroes from forty-seven and six-tenths to thirty-one and nine-tenths per cent. He sowed the seeds that have yielded increasing harvests in the progressive administrations of later governors and later superintendents of public instruction and other educational experts.

North Carolina really came into national prominence and into southern leadership with the conferences for education in the South that were held in successive years in Winston-Salem, N. C. (1901), Athens, Ga. (1902), Richmond, Va. (1903), and Nashville, Tenn. (1912). The men about whom we have been speaking found an opportunity to do for other states what they

had done for this state. The addresses made, the reports gathered, the programs worked out in detail, are the best expression of a veritable educational renaissance. The most significant phase of the movement as a whole was that northern men like Robert C. Ogden, Wallace Buttrick, and Albert Shaw cooperated with ideas and financial resources. Full credit should be given to Walter Hines Page for causing northern philanthropists and educational leaders to seek the aid of southern leaders in the solution of problems that had become national in their scope. Out of such conferences came the Southern Education Board and the General Education Board, composed of men of both sections committed to a task of genuine reconstruction.

No account of intellectual progress in North Carolina can leave out of consideration the newspapers of the state. We all know now that Mr. Josephus Daniels, as editor of the *News and Observer,* was the champion and defender of all those forces that we have been considering. The intimate friend of Alderman, McIver, and Aycock, he made his paper the organ of the campaign against illiteracy, and later a defender of the conferences for education in the South when many newspapers were attacking them as an effort to overthrow the traditional views. He has also been a trustee and one of the stoutest champions and defenders of the University of North Carolina at a time when its successive presidents were under attack and when there was grave danger of keeping appropriations down and of surrendering academic freedom.

Naturally conservative in his early life in many of his ideas and inclined to take the partisan view of public questions, he gave Miss Nell Battle Lewis the opportunity to write a column in the *News and Observer,* which has for many years been one of the notable illustrations of liberalism and constructive criticism. Either Miss Lewis or somebody else ought to select and publish the most striking things that have appeared in her column. She is a shining illustration of the truly emancipated woman and of the unfettered mind. She has written with insight and courage about literature, history, education, religion, and even politics. Writing of Page and Bassett under the title of "Tainted Heroes," she praised them for "the spirit of revolt

against old, outworn southern shibboleths," and others like them, whose names are unknown, who lived and died "protesting against the herd in full cry . . . that small band of the deserters, those . . . nameless, savory critics whose perverse opinions have composed that little trickle of salt and vinegar in North Carolina's thick saccharine brew." She even praised Mencken at a time when he was writing of "the Sahara of the Bozart," and she made light of the Mecklenburg Declaration. She criticized Bryan for advocating anti-evolution laws. "If there is a state in this Union that needs debunking as sorely as North Carolina, I don't know it. A really first-class debunker would find enough to do to keep him busy for six lifetimes." She certainly did her share.

And so in a different way has Mr. Jonathan Daniels, who by his books, editorials, and articles has come to be reckoned among the outstanding younger critics and journalists of the nation. One can scarcely imagine one breathing the atmosphere of the *News and Observer* of an earlier period from his childhood days becoming a regular contributor to the *Nation!* His *Tar Heels* is a monumental book.

The *Charlotte Observer,* under the editorship of J. P. Caldwell, became one of the foremost expositors of industrial progress as evidenced in the cotton mills of the Piedmont section. D. A. Tompkins was one of the first Southerners to advocate the necessity of technical schools that would provide trained workers in factories and trained engineers. In July, 1900, Caldwell wrote an editorial which may be considered the strongest utterance of that period on the necessity for political independence. At a time when the Democratic party was committed locally to the securing of white supremacy for all time and every appeal was made for party regularity, he boldly declared against Bryan because he did not believe in free silver. Even those who did not agree with him recognized that he was a man of unquestioned integrity and honor, a high-souled gentleman of the old school. He had made such a good paper that all the people of that section had to take it even though they disregarded his political advice. He gathered about him a group of brilliant writers, notably H. E. C. Bryant, Erwin Avery, and John Charles McNeill. Avery's "Variety of Idle Comment," appearing for

several years, had more of the various aspects of North Carolina life than any other publication that I know. McNeill's poems, while not read outside the state, have touched the heart of the people of this state as has no other volume of poetry.

We should recall the *Greensboro Daily News* as even more independent in its views. The editorials of Earl Godbey and Gerald W. Johnson and the columns of W. T. Bost are outstanding examples of the untrammeled mind. Bost continues his column and maintains his spirit of individualism and freedom.

In the first decade of the century the editors of two weekly papers—the *Biblical Recorder* and the *Progressive Farmer*—rose distinctly above the particular function which their papers were supposed to serve. J. W. Bailey did not confine himself to the religious subjects that would naturally have appealed to the Baptist denomination, but wrote in a brilliant style of all the questions that were then in the public mind. One might not agree with him but he had to be reckoned with. He showed the same distinction of style and independence of mind that characterized his best speeches made in the Senate a few years ago, when he stood forth as an independent thinker within his own party. Bailey might have become one of the great editors of the country.

Dr. Clarence Poe, editor of the *Progressive Farmer* for nearly fifty years, has made his paper not only the best farm paper in the South but he is generally recognized as one of the citizens who has had most to do with the furthering of movements in education and in human welfare. He has had an eye for all the best ideas and best achievements of his time. Perhaps the key to his thinking and writing may be summarized in a passage from Sidney Lanier that he printed for many years at the top of the editorial column of his paper: "The great rise of the small farmer in the southern states during the last twenty years become the notable circumstance of the period. One has only to remember that whatever crop we hope to reap in the future—whether it be a crop of poems, or paintings, or symphonies—we have got to bring it out of the ground with palpable plows and with plain farmer's forethought in order to see that a vital revolution in the farming economy of the South is necessarily carrying with it all future southern politics and southern social relations and

southern art, and that such an agricultural change is the one substantial fact upon which any really new south can be predicated."

In accordance with this philosophy Dr. Poe has studied the best that has been done in agriculture in all parts of this country in order to find ways of improving southern agriculture. He travelled in Denmark, England, and Ireland with the same purpose in mind. Out of his wide experience, observation and reading have come his "Ten Commandments of Agriculture," his advocacy of universal education and of special training, his conception of the value of good literature, and his determination to find in wise legislation some of the cures for the evils of a backward section. In an address to the Commercial Congress in Washington he said: "Oh, if our statesmen and public men these last thirty years could only have realized the fundamental truth that the prosperity of every man depends upon the prosperity of the average man. Your untrained, inefficient man is not only a poverty breeder for himself, but the contagion of it curses every man in the community that is guilty of leaving him untrained. . . . We shall handle the land better, now more barbarously handled by us than any other civilized people."

Another instance of what was happening in that first decade of the century was that in January 1902 the first number of the *South Atlantic Quarterly* was published at Trinity College under the editorship of John Spencer Bassett. Little did those who took part in its launching realize that so soon there would develop a sensational incident that threatened the very existence of Trinity College. From the beginning Bassett in his editorials had been critical of some tendencies in Southern life and thought. In October, 1903, he published an article on "Stirring up the Fires of Race Antipathy" which had in it the celebrated statement, which was parenthetical, that, except Robert E. Lee, Booker T. Washington was the greatest man produced in the South during the past one hundred years. It is not necessary here to recall the state-wide hysteria and criticism when a North Carolina paper republished the article under flaming headlines. What I wish to call attention to is the significance of the action of the trustees in declining to unseat Bassett. President Kilgo, then in the heyday of his career and not as in later years a "lost

leader," in presenting the case to the called meeting of the board of trustees, said:

> I am ready to declare that coercion of opinion in all times has been a miserable failure; that truth and reason and life have never been advanced by force and physical pain. . . . You cannot hurt this institution more fatally, you cannot deal it a severer blow than by enthroning coercion and intolerance. Bury liberty here, and with it the college is buried. . . . It were better that Trinity College should work with ten students than that we should repudiate and violate every principle of the Christian religion, the high virtues of the commonwealth, and the foundation spirit of this nation. . . . Personally I should prefer to see a hurricane sweep from the face of the earth every brick and timber here than to see the college committed to the policies of the Inquisition.

The faculty in its communication to the board expressed the same ideas and quoted the words of Thomas Jefferson which they made their own: "This institution will be based upon the illimitable freedom of the human mind. For here we are not afraid to follow truth wherever it may lead, nor to tolerate error so long as reason is left free to counteract it."

The trustees after a long debate voted by a large majority to retain Bassett and issued this declaration, which was printed on the front pages of many American newspapers the next morning:

> Any form of coercion of thought and private judgment is contrary to one of the constitutional aims of Trinity College which is "to cherish a sincere spirit of tolerance." We are particularly unwilling to lend ourselves to any tendency to destroy or limit academic liberty. . . . Liberty may sometimes lead to folly; yet it is better that some should be tolerated than that all should think and speak under the deciding influence of repression. A reasonable freedom of opinion is to a college the very breath of life. While it is idle to deny that the free expression of wrong opinions sometimes works harm, this country and our race stand for the views that the evils of intolerance and suppression are infinitely worse than those of folly.

When President Theodore Roosevelt visited Trinity College the following year he made evident what the national reaction was to this heroic declaration and action:

> I know of no other college which has so nobly set forth the object of its being, the principles to which every college should be devoted.

You stand for private judgment, for the duty more incumbent upon the schools than upon any man to tell the truth as he sees it, to claim for himself and to give to others the largest liberty in seeking the truth.

This spirit of academic freedom has been characteristic of the University of North Carolina, especially in later years. It was expressed by President Chase in his fight against the anti-evolution law, and it has inspired President Frank Graham in his enlightened views of labor and race problems. Graham did a brave thing when he brought about, in the face of many obstacles and much criticism, the consolidation of the three state institutions. He has done an even braver thing when he has contended in season and out of season for his own rights and those of his faculty to hold views and maintain principles which the average citizen does not share. He is now recognized in all parts of the country as one of our leading liberal leaders. You may not always agree with him, but you have to reckon with him.

Leadership of the same quality was exemplified by W. L. Poteat of Wake Forest College in the resistance to the pressure put upon him by many of the leaders of the Baptist denomination to remain silent or to accept the dominant ideas of his church with regard to science and religion. A well trained scientist, a master of a forceful and even beautiful style, profoundly reverent and devout, he maintained his belief in evolution as a well-established theory. In his *Can A Man Be A Christian Today?*, delivered as a series of lectures at the University of North Carolina, he declared with rare distinction and courage, and with a thorough understanding of the main currents of modern thought, that there was no conflict between science and religion properly understood and interpreted, that the church must get rid of some of its "baggage"—its impedimenta—and face reality, that ecclesiasticism was one thing and the religion of Christ quite a different thing. His book belongs on the same shelf as John Fiske's *Destiny of Man* and *Man Viewed in the Light of His Origin.*

The spirit of academic freedom as illustrated in all these incidents is not the only test of a college or university. One of the remarkable developments of the past twenty-five years has

been the growth of Trinity College and the University into real universities with high standards of scholarship and with laboratories commensurate with such standards. Whenever I am inclined not to believe in miracles, I think of the difference between Trinity College as it was when I began to teach there in 1894 and the Duke University of the present time, or between the University of North Carolina as it was in those days and as it is today. The difference is something more than that of educational plants. There have always been scholars of a certain broad culture in these institutions and some really great teachers, but only until recent years have scholars fitted for research in many fields of learning had that opportunity. Thanks to Presidents Venable, Edward K. Graham, and William P. Few and their successors there are now at both institutions scholars who have won national recognition by their investigations and their published writings. At both places are maintained journals that are to be found in every American university library—notably *American Literature, The Journal of South American and American Relations,* and *Law and Contemporary Problems* at Duke, and *Modern Philology,* the *Journal of the Elisa Mitchell Scientific Society,* and *Social Forces* at the University. References to the noteworthy work of L. R. Wilson, Howard W. Odum, Rupert B. Vance, Phillips Russell, and Paul Green and his associates have already been made, and to them might be added the writings of Archibald Henderson, W. C. Coker, E. W. Knight, W. B. MacNider, Newman I. White, Calvin B. Hoover, William MacDougal, and others. The university presses maintained at both places have now a national significance.

It is not to the separate work in these two institutions, however, that attention should most be directed, but to the cooperation of the two in making one of the real centers of learning and scholarship in this country. This fact is all the more noteworthy in view of the conflict that long characterized their relationship. It is not necessary to recall that unpleasant period, but it is well to realize that the building of two great libraries is now the best evidence of a cooperative plan whereby the scholars and students of each institution may profit by the combined resources of these libraries. It is not a vain hope that the two administrations will find more and more opportunity for

sharing the work that is necessary for the continued programs of research in all departments of learning. The report published by the American Council of Education in 1932, surveying the opportunities for graduate work in the thirty-five fields of learning in all the universities of this country, listed eleven departments at the University and eight departments at Duke in which advanced graduate courses could now be given. Undoubtedly, a similar study today would reveal a larger number of departments in the two institutions, but even the early report is a matter of sincere congratulation as showing their leadership among southern institutions of higher learning.

So far we have not considered Paul Green's criticism of the lack of creative art in North Carolina. He himself and his colleagues in the Carolina Playmakers, under the guidance of Koch, served to refute the generalization that the state had found no artistic expression of its life and thought. I should be bringing coals to Newcastle if I talked of the importance of this movement from the standpoint of the state, the region, or the nation. The significance of the plays themselves is in the revelation of the humor and tragedy of the forgotten people of the state—the hillbillies, the mountaineers, inhabitants of small towns and rural communities, workers in factories, and most strikingly, Negroes, seen not from the standpoint of their relation to the whites merely, but from their own traditional folklore and workaday and spiritual songs. The plays, crude as some of them are, cause us to think deeply of the other than traditional elements that make up our complex population.

I merely suggest others like James Boyd and Mrs. Inglis Fletcher, who have written charming romances of colonial and revolutionary times. Olive T. Dargan, who has written poems that give the background and atmosphere of the mountains around Asheville, has more recently written a novel, entitled *Call Home the Heart,* in which she presents and interprets the labor movement as seen dramatically in the Gastonia strike. Here certainly are more things than have been dreamed of in our conventional view of the much vaunted industrial progress.

But the outstanding event in the literary history of North Carolina was the publication in 1929 of Thomas Wolfe's *Look Homeward Angel,* and six years later *Of Time and the River,* and then,

out of the millions of words that he left, his posthumous novels, *The Web and the Rock* and *You Can't Go Home Again*—all of them really constituting one book that grew out of his experiences in this state, in America, and in many European countries. Here we have for the first time a great genius who causes us to think of comparison with Walt Whitman, Melville, Poe, Samuel Butler, James Joyce. The question that concerns us is how the people of Asheville and the state in general received him. When the first book had been accepted by one of America's leading publishers and he returned home on the eve of that publication, a newspaper reporter announced that his book would be "a romance of the Old South, centering about the history of a distinguished ante-bellum family of this region," and that he would "commemorate the life, history and development of western North Carolina in a series of poetic legends comparable to those with which the poet Longfellow commemorated the life of the Arcadians and the folklore of the New England countryside." He represented Wolfe as saying that there was no place he had ever visited that could compare in beauty with Asheville—"a veritable paradise of Nature. Air, climate, scenery, water, natural beauty, all conspire to make this section the most ideal place in the world to live." Here he would find the inspiration to do his work. There might come a veritable renaissance, and it was the author's purpose to do everything in his power for this great cause, "and to urge all my writing and artistic friends to settle here—to make Libya Hill the place it ought to be—The Athens of America."

When the volume appeared with all its realistic pictures of the people of Asheville as he had seen them, there was consternation, bitterness, that expressed itself in the press and in hundreds of letters that came to him, threatening violence if he ever returned home. When his work received more and more acclaim from the leading critics of America and from the general reading public, he was subjected to invitations of every kind, which were even more disturbing to his artistic soul than the cruel condemnation which had beat about his head. Some extracts from letters to his mother while he was experimenting with plays will indicate his conception of his work better than anything that might be said; they are prophetic of his novels:

I have chosen a lonely road for my travel—a road that is pretty far removed from the highway, and even the best of you may have sympathy but little understanding.

The only progress is spiritual; the only lasting thing is Beauty—created by an artist.

North Carolina needs honest criticism—rather than the false, shallow, "we are the-finest-state-and greatest-people-in-the-county" kind of thing. An artist who refuses to accept fair criticism of his work will never go forward. What of a state?

I know that I have something to say now; it twists at my brain and heart for expression. If God would only give me one hundred hands to write it down.

If you explore your own backyard carefully enough and compare it with all other things, (you find out), you may someday find out what the whole earth is like.

At another time he wrote:

The plays I am going to write may not be suited to the tender bellies of old maids, sweet young girls, or Baptist ministers, but they will be true and honest and courageous, and the rest doesn't matter. If my play goes on I want you to be prepared for execrations upon my head. I have stepped on toes right and left—I spared Boston with its nigger-sentimentalists no more than the South, which I love, but which I am never-the-less pounding. I am not interested in writing what our pot-bellied member of the Rotary and Kiwanis call a "good show" I want to know life and understand it and interpret it without fear or favor. . . . Life is not made up of dishonest optimism, God is *not* always in his heaven, all is *not* always right with the world. It is not all bad, but it is not all good; it is not all ugly, but is is not all beautiful; it is life, life, life—the only thing that matters. It is savage, cruel, kind, noble, passionate, selfish, generous, stupid, ugly, beautiful, painful, joyous,—it is all these, and more, and it is all these I want to know and, by God, I shall, though they crucify me for it. I will go to the ends of the earth to find it, to understand it. I will know this country when I am through as I know the palm of my hand, and I will put it on paper and make it true and beautiful.

There is not time even to suggest how faithfully Wolfe carried out his program and to consider what he wrote of Asheville and other cities in all regions of the South. It is easy to see his limitations as an artist, and as a thinker—his lack of discipline and restraint, his rhetorical passages that interfere with the total effect of his novels, his perversity of mind that emphasizes isolation from his people, extreme naturalism not so well balanced with his idealism and even mysticism. But what we need to

emphasize at this time is his contribution to the presentation and interpretation of one of our typical cities, his clear insight into many of the things that have hindered intellectual progress, such as complacency, boastfulness, high talk, and a blindness to the darker side of a state's life. It ought to be said in all fairness that he wrote equally realistic things about Boston, New York, Brooklyn, and that he possessed the wide stretches of an imaginative grasp of all things American. He lived through the disillusionment, cynicism, and pessimism of the period between the two wars; he understood all the literary tendencies of that period and penetrated beneath the surface of those who were considered the major writers of his time—the esthetes of both the mind and art. He never succumbed to the temptation of many of our expatriates who found in Europe the supreme home of all that we mean by culture. His mind and imagination, even amid the most picturesque scenes of France, England, and Germany, turned to America. He tells of hearing the chimes in Dijon one night, but they awoke in him memories of the old bell at Chapel Hill. So he revived all the memories of his boyhood days and of his later life in the cities of America.

Wolfe revealed in his novels this same independence and frankness that he praised in Horace Williams. He often spoke of himself as a "lost Soul," "God's lonely man," hungering for books, beauty, experience. Did he ever find himself? In the conclusion of his last book, *You Can't Go Home Again,* I think he did come home, and that he found America. I conclude with his very last words written to his friend, William Perkins, who did so much to balance his enormous vitality and unrest:

> I believe that we are lost here in America, but I believe we shall be found. And this belief, which mounts now to the catharsis of knowledge and conviction, is for me not only our own hope, but America's everlasting, living dream. I think the life which we have fashioned in America, and which has fashioned us was self-destructive in its nature, and must be destroyed.
>
> I think the true discovery of America is before us. I think the true fulfillment of our spirit, of our people, of our mighty and immortal land, is yet to come. I think the true discovery of our own democracy is still before us. I think I speak for most men living when I say that our America is Here, is Now, and beckons on before

us, and that this glorious assurance is not only our living hope, but our dream to be accomplished.

I think the enemy is here before us too. But I think we know the forms and faces of the enemy, and in the knowledge that we know him, and shall meet him and eventually must conquer him is also our living hope. . . . I think the enemy is single selfishness and compulsive greed. . . . I think he stole our earth from us, destroyed our wealth, and ravished and despoiled our land. I think he took our people and enslaved them, that he polluted the fountains of our life.

Thus we have come to the end of the road that we were to go together. My tale is finished—and so farewell. But before I go I have just one more thing to tell you: Something has spoken to me in the night, burning the tapers of the waning year; something has spoken in the night, and told me I shall die, I know not where. Saying: 'To lose the earth you know, for greater knowing; to lose the life you have, for greater life; to leave the friends you love, for greater loving; to find a home more kind than home, more large than earth—Whereon the pillars of this earth are founded, towards which the conscience of the world is tending—*a wind is rising, and the rivers flow.*

NORTH CAROLINA BIBLIOGRAPHY, 1945-1946[1]

By MARY LINDSAY THORNTON

Bibliography and Libraries

DUKE UNIVERSITY. LIBRARY. Catalogue of the Whitman collection in the Duke University library . . . compiled by Ellen Frances Frey. Durham, N. C., Duke University Library, 1945. xvi, 148 p. illus. Apply.

NORTH CAROLINA STATE COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE AND ENGINEERING OF THE UNIVERSITY, RALEIGH. D. H. HILL LIBRARY. Documents office classification, compiled by Mary Elizabeth Poole. Raleigh, N. C., D. H. Hill Library, 1946. Loose leaf. $10.40.

NORTH CAROLINA. UNIVERSITY. LIBRARY. Library resources of the University of North Carolina; a summary of facilities for study and research, edited, with a foreword, by Charles E. Rush. Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1945. x, 264 p. $3.00.

WILSON, LOUIS ROUND. Report of a survey of the University of South Carolina library for the University of South Carolina . . . by Louis R. Wilson . . . and Maurice F. Tauber. Columbia, S. C., The University of South Carolina, 1946. 134 p. $2.00.

Religion and Philosophy

COLEMAN, INABELLE GRAVES. March of missions. Nashville, Tenn., The Broadman Press, 1946. 144 p. $.60.

HOWELL, ALMONTE CHARLES. A history of the Chapel Hill Baptist church, 1854-1924. Chapel Hill, N. C. [Chapel Hill Baptist Church] 1945. 32 p. illus. $.50 pa.

MACLEAN, JOHN ALLAN. The most unforgettable character I've ever met. Richmond, Va., John Knox Press, [c. 1945] 223 p. $2.00.

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE U. S. SYNOD OF NORTH CAROLINA. CONCORD PRESBYTERY. Addresses delivered at the sesquicentennial celebration of Concord presbytery, Bethpage church, October 16, 1945. Morganton, N. C., Concord Presbytery, [1945] 15 p. pa. Apply.

RUSSELL, ELBERT. The inner light in the history and present problems of the Society of Friends. [Guilford College, N. C.] North Carolina Friends Historical Society, [1946] 24 p. pa. Apply.

TRUETT, GEORGE WASHINGTON. Christmas messages. Chicago, Ill., Moody Press, [1945] 79 p. $1.00.

TRUETT, GEORGE WASHINGTOON. Some vital questions . . . edited by Powhatan W. James. Grand Rapids, Mich., Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1946. 192 p. $2.00.

WINSTON-SALEM, N. C. FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH (NEGRO). First Baptist church, Winston-Salem, N. C., 1879-1945, sixty-sixth anni-

[1] Books dealing with North Carolina or by North Carolinians, and a few selected pamphlets, published during the year ending August 31, 1946.

versary. Winston-Salem, N. C., First Baptist Church (Negro), [c. 1945] 44 p. illus. Apply.

Economics and Sociology

BOWMAN, GELINE MACDONALD. A history of the national federation of business and professional women's clubs, inc., 1919-1944, inclusive. New York, National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, [1945?] 156 p. Apply.

CARRAWAY, GERTRUDE SPRAGUE. The United States Marine corps air station, Cunningham Field, Cherry Point, North Carolina. New Bern, N. C., Owen G. Dunn Company, 1946. 80 p. illus. pa. Apply Author, New Bern, N. C.

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. Investment per job, the case of Gastonia, North Carolina. Washington, Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America, [1945] 16 p. pa. Apply.

CONFERENCE ON RESEARCH AND REGIONAL WELFARE, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA, 1945. Research and regional welfare . . . edited by Robert E. Coker . . . with a foreword by Louis R. Wilson. Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1946. xvi, 229 p. $3.00.

HARDISON, OSBORNE BENNETT. This university is doing great work for the Navy; commencement address at the University of North Carolina, February 25, 1945. Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina, [1945] [20] p. ports. Apply.

HEXNER, ERVIN. International cartels, by Ervin Hexner, with the collaboration of Adelaide Walters. Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, [1945] xiv, 555 p. $6.00.

JORDAN, JOYE E. The Wildcat division. Raleigh, N. C., State Department of Archives and History, 1945. 12 p. illus. pa. Apply.

LAFFERTY, ROBERT H. The North Carolina medical college, Davidson and Charlotte, North Carolina. [Charlotte, The Author? 1946] 61 p. illus. pa. Apply.

NORTH CAROLINA. LAWS, STATUTES, ETC. The code of Guilford county, North Carolina, 1945, containing the laws of particular application in the county. Charlottesville, Va., Michie City Publications Company, 1946. vi, 220 p. $7.50.

NORTH CAROLINA. STATE HIGHWAY AND PUBLIC WORKS COMMISSION. Roadside development and highway war memorials. Raleigh, N. C., State Highway and Public Works Commission, [1946] 19 p. illus. pa. Apply.

NORTH CAROLINA. STATE PLANNING BOARD. North Carolina basic county data. Raleigh, N. C., State Planning Board, 1946. 2 v. Apply.

NORTH CAROLINA. DEPARTMENT OF TAX RESEARCH. Some aspects of economic development in North Carolina since 1900, by A. J.

Maxwell, director. Raleigh, N. C., Department of Tax Research, 1946. 11 p. Apply.

NORTH CAROLINA. UNIVERSITY. CONTROLLER. Veterans, a report to the Governor, and to the Trustees of the University of North Carolina, by William D. Carmichael, jr. [Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina, 1946] [14] p. pa. Apply.

NORTH CAROLINA. UNIVERSITY. DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES. A state university surveys the humanities, edited with a foreword by Loren C. MacKinney, Nicholson B. Adams, Harry K. Russell. Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1945. xi, 262 p. $3.00.

ODUM, HOWARD WASHINGTON. In search of the regional balance of America, edited with a foreword by Howard W. Odum and Katharine Jocher. Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1945. 162 p. illus. $3.00. Issued also as Social forces, v. 23, no. 3.

ROBERTSON, ARCHIBALD THOMAS. Slow train to yesterday, a last glance at the local. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1945. ix, 189 p. illus. $3.00.

RYAN, WILL CARSON. Secondary education in the South, edited with a foreword by W. Carson Ryan, J. Minor Gwynn, Arnold K. King. Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1946. xi, 269 p. $3.00. Issued also as The High School journal, v. 28, nos. 1-4.

SAWYER, ELMER WARREN. Insurance as interstate commerce. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, inc. 1945. xi, 169 p. $2.50.

SOUTHERN STATES WORK-CONFERENCE ON SCHOOL ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS. 5th, DAYTONA BEACH, FLA., 1944. Building a better southern region through education, a study in state and regional cooperation; edited by Edgar L. Morphet. Tallahassee, Fla., Southern States Work-Conference on School Administrative Problems, [1945] xviii, 418 p. $2.50.

VANCE, RUPERT BAYLESS. All these people; the nation's human resources in the South, by Rupert B. Vance in collaboration with Nadia Danilevsky. Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1945. xxxiii, 503 p. illus. $5.00.

VANCE, RUPERT BAYLESS. New farm homes for old, a study of rural public housing in the South, by Rupert B. Vance, Gordon W. Blackwell, with the collaboration of Howard G. McClain. University, Ala., University of Alabama, 1946. xxii, 245 p. $3.00.

WARREN, JULE BENJAMIN. The people govern North Carolina. Raleigh, N. C., Warren Publishing Company, 1946. 219 p. illus. $1.50.

Science

BRIMLEY, CLEMENT SAMUEL. The mammals of North Carolina, installment nos. 1-18. [Raleigh, North Carolina State Museum, 1945] 18 issues of 2 pages each. Apply.

COKER, WILLIAM CHAMBERS. Studies in science, edited, with a foreword by W. C. Coker. Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1946. 375 p. illus. $3.00. Issued also as The Journal of the Elisha Mitchell Scientific Society, v. 61.

DUKE UNIVERSITY. MARINE STATION, BEAUFORT, N. C. Utilization of seaweeds from the South Atlantic and Gulf coasts for agar and its decomposition by bacteria. Durham, N. C., Duke University Press, 1946. 80 p. illus. pa. $1.00.

HARRAR, ELWOOD SCOTT. Guide to southern trees, by Ellwood S. Harrar and J. George Harrar. New York, Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., [1946] ix, 712 p. illus. $3.50.

MUNDORFF, MAURICE JOHN. Progress report on ground water in North Carolina. Raleigh, N. C., North Carolina Department of Conservation and Development, 1945. 78 p. pa. Apply.

SMITH, CLYDE FUHRIMAN. The *Aphidiinae* of North America (*Braconidae*: *Hymenoptera*) Columbus, The Ohio State University, 1944. xii, 154 p. illus. Apply.

Applied Science and Useful Arts

COLLINS, FREDERICK LEWIS. Uncle Sam's billion-dollar baby, a taxpayer looks at the TVA. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, [1945] 174 p. $2.50.

DE WEESE, FRED C. Transmission lines; design, construction and performance. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1945. vii, 297 p. illus. $3.50.

GREAVES-WALKER, ARTHUR FREDERICK. Investment opportunities in North Carolina minerals. Raleigh, N. C., North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering of the University, 1945. 29 p. pa. Apply.

Poetry

MCCURDY, HAROLD GRIER. A straw flute. Raleigh, N. C., Meredith College, 1946. [35] p. Apply.

MARX, OLGA, Translator. Poems of Stefan Anton George rendered into English by Carol North Valhope [*pseud.* of Olga Marx] and Ernst Morwitz. [New York] Pantheon Books, Inc., [1943] 253 p. $3.00.

MORWITZ, ERNST, Translator. Poems of Alcman, Sappho and Ibycus, rendered from the Greek by Olga Marx and Ernst Morwitz. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1945. 32, 50 p. $10.00. Limited edition.

POTEAT, EDWIN MCNEILL. Over the sea, the sky. New York, Harper and Brothers, [1945] viii, 70 p. $1.50.

Drama

HENDERSON, ARCHIBALD. Pioneering a people's theatre, edited with a foreword by Archibald Henderson. Chapel Hill, The University

of North Carolina Press, 1945. viii, 104 p. illus. $3.00. Issued also as The Carolina play-book, v. 17, no. 1.

NATIONAL THEATRE CONFERENCE. Organizing a community theatre, edited by Samuel Selden. Cleveland, O., Western Reserve University, 1945. 127 p. $1.50.

Fiction [2]

ABRAHAMS, WILLIAM MILLER. Interval in Carolina, a novel. New York, Simon and Schuster, 1945. 181 p. $2.00.

BURT, KATHARINE (NEWLIN). Lady in the tower. Philadelphia, Macrae-Smith Company, 1946. 284 p. $2.00.

BYRD, SAM. Hurry home to my heart. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1945. 150 p. $2.00.

HARPER, WILHELMINA, Compiler. Where the redbird flies; stories from the southeastern states. New York, E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., 1946. 277 p. illus. $2.75. Juvenile. Includes four stories with a North Carolina setting.

HARRIS, BERNICE (KELLY) Janey Jeems. Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday and Company, 1946. 306 p. $2.50.

HOOKS, ARAH. Mr. Nosey. New York, D. Appleton-Century Company, [c. 1945] [27] p. illus. $2.00. Juvenile.

HOUSTON, NOEL. The great promise, a novel. New York, Reynal and Hitchcock, [1946] 502 p. $3.00.

LUCAS, ERIC. Swamp fox brigade; adventures with General Francis Marion's guerrillas. New York, International Publishers, [1945] 128 p. illus. $1.85. Juvenile.

NIGGLI, JOSEPHINA. Mexican village.[3] Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, [1945] xiv, 491 p. illus. $3.00.

SIMPSON, FRANCES (BEST). A beautiful woman on a southern plantation. Boston, Meador Publishing Company, [1946] 136 p. illus. $2.00.

STREET, JAMES. The gauntlet. New York, Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1945. 311 p. $2.75.

WALZ, AUDREY. Dead reckoning [by] Francis Bonnamy [*pseud.*] New York, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, [1943] 248 p. $2.00.

WILDER, ROBERT. Written on the wind, a novel. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, [1946] 338 p. $2.75.

WOLFE, THOMAS. The portable Thomas Wolfe, edited by Maxwell Geismar. New York, The Viking Press, 1946. vi, 712 p. $2.00.

Literature Other Than Poetry, Drama, or Fiction

BRAGAW, JOHN GOLDSMITH. Random shots. [Raleigh, N. C., Edwards and Broughton Company] 1945. 356 p. $3.00.

COFFMAN, GEORGE RALEIGH. Studies in language and literature, edited, with a foreword, by George R. Coffman. Chapel Hill, The Univer-

[2] By a North Carolinian, or with the scene laid in North Carolina.
[3] Mayflower award, 1946.

sity of North Carolina Press, 1945. viii, 344 p. $3.00. Issued also as Studies in philology, v. 42, no. 3.

GREEN, PAUL ELIOT. Forever growing; some notes on a credo for teachers. Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, [1945] 42 p. $1.50.

HUSE, HOWARD RUSSELL. Reading and speaking foreign languages. Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, [1945] vii, 128 p. $2.00.

IVEY, GEORGE FRANKS. Humor and humanity. Hickory, N. C., The Southern Publishing Company, [1945] 243 p. illus. $2.00.

MILLER, ALLEN GUIVERE. The meaning of life; my heart laid bare. Kalmia, N. C., The Author, [1946] 27 p. pa. Apply.

Genealogy

COIT, JOHN ELIOT. Lineage of the descendants of John Calkins Coit of Cheraw, South Carolina, 1799-1863. No place, The Author, 1945. 52 p. ports. pa. Apply Mrs. Josephine C. Wakefield, Banner Elk, N. C.

GOLD, PLEASANT DANIEL. Gold generations in England and America. [Silver Spring, Md. 1946] 126 p. illus. Limited to 300 copies.

RAY, WORTH S. Colonial Granville county and its people. [Austin, Tex.] Author, 1945. 193-312 p. $7.50. Pre-print of a part of The lost tribes of North Carolina.

RAY, WORTH S. The Mecklenburg signers and their neighbors. Austin, Tex., Author, 1946. 313-558 p. illus. $10.00. Pre-print of a part of The lost tribes of North Carolina.

SMITH, AUSTIN WHEELER. The Dickson-McEwen and allied families genealogy. Cookeville, Tenn., Author, 1945. 512 p. illus. $5.00.

History and Travel

BROWN, THELMA SHARMAN. By way of Cherokee. Atlanta, Ga., Home Mission Board, Southern Baptist Convention, [1944] 127 p. illus. pa. $.42.

CROW, JOHN ARMSTRONG. The epic of Latin America. Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1946. xxiv, 756 p. illus. $5.00.

MCNEER, MAY YONGE. The story of the southern highlands. New York, Harper and Brothers, [1945] [32] p. illus. $1.50. Juvenile.

MULL, LARRY W. Scenic western North Carolina, a vacation guide to the highlands. New York, The William-Frederick Press, [c. 1946] 45 p. pa. $.50.

ROBINSON, MELVIN. Riddle of the lost colony. New Bern, N. C. Owen G. Dunn Company, [c. 1946] 64 p. illus. pa. $1.00.

SHARPE, WILLIAM P. Tar on my heels, a press agent's note book, by Bill Sharpe. Winston-Salem, N. C., The Tar Heels, 1946. 229 p. illus. $3.00.

TENNESSEE. HISTORICAL COMMISSION. Tennessee, old and new: Ses-

quicentennial edition, 1796-1946. Nashville, Tenn., Historical Commission, [1946] 2 v. $7.00.

Autobiography and Biography

BATTLE, KEMP PLUMMER. Memories of an old-time Tar Heel, by Kemp Plummer Battle, edited by his son William James Battle. Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1945. xii, 296 p. illus. $3.00.

CUNNINGHAM, JAMES ROOD. William Henry Belk; an address. [Charlotte, Charlotte Chamber of commerce, 1945] [6] p. port. Apply.

DANIELS, ADELAIDE WORTH (BAGLEY). Recollections of a cabinet minister's wife, 1913-1921, by Mrs. Josephus Daniels. [Raleigh, N. C., Mitchell Printing Company for Josephus Daniels, 1945] iv, 199 p. illus. Apply.

DANIELS, JOSEPHUS. The Wilson era; years of war and after, 1917-1923. Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1946. xviii, 654 p. illus. $4.00.

DUMBAULD, EDWARD. Thomas Jefferson, American tourist. Norman, Okla., University of Oklahoma Press, 1946. xv, 266 p. $3.00.

HAMLIN, CHARLES HUNTER. Ninety bits of North Carolina biography. [New Bern, N. C., Owen G. Dunn Company, 1946] 148 p. $2.00.

JOHNSON, GERALD WHITE. An honorable Titan: a biographical study of Adolph S. Ochs. New York, Harper and Brothers, [c. 1946] ix, 313 p. port. $3.50.

JORDAN, JOYE E. Thomas Jordan Jarvis. Raleigh, State Department of Archives and History, 1945. 9 p. illus. pa. Apply.

KENAN, WILLIAM RAND. Incidents by the way; lifetime recollections and reflections [by] Wm. R. Kenan, jr. [Lockport, N. Y., Privately printed, 1946] 186 p. illus. Apply Author, Lockport, N. Y.

MILLER, NORMAN MICKEY. I took the sky road, by Comdr. Norman M. Miller, USN, as told to Hugh B. Cave. New York, Dodd, Mead and Company, 1945. xii, 212 p. illus. $3.00.

MYERS, WILLIAM STARR. Woodrow Wilson: some Princeton memories, edited by William Starr Myers. Princeton, N. J., The Princeton University Press, 1946. vi, 91 p. $1.50.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY. LIBRARY. James Boyd '10, 1888-1944. Princeton, N. J., The Princeton University Press, 1945, 55-98 p. port. pa. (Princeton university library chronicle. February, 1945, v. 6, no. 2) Includes a checklist of the works of James Boyd. Apply.

STYRON, ARTHUR. The last of the cocked hats, James Monroe and the Virginia dynasty. Norman, Okla., University of Oklahoma Press, 1945. xiii, 480 p. $3.50.

WEBB, CHARLES AURELIUS. Mount Mitchell and Dr. Elisha Mitchell. Asheville, N. C., The Asheville Citizen-Times Company, 1946. 24 p. pa. Apply Author, Asheville, N. C.

New Editions and Reprints

COKER, WILLIAM CHAMBERS. Trees of the southeastern states . . . by William Chambers Coker and Henry Roland Totten. Third edition. Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1945. 419 p. illus. $3.00.

CURTIS, MOSES ASHLEY. The shrubs and woody vines of North Carolina. [Raleigh, N. C.] Department of Conservation and Development, Division of Forestry and Parks, [1945] 38 p. pa. Apply.

FOERSTER, NORMAN. The humanities and the common man, the democratic role of the state universities. Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1946. viii, 60 p. $1.50. Reprint of the concluding chapter of North Carolina. University. Division of humanities. A state university surveys the humanities.

GREEN, PAUL ELIOT. The lost colony, a symphonic drama in two acts (with music, pantomime, and dance) Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1946. xix, 202 p. $2.50.

HALL, JOSEPH KIRKLAND. The Rev. James Davidson Hall and his descendants, revised. Belmont, N. C., Author, 1946. 21 p. port. pa. Apply.

HENRY, O., *pseud.* Cabbages and kings. New York, Penguin Books, 1946. 184 p. pa. $.25.

NORTH CAROLINA. LAWS, STATUTES, ETC. Jerome's Criminal code and digest of North Carolina, edited by Harry B. Skillman. 6th edition. Atlanta, Ga., The Harrison Company, 1945. 1x, 1303 p. $22.50.

BOOK REVIEWS

Hero of Hornet's Nest, A Biography of Elijah Clark, 1733-1799. By Louise Frederick Hays. (New York: The Hobson Book Press, 1946. Pp. ix, 395. $3.50.)

In the spring of 1771 Elijah and Hannah Harrington Clark removed their children, livestock, and personal belongings from Orange County, North Carolina, into Craven County, South Carolina. Two years later they were leaders in a movement which carried about twenty-five Carolina families farther south into Georgia. There they settled in the newly ceded lands south of Broad River, later included in the county of Wilkes. Clark continued his leadership in the newly formed community, and Clark's Fort was an important outpost for defense against the Indians. Hesitant at first about joining the Revolutionary movement, he broke with the mother country when faced with the choice of fighting with his friends and neighbors or fighting with the savages who were being incited by royal agents. His experience in Indian fighting and his driving energy proved highly valuable in the guerrilla warfare of the back country, and his contribution to the cause of independence was recognized by the legislatures of both North Carolina and Georgia in the form of a gift of $30,000 by the former and extensive land grants by the latter. He supported the ratification of the Federal Constitution, but turned against the Federal administration when President Washington counseled peace with the Indians while he and his neighbors were still engaged in a struggle against hostile Creeks and Cherokees.

There is much in this book that the trained historian will criticize. It is based on wide study of the older histories of Georgia and the Carolinas, supplemented by numerous references to official records, wills, inventories, and personal papers in the Georgia Department of Archives and History. The resulting narrative is an agglomeration of tall yarns, ready-made conversation, Georgia folklore, and general description applied to specific places and events. All these are reduced to a chronological sequence and arranged about authentic events in the lives of Hannah and Elijah Clark and their neighbors in the only community in Georgia that never accepted defeat in the Revolutionary struggle. The specialist in North Carolina history will

doubt the validity of the interpretation of the War of the Regulation as the opening phase of the American Revolution (p. 307); he will deny that the battle of Kings Mountain was a result of Clark's heroic act in leading four hundred refugees from Georgia to the Watauga Valley (p. 112); he will marvel at the physical endurance of the militiamen who swam Savannah River south of Augusta and staged a nonstop race to their homes in North Carolina (p. 62).

In spite of all these things, it is clear that Mrs. Hays has performed a distinct service for students of American history. In the first place, her work reveals in concrete, human terms both the close relations existing among the early communities in the Piedmont region and the "provincialism" which set them apart from the seaboard areas in their respective states. It is also a valuable commentary on the social history of the period. Births, deaths, weddings, and home building were constant accompaniments of war and politics in the back country. The author is at her best in presenting these things, and neither her unorthodox method of citing all sources at the same level of acceptability nor her unique system of abbreviations for titles need prove an insuperable obstacle to the serious student. Finally, this work etches with the fidelity of a finely cut cameo the origin of that agrarian, individualistic spirit of local democracy that has characterized those communities established by the third and fourth generations of American-born pioneers. The Rutherfords and the Seviers, the Marions and the Pickenses, the Clarks and the Doolys left little that the formal historians have deemed worthy of literary exploitation. It is fortunate, therefore, that an understanding biographer will dare to present one of them in the modest, yet significant role that he played in history.

Paul Murray.

East Carolina Teachers College,
Greenville, North Carolina.

Tennessee Old and New, Sesquicentennial Edition, 1796-1946. (Nashville: Sponsored by the Tennessee Historical Commission and the Tennessee Historical Society. [1946.] Volume I, pp. xvii. 490. Volume II, pp. ix, 493.)

These two volumes, sponsored by the Tennessee Historical Commission and the Tennessee Historical Society and financed

with funds made available by special arrangement of the governor, were published in 1946 as a part of Tennessee's sesquicentennial celebration..

The contents, consisting entirely of reprinted material, were gleaned largely from two former but now discontinued publications, *The American Historical Magazine* and the *Tennessee Historical Magazine,* which never had a wide circulation, even at the height of their popularity, and of which there are now but few complete files in the state. To these, in order to close certain gaps, were added a few articles from two current publications, the *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* and *The East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications,* and some fifteen other items from fugitive sources. Among the latter, and of particular interest, is a reprint of Gilbert Imlay's "A Short Description of the State of Tennessee, Lately Called the Territory of the United States South of the River Ohio," taken from the Third London Edition (1797) of his *Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America.* Other significant items include "An Address Delivered on the Semi-Centennial Anniversary of the Settlement of Knoxville" by Thomas W. Humes in 1842 (misprinted 1942); "The Great Seal of the State of Tennessee" by R. L. C. White; the "Provisional Constitution of Frankland"; and the "Records of the Cumberland Association."

According to the Publication Committee, no attempt was made "to edit or alter the articles appearing in this publication. Even incorrect spelling, faulty punctuation, and awkward sentence structure remain untouched. Assuredly, there are articles based upon meager historical sources; in fact, some articles are wholly without documentation. Nevertheless, many of these articles contain valid information of interest to present-day Tennesseans. There are articles that are inadequate or even somewhat erroneous in the light of subsequent research. But the interest and value of many other facts in such articles perhaps outweigh any lack of minute detail or bewildering historical nicety deemed a *sine qua non* by the purist or mote-hunting stickler."

This reviewer would disagree with the above viewpoint; and would wish that two such handsomely printed and bound vol-

umes might have been instrumental in adding something to the knowledge of Tennessee history not already published.

North Carolina State College,
Raleigh, N. C.

James W. Patton.

Zachary Taylor. By Brainerd Dyer. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1946. Pp. 455. $4.00.)

Zachary Taylor was not a great President. In fact, so far as this reviewer can determine from reading this biography, he was not markedly superior in any respect, except possibly in his personal courage and ability to lead and inspire men in the thick of battle. He was a soldier nearly all his life but did not attain the rank of colonel until he reached the age of forty-seven. In frontier posts in Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin he in no wise distinguished himself. In the war against the Seminoles in Florida he won a bloody victory at Lake Okeechobee but otherwise his mission was not particularly successful. In the Mexican War his victory at Palo Alto was a deserved one; at Monterey he negotiated an armistice which was repudiated by the administration; at Buena Vista he won a victory against superior numbers but had disobeyed orders in advancing to that point, and President Polk thought it an unnecessary battle with unnecessary bloodshed. Taylor was removed in favor of Winfield Scott for the Vera Cruz campaign, and properly so, because the administration had lost confidence in Taylor even as he had lost confidence in the administration. The manner of his removal, however, was ungracious.

Taylor's great ambition was to settle down as a successful planter in Louisiana. He did become a planter after paying $95,000 cash (the source of which the author fails to explain) for a plantation, but he did not settle down and he was not successful. He was thrust into politics, partly by the able pen of his son-in-law, partly by the desire of Thurlow Weed and John J. Crittenden to back a winner in 1848, and partly by his own ambition to get in a lick at an administration he had come to despise. The absence of party ties was an advantage, and his very lack of political adroitness appealed to the people and was in keeping with his sobriquet of "Old Rough and Ready." No matter that he had never been particularly interested in national or international affairs and had not previously voted in a presi-

dential election. As President he was unfortunate in his Cabinet, in his break with Clay, and in his opposition to the Compromise of 1850. His relations with Congress were not harmonious, though he had announced a policy of letting Congress make the laws without the interposition of the executive office except in matters clearly unconstitutional.

It is the reviewer's judgment that this is a good biography but not a great one. The research is careful, the writing is plain, and the judgments are sound. The tone is sympathetic but not adulatory. The author finds that Taylor had many fine qualities. He was in no sense a stuffed shirt; he was a man of sense and patriotism; without being learned in the science of strategy and tactics, he was a brave soldier and an inspiring leader; and he was not selfishly ambitious.

It does not seem likely that another biography of Taylor will be needed for a long time. Yet Taylor the man does not come alive in the sense that the reader can enter into his thoughts and being. Not until page 184 do we get a description of his person. In part this is due to the paucity of information about his youth and the absence of any large body of private correspondence. The illustrations are fitting enough, but probably better maps could have been selected.

Robert H. Woody.

Duke University,
Durham, N. C.

The Iroquois, A Study in Cultural Evolution. By Frank G. Speck. (Bloomfield Hills, Michigan: Cranbrook Institute of Science. Bulletin No. 23, Oct. 1945. Pp. 94.)

In the collections of the museum of the Cranbrook Institute of Science, Bloomfield Hills, Michigan, certain ethnological material, most of it from the Great Lakes region, is receiving special study. As a background for the museum exhibits, Dr. Speck of the University of Pennsylvania was asked to prepare a study of the Iroquois, and he has added another contribution of importance to the many that have resulted from his widely extended research.

In his "Introduction" Dr. Speck seeks to diminish the unfavorable impressions made by the French pioneers and Jesuits "who execrated the natives who resisted their conquest of the land

and souls." He believes that the Iroquois were not so bad as they were painted by the early explorers and later historians. The Iroquoian tribes of Carolina, the Cherokee and the Tuscarora, are called in for evidence as well as the Northern tribes.

The detailed description and tabulation of "The Iroquoian Linguistic Family and Populations" furnish valuable information about population and distribution of the early inhabitants and their survivors.

"Social and Civil Aspects of Iroquois Culture" reveal a remarkably clear picture of the tribal political organization, the achievement of a federation of democratic people. Here the Iroquois excelled, with their league of nations, in contrast with their Algonkian neighbors, by whom they were outnumbered and surrounded, but who were never successful in uniting their tribes in political combination.

Although Dr. Speck does not explain the long continued warfare between the Iroquois and the Siouan tribes of the Carolinas and Virginia, there is reason to believe from the study that the depredations made by the Northern Indians, especially the Seneca, were not operations of the Five Nations as a whole but of independent war parties recruited and led by outstanding warriors. Colonel William Byrd's observations seem to support this view.

The chapter on Iroquoian culture, with elaboration of arts and crafts, decorative designs, and ceremonial properties, comprising more than half of the publication, furnish extensive information about the peaceful pursuits of the Iroquois. Many illustrations are provided from the collections of the Cranbrook Institute. Numerous eminent authorities, such as Dr. William H. Fenton, Dr. Arthur C. Parker, and Dr. F. W. Waugh, are called in for reference.

For this latest achievement in ethnological publication, Dr. Speck can add another feather to his amply decorated Indian head-dress.

Douglas L. Rights.
The Wachovia Historical Society,
Winston-Salem, N. C.

Recommended Readings on Florida. By A. J. Hanna. (Winter Park, Florida: Union Catalog of Floridiana, 1945, second edition, 1946. Pp. 64. $1.25.)

The first edition of this bibliography was published in 1945 as *Recommended Readings for the Florida Centennial.* In the

present edition, the chapter on Florida's centennial has been omitted, an outline map of Florida and an index have been added, and several recent books have been included.

There has long been a need for a popular reading list on Florida. In the 163 books and pamphlets listed here, the reader will find many of the better Florida books, usually with a helpful critical or descriptive annotation.

The purpose of the book, Dr. Hanna states, "is to provide a balanced introductory guide primarily for the student and general reader." It is not surprising, therefore, that many books essential to the historian are not included. The general reader, however, will find that several of the titles are collectors' items and that others, long out of print, are not readily accessible.

The arrangement of the bibliography is topical except for two sections. In one of these, Dr. Hanna lists nine titles which he considers indispensable for an introduction to the literature on Florida. A "Miscellaneous" section takes care of a dozen titles whose subject matter does not fall within the topical headings he uses.

There are fifteen such headings, ranging from "Biography" to "War and Reconstruction," but "History" is not among them. This causes the rather forced classification as "Description" of such books as Patrick's *Florida under Five Flags* and Corse's *Key to the Golden Islands.* Substitution of the single heading "History" for the topics "Exploration," "Settlement," and "War and Reconstruction" would obviate this difficulty and, in the opinion of this reviewer, effect a more logical organization. The sections on "Conservation" and "Nature" might similarly be combined.

The book has a serious shortcoming over which Dr. Hanna had no control and which he himself points out. "That a wider range of subjects has not been included," he says, ". . . is due to the unfortunate lack of readable and accurate printed materials. These gaps indicate how comparatively unworked is the Florida field."

Dorothy Dodd.

Florida State Library,
Tallahassee, Fla.

Three Score Years and Ten, A Narrative of the First Seventy Years of Eli Lilly and Company, 1876-1946. By Roscoe Collins Clark. (Indianapolis, Indiana: Eli Lilly and Company, privately printed, 1946. Pp. ix, 132.)

This is an "outline history" devoted particularly to the commercial development of the company. From this point of view it is similar to that of many American business enterprises: a small, unstable emergence, then a mushroomlike growth, resulting in a prosperous and important establishment.

In 1854 Eli Lilly, then sixteen, became an apprentice to an English-trained apothecary of a small drug store in the frontier town of Lafayette, Indiana. Twenty-two years later, 1876, when the young druggist "turned the big key in the double doors of a small building" in Indianapolis, the firm of Eli Lilly and Company had passed its first milepost.

The efficiency of the three presidents, Colonel Eli, his son, and his grandson, which steered the business successfully through depressions and war prosperity, together with the high quality of the products, helped to make the company global in extent. Agencies or branches were established in the various areas of the United States, Latin America, Canada, Britain, China, Japan, and the Philippines.

The evolution of drugs, which passed through the stages from gelatin-coated pills to penicillin, was as definite as were the commercial changes. The Lilly Company succeeded so well here that it was invited to cooperate with the discoverers in the production and distribution of insulin.

The author passes so hastily to the story of the great and successful Lilly Company that he loses an opportunity to make a study of the rich sources of the social history of the time or to elaborate on the "making of medicines," one of the best chapters in the book. The work is poorly organized and has a few technical errors. The inclusion of innumerable names, intended to give deserved recognition to the participants in the building of the business, results in the bewilderment of the reader.

The writer has succeeded in bringing to light the importance of his subject and in leaving his readers with a keen interest in its further development. Herein is a challenge to some historian to write a definitive study on an intriguing theme.

Alice Barnwell Keith.

Meredith College,
Raleigh, N. C.

HISTORICAL NEWS

Dr. Catherine E. Boyd, assistant professor of history at the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, has accepted a position of associate professor of European history at Carlton College.

Miss Christiana McFayden, assistant professor of history at the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, on leave of absence for graduate work at the University of Chicago, has been awarded the William Rainey Harper Fellowship for next year. During the past year she held the Wolf Fellowship in History at that institution.

Dr. Philip J. Green, professor at Queens College, will teach during the summer session at the University of Georgia.

Drs. M. B. Garrett and J. L. Godfrey of the University of North Carolina are looking forward to the appearance of their new text, *Europe Since 1815*. F. S. Crofts and Company have promised the volume by August.

Dr. Hugh T. Lefler of the University of North Carolina, on March 30-31, attended a meeting of historians in early American history at Princeton University.

Dr. Fletcher M. Green of the University of North Carolina, on March 26, gave an address before the Richmond County (Georgia) Historical Association on the subject "Contributions of some Georgians to the History of the Southwest."

Professor Tinsley L. Spraggins, professor of history at St. Augustine College, is the recipient of a grant of $1,500 from the Ella Lyman Cabot Trust to make a study of the political life of the Negro in North Carolina.

Salem College, founded in 1772, is preparing an historical sketch of 175 years of uninterrupted service. This is being done in recognition of the anniversary celebration, and the editorial work is under the direction of Dr. Lucy Wenhold, Dr. Douglas L.

Rights, Dean Ivy Hixson, Miss Marion Blair, and President Howard E. Rondthaler, each of whom is contributing a review of an assigned section bearing in mind the fact that during 175 years the doors of the institution have not been closed on a single school day in spite of the invasion of the British army under Lord Cornwallis, and the Union troops under Major General Stoneman.

The Historical Society of North Carolina held its spring meeting at Winston-Salem on the afternoon and evening of April 19. The afternoon session was held in the museum of the Wachovia Historical Society. Dr. R. H. Woody of Duke University reported on unexploited materials in the Flowers Collection of Duke University. Dr. Woody reported that Duke University will soon publish a catalog of the Flowers Collection. Dr. Douglas L. Rights, president of the Wachovia Historical Society, reported on unexploited materials available in Winston-Salem. The evening session was held in the restored Salem Tavern. Dr. Hugh T. Lefler of the University of North Carolina led a discussion of unexplored aspects of North Carolina history. Dr. Archibald Henderson of the University of North Carolina, president of the society, presided at both sessions.

The Alexander County Historical Association is sponsoring the Alexander County Centennial Celebration to be held June 5, 6, and 7, at Taylorsville.

The history departments of Meredith College and State College, and the State Department of Archives and History were hosts to college and university history teachers at a dinner held on April 12 at the Country Club, Raleigh. Representatives from Meredith College, State College, University of North Carolina, Duke University, Davidson College, Wake Forest College, and the State Department of Archives and History were in attendance. Forty-seven persons attended.

The North Carolina Society of Colonial Dames, on April 29, in Gilmour Hall of the First Presbyterian Church, Wilmington, sponsored an exhibit of old silver and a lecture on "Early Ameri-

can Silver" by Dr. George B. Cutten of Chapel Hill. Among the many interesting pieces of old silver loaned for this exhibit was a tankard which once belonged to Flora Macdonald.

The Moore County Historical Association, on April 30, in the courthouse at Carthage held its last meeting before recessing for the summer. Dr. Howard E. Rondthaler, president of Salem College, delivered an address on Marshall Ney. Mr. Struthers Burt, a novelist of Southern Pines, delivered prizes to the four high school students winning prizes in the Moore County History Contest. The winners in this contest were Lewis Pate, Southern Pines; Viola Fore, Cameron; Ann Davis, Pinehurst; and Mary Lou Cameron, Aberdeen. After awarding the prizes the members made their first historical pilgrimage—the itinerary of which included a visit to the tomb of Governor Williams and "The House in the Horseshoe," the pre-Revolutionary home of Philip Alston. At the latter, Mr. John Hardin, secretary to Governor R. Gregg Cherry, made a brief talk in which he gave the history of the house. The last stop was at Mr. Julien Bishop's Horseshoe Quail Farm, where the guests were served refreshments.

Dr. Thomas J. Wilson III has resigned as director of the University of North Carolina Press to accept the directorship of the Harvard University Press. Dr. Wilson became director of the University of North Carolina Press in January, 1946, following the resignation of Mr. W. T. Couch, who was director from 1932 to 1945 but who resigned to become director of the University of Chicago Press.

On April 13 Mt. Hope Evangelical and Reformed Church celebrated its one-hundredth anniversary. Dr. Schuford Peeler of Charlotte, a former pastor of the church, delivered the morning sermon, and Dr. Harvey Fesperman of Burlington delivered the evening message. The Mt. Hope Church was founded in 1847 by Dr. George W. Welker and the brick structure was built in 1851. The present church was erected in 1873.

The University of North Carolina Press celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary on March 13 by observing an open house, serv-

ing tea, and displaying on the second floor of Bynum Hall exhibits of the press's work.

The Greensboro Council of Garden Clubs is sponsoring an essay contest in the city and county white schools of Guilford County on "The Life of Dolly Madison." The main phase of the committee's activities is to obtain facts about the residence of Dolly Madison in Guilford County. The committee is composed of Mrs. R. Glenn Johnson, chairman; Mrs. Van Wyke Williams; and Mrs. John A. Kellenberger. A bibliography of books and articles dealing with Dolly Madison's birthplace has been compiled and placed in the Greensboro Public Library and the Guilford College Library.

The house in Austin, Texas, where "O. Henry" (William Sidney Porter) made his home following his marriage, has been converted by the residents of that city into an O. Henry Memorial. O. Henry was a native of Greensboro.

Volume VIII of a ten volume set of *A History of the South,* edited by Wendell Holmes Stephenson and E. Merton Coulter, is expected to come from the press in November. *A History of the South* will be published jointly by the Louisiana State University Press and the University of Texas Press. Volume VIII, by E. Merton Coulter, is the first volume to be completed. The titles of the several volumes in the set, with their authors, are as follows: Volume I, *The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, 1607-1689,* by Wesley Frank Craven, professor of history, New York University; Volume II, *The Southern Colonies in the Eighteenth Century, 1689-1763,* by Philip Davidson, dean of the Senior College and of the Graduate School, Vanderbilt University; Volume III, *The Revolution in the South, 1763-1789,* by Philip M. Hamer, head of the Records Control Office, National Archives, and secretary of the National Historical Publications Commission; Volume IV, *Jeffersonian Democracy and Westward Expansion, 1789-1819,* by Thomas P. Abernethy, professor of history, University of Virginia; Volume V, *The Development of Southern Sectionalism, 1819-1849,* by Charles S. Sydnor, professor of history, Duke University; Volume VI, *The Growth of Southern Nationalism, 1848-1861,* by Avery Craven, professor of

American history, University of Chicago; Volume VII, *The Confederate States of America, 1861-1865,* by E. Merton Coulter, co-editor of the series; Volume VIII, *The South During Reconstruction, 1865-1880,* by E. Merton Coulter, co-editor of the series; Volume IX, *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913,* by C. Vann Woodward, professor of history at Johns Hopkins University; and Volume X, *The Present South, 1913-1946,* by Rupert B. Vance, Kenan professor of Sociology, University of North Carolina.

The third summer training course on the Preservation and Administration of Archives for custodians of public, institutional, and business archives will be offered by the American University, Washington, D. C., with the cooperation of the National Archives and the Maryland Hall of Records, from July 28 through August 23, 1947. The program will provide lectures on the most important phases of work with archives and manuscripts, demonstrations, group conferences, and practical work in such fields as arrangement and description of archival and manuscript material, repair and preservation, cataloging, and photoduplication. Dr. Ernst Posner, professor of history and archives administration, The American University; Dr. Oliver W. Holmes, program advisor to the Archivist of the United States; Dr. Morris L. Radoff, archivist, Maryland Hall of Records; and other members of the staffs of the National Archives and the Maryland Hall of Records will serve as instructors. Detailed information may be obtained by writing to Dr. Ernst Posner, The American University, 1901 F Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

The Republic of Liberia, West Africa, on July 26 will observe its one-hundredth anniversary of independence. An international exposition will be held in the capital city, Monrovia, 1947-1949, in which the nations of Asia, Europe, Africa, and America have been invited to participate. The Liberian Centennial Commission appointed by President William V. S. Tubman is composed of the following persons: Dr. G. W. Gibson, former secretary of public instruction, commissioner; Dixon B. Brown, deputy commissioner; Hilyard R. Robinson, architect and city planner, technical director; and Joseph F. Dennis, secretary.

Books received include Douglas L. Rights, *The American Indian in North Carolina* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1947); University of North Carolina Sesquicentennial Publications, *Books from Chapel Hill, A Complete Catalogue, 1923-1945* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1946); Clinton N. Howard, *The British Development of West Florida, 1763-1769* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 1947); Emmet D. and James W. Atkins, *Extracts from the Diary of Benjamin Elberfield Atkins: A Teacher of the Old School, 1848-1909* (Gastonia, North Carolina: privately printed, 1947); Mary U. Rothrock, *The French Broad-Holston Country, A History of Knox County, Tennessee* (Knoxville, Tennessee: East Tennessee Historical Society, 1946); E. Merton Coulter, *Georgia: A Short History* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1947); Edgar W. Knight and Agatha Boyd Adams, *The Graduate School Research and Publications* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1946); Alfred N. Chandler, *Land Title Origins, A Tale of Force and Fraud* (New York: Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, Inc., 1945); William Francis English, *The Pioneer Lawyer and Jurist in Missouri* (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri, 1947); Daniel Jay Whitener, *Prohibition in North Carolina, 1715-1945* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1945); Josephus Daniels, *Shirt-Sleeve Diplomat* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1947); Sadie Smathers Patton, *The Story of Henderson County* (Asheville, North Carolina: The Miller Printing Company, 1947); Lawrence Fay Brewster, *Summer Migrations and Resorts of South Carolina Low-County Planters* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1947); The National Archives, *Twelfth Annual Report of the Archivist of the United States for the Year Ending June 30, 1946* (Washington, D. C.: The United States Government Printing Office, 1947); Arthur S. Link, *Wilson: The Road to the White House* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1947).

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

Mrs. Willie Grier Todd's address is Buford, Georgia.

Mr. Tinsley Lee Spraggins is professor of history at St. Augustine College, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Mrs. Ernest A. Branch is acting secretary of the State Literary and Historical Association, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Dr. Robert Burton House is chancellor of The University in Chapel Hill, and vice-president of The University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

Dr. Nannie May Tilley is director of the manuscripts division of Duke University Library, Durham, North Carolina.

Mr. LeGette Blythe is an editorial and feature writer of *The Charlotte Observer,* Charlotte, North Carolina.

Dr. Edwin Mims is professor emeritus of English at Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee.

Dr. James A. Padgett is an archivist, United States Department of Commerce, Division of Liquidation, Washington, D. C.

Miss Mary Lindsay Thornton is in charge of the North Carolina Collection in the Library of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOLUME XXIV JULY, 1947 NUMBER 3

ASBURY DICKINS (1780-1861): A CAREER IN GOVERNMENT SERVICE

By RUTH KETRING NUERMBERGER

Who was Asbury Dickins? Briefly, he was, between 1817 and 1861, successively clerk and chief clerk in the Treasury Department, chief clerk in the Department of State, and secretary of the United States Senate. As a public servant for nearly half a century, Asbury Dickins probably knew more of the great and near great than any other man of his time. He was the close friend of many who left a name and a record in American history, yet they scarcely mentioned his name. And so Asbury Dickins has been almost completely lost and forgotten, and since his brief obituary in a Washington newspaper no printed biographical notice of him has appeared. Yet such were his life and services that he deserves some lasting memento.

His father was John Dickins, a famous Methodist divine of the eighteenth century. John Dickins was born on August 24, 1747, in London, grew up there, and received a good education, possibly at Eton College; in any case he was a good Latin and Greek scholar.[1]

Some time before the Revolution John Dickins came to America, where he professed religion in 1774 and joined the Methodist Society in Virginia. He became an itinerant preacher in 1777, traveling in the North Carolina circuit. The next year found him in Brunswick circuit; thence he went to Roanoke circuit, where he remained until the close of 1780 when he temporarily

[1] Thomas William Herringshaw, comp., *Herringshaw's Encyclopedia of American Biography of the Nineteenth Century. . . .* (Chicago, 1905); *Dictionary of American Biography*, V, 293 f. (cited hereinafter as *D. A. B.*); Matthew H. Moore, *Sketches of the Pioneers of Methodism in North Carolina and Virginia* (Nashville, 1884), p. 108; William Buell Sprague, *Annals of the American Methodist Pulpit . . . .* (New York, 1861), p. 63; "John Dickins," *Methodist Magazine*, XXII (October, 1799), 521 f.; Eton College, *The Eton College Register, 1753-1790, Alphabetically Arranged and Edited with Biographical Notes*, by Richard Arthur Austen-Leigh (Eton, 1921), does not list John Dickins as a student.

stopped preaching. Meantime, in April, 1779, he had married Elizabeth Yancey of Halifax County, North Carolina. Here he settled and lived until 1783 and here Asbury Dickins was born on July 29, 1780.[2]

At this early date John Dickins advanced the idea of founding a Methodist school in America on the model of John Wesley's Kingswood school in England.[3] Dickins received the first subscriptions in 1780. With the coming of Thomas Coke to America in 1784 the college was definitely planned and more money was raised. Cokesbury College was opened on December 8, 1787, in Abingdon, Maryland. It survived one fire (December 4, 1795), was moved to Baltimore where it reopened on May 2, 1796, but was burned again on December 4, 1796, and thus ended its brief history. Among the few known students was, quite naturally, Asbury Dickins, son of the founder. One of his teachers was Charles Tait, later a prominent lawyer and United States Senator.[4] This passing association of his boyhood was later responsible for setting Asbury Dickins on his career as a public servant.[5]

In 1783 Bishop Francis Asbury sent John Dickins to New York to rebuild the church there. Dickins participated in the "Christmas Conference" of 1784 where the Methodist Church was organized and where he proposed the official name, *Methodist Episcopal Church.* In 1785 he was back in North Carolina preaching in Bertie circuit, but the following year he returned

---

2 "John Dickins," *Methodist Magazine,* XXII (October, 1799), 521 f.; W. B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Methodist Pulpit . . .*, p. 63; M. H. Moore, *Sketches of the Pioneers of Methodism in North Carolina and Virginia,* p. 108; Dickins Scrapbook and family papers in the possession of Miss Virginia Fleming Dickins, Washington, D. C.

Elizabeth Yancey came of one of the prominent North Carolina families and was also connected with the Alstons. William Alston (d. 1743) married in 1735 Ann Kimbrough. About 1748 she married Jeconias Yancey of Halifax County, North Carolina. Their daughter Elizabeth married John Dickins. These family connections were of much service to Asbury Dickins. Joseph A. Groves, *The Alstons and Allstons of North and South Carolina; Also Notes of Some Allied Families* (Atlanta, Ga., 1901), pp. 301-303.

3 John Wesley established this school in 1748 for boarding students between the ages of six and twelve. The curriculum included elementary subjects, plus French, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, algebra, and geometry. A. W. Cummings, *The Early Schools of Methodism* (New York, 1886), pp. 10 f.

4 Charles Tait (1768-1835) joined the faculty of Cokesbury College in 1788 and remained until 1794. James Tait to Charles Tait, November 6, 1791; Forts Cosby to Charles Tait, January 27, 1794, Tait MSS. Alabama Department of Archives and History.

5 A. W. Cummings, *The Early Schools of Methodism* (New York, Cincinnati, 1886), p. 24; George W. Archer, *An Authentic Hisory of Cokesbury College [Abingdon, Md.] with Sketches of Its Founders and Teachers, Prepared and Read before the Hartford Historical Society, Bell Air, Md.* (1894), pp. 13, 23; Francis Asbury, *The Heart of Asbury's Journal,* ed. by Ezra Squier Tipple (New York, 1904), p. 174; Bernard Christian Steiner, *History of Education in Maryland,* pp. 229-245; United States, Bureau of Education, *Contributions to American Educational History,* ed. by Herbert Baxter Adams, no. 19 (Washington, 1904).

to New York where he remained until 1789. Then John Dickins went to Philadelphia to manage the newly established Methodist Book Concern, for which he supplied the initial capital of $600.00. His first publication was the *Arminian Magazine* (vol. I, 1789-1790). Between that date and 1794 nineteen works were issued. In 1797 he founded the *Methodist Magazine.* John Dickins continued the work until September 27, 1798, when he died a victim of Philadelphia's yellow fever epidemic, which also killed his eldest daughter.[6] His death was deeply lamented by Francis Asbury and his work was memorialized by Ezekiel Cooper in a funeral sermon.[7]

Asbury Dickins, a youth of eighteen, was now head of the family. His immediate duty was to continue his father's work and conduct the bookstore. Bishop Francis Asbury delegated his friend, Ezekiel Cooper, "to assist Asbury Dickins in the conducting our work as heretofore."[8] The young man's connection with the Methodist Book Concern continued for not more than a year.

About this time Asbury Dickins made his first ventures into literature and oratory. Early in 1800 he delivered his *Eulogium in [sic] Gen. George Washington, 22d February, 1800, before the Hermathenian Society of Philadelphia.*[9] Young Dickins's single entry into partisan politics concerned the presidential election of 1800. To the question, "Shall Thomas Jefferson be the chief magistrate of these states?," Dickins answered a resounding

---

[6] Albert Henry Smyth, *The Philadelphia Magazines and Their Contributors, 1741-1850* (Philadelphia, 1892), pp. 74, 76; Joseph Beaumont Wakeley, *Lost Chapters Recovered from the Early History of Methodism in America . . .* (New York, 1858), p. 304; Ezekiel Cooper, *Beams of Light on Early Methodism in America . . .* (New York, 1887), pp. 254, 262; Francis Asbury, *The Heart of Asbury's Journal,* ed. by E. S. Tipple, pp. 424, 438, 450; "John Dickins," *Methodist Magazine,* XXII (October, 1799), 521 f.; M. H. Moore, *Sketches of the Pioneers of Methodism in North Carolina and Virginia,* p. 116.

John Dickins's will left his entire estate to his wife, but expressed doubt that it would "educate & support the family." Halifax County [N. C.] Records. Wills (1772-1854). II, 84. This estate included 215 acres of land in Halifax County, purchased in 1786. Indenture, November 20, 1786. Randolph-Dickins MSS. University of North Carolina. In 1799 or 1800 John Dickins's widow probably sold this land. Elizabeth Dickins to Henry Bradford, November 26, 1799. Randolph-Dickins MSS. She remained in Philadelphia until about 1804 when she moved to Baltimore, where she died April 23, 1835. William N. Baker to Francis Asbury Dickins, Baltimore, October 22, 1835. Randolph-Dickins MSS. Here her elder daughter married Samuel Baker, while a younger daughter and a son, John, continued to live with their mother. John Dickins to [Willis Alston?], Baltimore, December 10, 1811. U. S. Department of State. Appointments Papers. The National Archives.

[7] Francis Asbury to Ezekiel Cooper, Germantown, Pa., October 4, 1798, Historical Records Survey. Illinois. *Calendar of the Ezekiel Cooper Collection of Early American Methodist Manuscripts, 1785-1839.* Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Illinois (Chicago, 1941), no. 54 (cited hereinafter as *Calendar of the Ezekiel Cooper Collection*); Ezekiel Cooper, *A Funeral Discourse on the Death of That Eminent Man the Late John Dickins* (Philadelphia, 1799), 36p.

[8] Francis Asbury to Ezekiel Cooper, October 4, 1798, January 8, 1799; Jesse Lee to Ezekiel Cooper [1800], *Calendar of the Ezekiel Cooper Collection,* nos. 54, 56, 57.

[9] Philadelphia, 1800, 8 vo., 29p.

"God Forbid!" His verbose arguments centered on the contention that Jefferson was not a Christian. This tract had unfortunate repercussions for Dickins in later years when it served as evidence that he had been a Federalist.[10]

Meanwhile he continued as a bookseller, and with this the current of his life took a different direction. His bookstore soon took on a more secular aspect and quickly became the center of literary life in Philadelphia. Heading the literary circle was Joseph Dennie, whom Timothy Pickering had persuaded to come to the capital city from Walpole, New Hampshire. Dennie already had a considerable reputation as author of the *Lay Preacher*. As early as May 27, 1800, appeared the prospectus of his new work, *The Farrago, or Essays Gay and Grave,* to be published by Asbury Dickins. Meanwhile Dennie had been writing for Fenno's *Gazette* in support of the Federalist party, but he soon turned to more literary labors and on October 16, 1800, issued the prospectus of a weekly publication "combining, in the manner of the Tatler, Politics with Essays and disquisitions on topics scientific, moral, humorous, and literary." With Asbury Dickins as his partner, Dennie brought out on January 3, 1801, the first number of the *Port Folio*: "Published by THE EDITOR AND ASBURY DICKINS, sole Proprietors of the Work, No. 25, North Second-street. HUGH MAXWELL, PRINTER." The publication was an immediate and overwhelming success. One thousand copies of the first number were soon exhausted with the result that a second issue of like size was printed; thenceforward two thousand copies became the standard quantity for each number.[11]

John Davis, the British traveler, observing the literary scene in Philadelphia at this time, described it thus:

> Mr. *Dennie* passed his mornings in the shop of Mr. *Dickins,* which I found the rendezvous of the Philadelphia sons of literature . . .

---

[10] [Asbury Dickins], *The Claims of Thomas Jefferson to the Presidency, Examined at the Bar of Christianity.* By a Layman. (Philadelphia, Published by Asbury Dickins, 1800), pp. 3-54.

[11] *Port Folio,* I (January 3, 1801), 8; Harold Milton Ellis, *Joseph Dennie and His Circle. A Study in American Literature from 1792 to 1812,* pp. 129, 135, 148, University of Texas, *Bulletin,* No. 40 (Austin, Texas, 1915); Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer, *The Literary History of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1906), p. 169.

A disparaging view of Dennie's enterprise was given by his competitor, William Duane. William Duane to Joseph Nancrede, Philadelphia, September 30, 1801. "Letters of William Duane," Massachusetts Historical Society, *Proceedings* (1906-1907), XL, 269 (Boston 1907).

several Reviewers . . . assembled with punctuality . . . to the great annoyance of Mr. *Dickins*, who could scarcely find room to sell his wares. But I thought Mr. *Dickins* not inferior to any of the constellation; he was remarkable for the gentleness of his manners, and displayed not less his good sense by his discourse, than his moderation by his silence.[12]

The literary frequenters of Dickins's bookshop soon formed themselves into the Tuesday Club. Among the probable members were Horace Binney, Nathaniel Chapman, Samuel Ewing, Joseph Hopkinson, William Meredith, Richard Rush, Thomas Cadwalader, Thomas I. Wharton, Richard Peters, Philip Hamilton, Charles Brockden Brown, John Blair Linn, Charles Jared Ingersoll, John Edmonds Stock, and at a later date, Nicholas Biddle.[13]

Dennie and Dickins conducted the *Port Folio* jointly throughout its first year. With the beginning of the second volume in January, 1802, Asbury Dickins's name disappeared and was replaced by that of his sister, Elizabeth Dickins. On January 15, 1803, the partnership between Dennie and both Dickinses was dissolved, and there ends Asbury Dickins's first literary venture.[14] His bookstore was in rooms formerly occupied by his friend, William Cobbett, who in December, 1799, left Philadelphia for New York.

Early in 1803 Dickins sailed for Liverpool, presumably with a view to extending his education and engaging in the book trade. Perhaps his literary connections brought it about that on October 25, 1803, was married "At St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, Asbury Dickins, Esq. late of Philadelphia, to Miss Lillias Arnot, daughter of the late Hugo Arnot, Esq. of Balcormo."[15] Hugo Arnot, who had been born Hugo Pollock at Leith on December 8, 1749, changed his name to Arnot upon inheriting the Arnot estate of Balcormo. He was a lit-

---

[12] John Davis, *Travels of Four Years and a Half in the United States of America; during 1798, 1799, 1800, 1801 and 1802* . . . (London, 1803), pp. 203, 205, 207.

[13] A. H. Smyth, *The Philadelphia Magazines and Their Contributors*, p. 92; H. M. Ellis, *Joseph Dennie and His Circle* . . . , pp. 153, 157, 178; John Davis, *Travels of Four Years and a Half in the United States of America* . . . , pp. 203, 205, 207; *Port Folio*, I-III (January 3, 1801—December 31, 1803), *passim*.

[14] *Port Folio*, I-III (January 3, 1801—December 31, 1803), *passim;* H. M. Ellis, *Joseph Dennie and His Circle* . . . . pp. 148, 157.

[15] *Scot's Magazine*, LXV (November, 1803), 814; London *Times*, November 1, 1803, p. 3. The bride's family being opposed to the marriage, the couple were aided in eloping by William Cobbett, the journalist. Dickins Scrapbook.

erary eccentric, the author of numerous satires and of a history of Edinburgh (1779) which was pirated in Dublin. He died on November 20, 1786, leaving his widow, who had been Margaret Bennett (ca. 1756-1826) with eight children. Of these Lillias Arnot (September 22, 1779-April 10, 1859) was the sixth child and third daughter.[16]

Most likely it was as a bookseller and publisher that Dickins supported a wife, and soon a family, in London between 1803 and 1807. That he took an active interest in civic matters was evidenced in 1804 when the *Political Register* printed at least two of his articles denouncing as tyrannical the Society for the Suppression of Vice.[17] There is an indication that he had a hand in an edition of Shakespeare issued in 1813 or 1814.[18]

Meantime, Dickins cultivated American connections in London, with the result that in 1807 he was appointed "Chancellor" in the office of the United States consul at London. The consul at this time was General William Lyman.[19] Dickins's duties were at first largely clerical, but additional responsibilities soon fell upon him because of Lyman's declining health, and during the year 1811 Dickins was in complete charge of the consulate. On September 22, 1811, William Lyman died. In the same letter which notified the Department of State of Lyman's death, Dickins applied for the consulship at London.[20] He was too slow,

---

16 *Dictionary of National Biography*, II, 119; James Arnott, comp., *The House of Arnot and Some of Its Branches; A Family History*, compiled by James Arnott (Edinburgh, 1918), pp. 147-159; Dickins Scrapbook.

17 Holo. MSS. January 14, 23, 24, 1804, Randolph-Dickins MSS.; *Cobbett's Weekly Political Register*, V (January 28, 1804), 112-121. The articles were signed "Vindex" and "Anti-Puritanical"; M. Titcomb to Hamilton Fish, October 28, 1861, Hamilton Fish MSS. Library of Congress; William Cobbett to Asbury Dickins, London, January 30, 1804. Chamberlain MSS. Boston Public Library.

18 J. Maury to Asbury Dickins, Liverpool, April 30, 1814. Dickins MSS. Library of Congress.

19 William Lyman (December 7, 1755—September 22, 1811), was born at Northampton, Massachusetts, graduated from Yale in 1776, served in the Massachusetts General Court, and was a member of Congress, 1793-1797. He was appointed United States Consul at London on December 12, 1804, and served until his death. Franklin Bowditch Dexter, *Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Yale College with Annals of the College History* (New York, 1903, 5 vols.), III, 619 f.; John Quincy Adams, *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Comprising Portions of His Diary from 1795 to 1848*. Edited by Charles Francis Adams (Philadelphia, 1874-1877, 12 vols.), I, 321. (Cited hereinafter as John Quincy Adams, *Memoirs*.)

20 Asbury Dickins to James Monroe, American Consulate, London, September 27, 1811. U. S. Department of State, Appointments Papers; Christopher Ripley to Stephen Row Bradley, London, September 28, 1811, U. S. Department of State, Consular Correspondence, Despatches, London, vol. IX. The National Archives.

Christopher Ripley was a clerk in the London Consular office. Stephen Row Bradley (1754-1830) was born in Connecticut, was educated at Yale, and moved to the area which became Vermont. He fought in the Revolution, became prominent in the legal profession and in politics, and was United States Senator, 1791-1795 and 1801-1813.

however, for John Spear Smith,[21] American chargé d'affaires at London, had already promised the post to an earlier applicant. This office-seeker was Reuben Gaunt Beasley [22] who, with this appointment as United States consul in London, left mercantile pursuits to devote the remainder of his life to the consular service.

This turn of affairs was a great disappointment to Dickins, who had justifiably looked toward the consulship as a proper reward for his previous services. He and many friends pressed his claims, but to no avail. Beasley had clinched his hold on the post, and Dickins could only continue in his subordinate position at £200 a year with as good grace as he could muster. Even Beasley insisted that Dickins remain at the consular office, where his experience was so much needed at this time.[23]

At this period the conception of consular duties was decidedly limited. A consul's work was largely confined to protecting the interests of American citizens and seamen as individuals. Although Dickins's work chiefly concerned the impressment of American seamen, the extraordinary conditions prevailing in those years made it necessary that he acquire an extensive knowledge of international and consular law. His own observations led him to an understanding of the possibilities of the consular office far in advance of his time. These views he expressed upon applying for the London consulship in 1811:

> The duties of Consul are . . . considered as of little consequence . . . [wrote Dickins, but, he continued, the] office might be rendered a powerful Engine in the hands of his Government, on account of the

---

[21] John Spear Smith (ca. 1790-1866) was born in Baltimore, Maryland, and acted as secretary of legation in London prior to his appointment as chargé d'affaires. He later filled various municipal offices in Baltimore and was the author of several works on United States commercial relations.

[22] Reuben Gaunt Beasley was a native of Caroline County, Virginia. His mercantile connections took him to Europe some years prior to 1811 and gave him the opportunity of visiting many cities on the Continent. Beasley remained in London until 1815, when he was transferred to the consulate at Havre, where he remained until his death on June 1, 1847. About 1816 he married a daughter of Count Guestiers, a Bordeaux merchant. William Porter to John Dawson, Edinburgh, October 1, 1811; R. G. Beasley to Henry Brevoort, Rouen, France, January 13, 1829; William Patterson to John Spear Smith, March 13, 1829; William Paulding to Martin Van Buren, April 4, 1829; John Spear Smith to Andrew Jackson, May 5, 1829; *idem* to Martin Van Buren, July 8, 1829; William Cabell Rives to Abel Parker Upshur, June 28, 1843. U. S. Department of State, Appointments Papers; R. G. Beasley to James Monroe, London, September 27, 1811. U. S. Department of State, Consular Correspondence, Despatches, London, vol. IX.

[23] John Dickins to [Willis Alston?], Baltimore, December 10, 1811; John Dickins to James Monroe, November 21, 1811, November 30, 1812; Christopher Ripley to James Madison, Washington, November 10, 1812; *idem* to James Monroe, November 17, 24, 1812; Willis Alston to [James Monroe], December 12, 1811; John H. Purviance to James Monroe, December 10, 1812. U. S. Department of State, Appointments Papers.

extent and mass of important information which the proper employment of the means in his power might produce.—These means, no Consul, I believe, has ever availed himself to any extent or with any view to the future good. In the present state of affairs, nothing is done in Europe, which he might not know; indeed, such is my opinion of his means, that I am persuaded, that he might acquire as much valuable information relative to politics, commerce, agriculture, manufactures, and the useful arts, as all other foreign agents of the United States, and he might, also, by a discreet use of his knowledge of his own country—of its interests and its policy, effectually counteract any delusions which might be attempted here with a view to its injury.[24]

Dickins was particularly successful in his relations with American mercantile interests in Britain. The declaration of war against Great Britain on June 18, 1812, however, changed the whole situation. The consulate no longer functioned in its normal capacity; Beasley was made agent for prisoners, and Dickins was left without position or salary. The efforts of his friends were of no avail in persuading the United States government to afford him relief.[25]

Thus deprived of his small salary and without funds to bring his family back to America, Dickins was indeed in a difficult position. At this juncture he accomplished a business arrangement with Lord Cochrane, the chemist and inventor.[26] The latter had perfected a device "for increasing intensity of light by atmospheric pressure in lamps." The contract between the two specified that Dickens would go to Paris for the purpose of taking out patents on this invention, for which he would receive half the points.[27]

The Dickinses left London for Paris about June 30, 1813, presumably on Lord Cochrane's patent business. In July Dickins

---

[24] Asbury Dickins to James Monroe, London, September 27, 1811. U. S. Department of State, Appointments Papers; Chester Lloyd Jones, *The Consular Service of the United States; Its History and Activities, Publications of the University of Pennsylvania*, Series in Political Economy and Public Law, no. 18 (Philadelphia, 1906), pp. 4-7.

[25] Asbury Dickins to John Spear Smith, London, August 1, 23, 29, September 13, 1811; [thirteen mercantile firms] to Asbury Dickins, London, September 27, 1811 (testifying to their satisfaction with his management of consular business). U. S. Department of State, Consular Correspondence. London, Despatches, vol. IX; John Dickins to James Monroe, November 30, 1812; Christopher Ripley to James Monroe, November 24, 1812; Joseph Wilkins to James Monroe, December 30, 1812. U. S. Department of State, Appointments Papers; Willis Alston to Asbury Dickins, Washington, June 15, 1812. Dickins MSS. Library of Congress.

[26] Probably Archibald Cochrane, ninth Earl of Dundonald (1749-1831), naval officer and chemical manufacturer. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1831, pt. II, 172-173.

[27] Contract between Lord Cochrane and Asbury Dickins [London], June 14, 1813, Dickins MSS.

made the acquaintance of William Harris Crawford, then American minister to France. This was the beginning of a life-long friendship between the two men, although at the outset Crawford's diary indicated that he was not very well pleased with Dickins's conduct. After noting that "Mr. Dickins appears to be a pleasant and well informed, and well disposed man . . .," [28] Crawford later wrote to Charles Tait:

> Your friend Dickens has behaved very badly here in money matters. His visit to Paris is somewhat unaccountable. He borrowed money at Havre to get to Paris; lived by borrowing during the whole time he was here, and borrowed money to take him back. All his bills were protested, but all have since been paid except Mr. Jackson's and Mr. Warden's. I presume he has been unable to reimburse them, but he ought not to have incurred an expense at the cost of men who had no right to be taxed with his wants. Mr. Jackson lent him more than 2,000 francs.[29]

Late in October, 1814, the Dickinses sailed for the United States. Again Crawford wrote to Charles Tait:

> Your former acquaintance with Mr. Dickins, and the situation in which he will arrive in the United States will give him a strong claim to your sympathy, and to your exertions to be useful to him, without the interposition of my wishes. He is a sensible, and I believe, a worthy man, not very enterprising or very provident. It is hardly necessary to add that he is very poor, with a large family to support. The circumstances to which I alluded in one of my former letters have been explained and adjusted to my entire satisfaction. He will, like most men in his situation, endeavor to obtain an office from the government, which will enable him to live until the return of peace. I have recommended him to you, and he will naturally apply to his relative, Mr. Alston.[30]

Dickins carried with him considerable important correspondence, including dispatches from Crawford and other American

---

[28] William Harris Crawford, *Journal, Smith College Studies in History*, XI, no. 1 (October, 1925), p. 30.

[29] William Harris Crawford to Charles Tait, Paris, April 15, 1814. Charles Tait MSS. Alabama Department of Archives and History; J. E. D. Shipp, *Giant Days, or the Life and Times of William H. Crawford* (Americus, Ga., 1909), p. 220. Dickins's agreement with Cochrane stipulated £120 for the visit to Paris. Whether Cochrane furnished this sum or not, is not clear.

[30] William Harris Crawford to Charles Tait, Paris, October 12, 1814. Charles Tait MSS.; J. E. D. Shipp, *Giant Days, or the Life and Times of William H. Crawford*, p. 225. Dickins and Willis Alston were cousins.

diplomats and a letter from Alexander von Humboldt to James Madison.[31]

Early in 1815 President James Madison tried to make amends for past injustices by nominating Dickins to be United States consul in London, but the Senate refused to confirm the appointment.[32] During the next two years Dickins continued to make applications for "some employment," first as secretary to the Commissioners of the Navy and later for an appointment in connection with a projected board of claims growing out of the recent war. In lieu of either of these posts he was willing to accept either an appointment in England, where, he added, "I feel confident that I could render services out of the power of any other American however high his station," or the consulship at Paris, where he felt he could do much to advance trade between France and the United States. He strengthened these pleas by referring to his "numerous and helpless family," and as for his standing with members of the Senate, he added, "I have sufficient reason to believe that I have now, no hostility to apprehend in that quarter." [33]

All these efforts failed. With the coming of a new administration, however, Dickins in 1817 was made second clerk in the Treasury Department at an annual salary of $1,650. His chief was William Harris Crawford.[34] This appointment enabled him to abandon farming and to offer for sale "A Desirable Estate of about 300 Acres: Situated on the great turnpike road from Washington to Baltimore." Dickins's two years of farming had been decidedly unsuccessful.[35]

Dickins thus became established as a civil servant in Washington. In the unstratified society of the young capital, how-

---

31 William Harris Crawford to Charles Tait, Paris, October 12, 1814. Charles Tait MSS.; Alexander von Humboldt to James Madison, Paris, November 13, 1814. James Madison MSS., vol. 53. Library of Congress.

32 James Madison to the Senate of the United States, March 2, 1815. U. S. Senate, Miscellaneous Records. National Archives. Records are lacking to explain this action, but from fragmentary evidence it appears that a predominantly Republican Senate refused to confirm the appointment because Asbury Dickins fifteen years earlier had been a Federalist. (See above, pp. 283-284.) Furthermore, Dickins's long residence in England created the suspicion that he was no longer a patriotic American who could be trusted to look after American interests abroad.

33 Asbury Dickins to James Monroe, March 14, 1815, March 26, 1816. James Madison MSS., vols. 58, 61; *idem* to *idem*, March 28, 1816. U. S. Department of State, Appointments Papers.

34 U. S. Department of State, *A Register of Officers and Agents, Civil, Military and Naval, in the Service of the United States, on the Thirtieth Day of September, 1817* . . . (Washington, 1818), p. 9.

35 Charles Chauncey to Asbury Dickins, Philadelphia, July 28, 1817. Dickins MSS.; *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser*, Philadelphia, July 28, 1817; *Dickins Scrapbook*, pp. 98-99.

ever, he and his family held a position of much greater prominence than his clerical rank would signify. His alert mind, excellent education, and personal charm, combined with a background of European residence and the further asset of a wife from a prominent Scottish family, enabled Dickins to associate on terms of equality with the best of Washington society.

There were nine children in the Dickins family. Of them the most prominent was Francis Asbury Dickins (1804-1879), who in 1839 married Margaret Harvie Randolph (1815-1891), daughter of Thomas Mann Randolph (1792-1848) of Tuckahoe, Goochland County, Virginia. After six or seven years as a clerk in the Treasury Department, Francis Asbury Dickins became a successful claim agent in Washington. In 1843 he purchased an estate, "Ossian Hall," in Fairfax County, Virginia, where the family resided for many years.[36] His eldest daughter, Lilia E., in 1831 married Charles Stewart McCauley (1793-1869), a captain and later commodore in the United States Navy.[37] Another son, Thomas W. Dickins, was a clerk in the Department of State, 1843-1845, and in the latter year he became legislative clerk under his father in the office of the secretary of the Senate. With the change of administration in 1861, Thomas W. Dickins lost his clerkship and moved with his family to California.[38] James J. Dickins (1814-1865) practiced law and served as temporary clerk under his father. He and his wife, Augusta Mansfield Thompson, had three children.[39] Hugo Lawrence Dickins (1812-1844) became an engineer. Ed-

---

[36] Francis A. Dickins to John Francis Hamtramck, Washington, February 23, 1837. John Francis Hamtramck MSS. Duke University; Francis A. Dickins to Thomas Mann Randolph, Washington, May 23, 1838. Randolph-Dickins MSS.; printed circular, advertisement as claim agent, June 20, 1850. Dickins MSS.

Francis A. and Margaret Dickins's children were: Mary Randolph (1840-1849), Frances Margaret (1842-1904), Harriot Wilson (1844-1917), Lilias Arnot (1845-1846), Ellen Arnot (1847-1855), Emily (b. and d. 1852), Randolph (1853-1914), Albert White (1855-1913). Francis A. Dickins MS. Family Record in notebook dated April 25, 1845, Randolph-Dickins MSS.; Robert Isham Randolph, *The Randolphs of Virginia. A Compilation of the Descendants of William Randolph of Turkey Island and His Wife, Mary Isham, of Bermuda Hundred* [Chicago, 1936], p. 70; Dickins Scrapbook.

[37] John Campbell to David Campbell, Washington, October 19, 1831. David Campbell MSS.; *D. A. B.*, XI, 572. McCauley was commandant of the Washington Navy Yard, 1846-1849, and of the Norfolk Navy Yard, 1860-1861.

[38] *American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge*, 1843-1845, pp. 90, 92, 124; U. S. Senate, Office of the Secretary, Letterbook, III, *passim;* Francis A. Dickins to Margaret Dickins, October 26, 1861; *idem* to *idem*, n. d. [ca. 1863]. Randolph-Dickins MSS. The latter letter lists Thomas W. Dickins's children as Edmund, Arnot, Sydney, Walter, Ida, Lisa, and Alice, all of whom were gainfully employed in California.

[39] MS. advertisement as attorney and counsellor at law, January 21, 1839; Asbury Dickins to James J. Dickins, October 22, 1846, Randolph-Dickins MSS.; U. S. Senate. *Miscellaneous Documents*, no. 13, pp. 33, 64 (Serial 835); Dickins Scrapbook.

ward Arnot Dickins (1818-1871), an artist, died unmarried.[40] The remaining three daughters, Maria M. (1808-1884), Eloisa C. (1811-1895), and Amelia J. (1815-1893), did not marry and lived in the family home until their father's death in 1861. To them equally Asbury Dickins left his entire estate.[41]

The social life into which his family was unavoidedly but also willingly thrust kept Dickins beyond his depth financially. Then too he indulged in various financial transactions which were made possible by his personal friendship with those who handled such matters. As to social functions, a brief mention will suffice. In 1828 the Dickinses entertained Basil Hall and his wife, the distinguished British travelers; in 1833 Dickins was one of the managers for the inaugural ball; while the wedding in 1831 of his eldest daughter to Captain McCauley was a gala occasion.[42] Amos Kendall's comment on the Dickinses' social life reflects a less sophisticated viewpoint:

> Last night I was at *another* party in this city, where there was a plenty of *style*. It was given by a Mr. Dickens [*sic*], who is, I believe, a $2,000 clerk in the Treasury Department, and I was told it was the second he had given within two weeks. But if I had known as much about him yesterday as I do to-day, I should not have gone. It is said he now wants some valuable office, and as a means of getting it, I suppose, he is wasting in extravagant parties all his salary in his present office. When I get to be a clerk I shall do no such foolish thing.[43]

Other observers, however, took a more favorable view of the Dickins family. One wrote:

---

[40] Asbury Dickins to Francis A. Dickins, New York, August 28, 1843. Randolph-Dickins MSS.; *American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge*, 1843, p. 91.

[41] Asbury Dickins Will. In Office of Register of Wills. U. S. District Supreme Court, Washington, D. C. Dickins's will, dated February 18, 1860, stipulated the payment of his debts and funeral expenses, gave to his sons and daughters one dollar each, and bequeathed the remainder to his three unmarried daughters, "share and share alike." The three heirs also inherited Asbury Dickins's claim for additional salary while acting Secretary of the Treasury and acting Secretary of State, a claim which had been pending before Congress since 1849. In 1855 Asbury Dickins put his claim (for $3,976.19) before the newly established Court of Claims, where Solicitor Montgomery Blair gave an adverse opinion. Between 1865 and 1879 a bill for payment of this claim was before almost every session of Congress, but never passed both houses. Justice Department, Court of Claims, Records. The National Archives; Congressional Cemetery, Washington, D. C., Records; and gravestones in the cemetery. Twelve members of the family, including Asbury Dickins, are buried in the Congressional Cemetery; *Dickins Scrapbook;* U. S. Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, 1850. Free Inhabitants of the District of Columbia. Washington City, Part I, p. 104. National Archives.

[42] Mrs. Margaret (Hunter) Hall, *The Aristocratic Journey, Being the Outspoken Letters of Mrs. Basil Hall, Written during a Fourteen Months' Sojourn in America, 1827-1828.* Prefaced and edited by Una Pope-Henessy (New York, London, 1931), p. 176 (entry for January 9, 1828), Program of Inaugural Ball, March 1, 1833. Randolph-Dickins MSS.; John Campbell to David Campbell, Washington, October 19, 1831. David Campbell MSS.; *United States Telegraph*, Washington, October 27, 1831.

[43] Amos Kendall, *Autobiography* . . . edited by his son-in-law, William Stickney (Boston, 1872), p. 284 (entry for February 14, 1829).

Mr. Dickins . . . has one grown son and three daughters—all very amiable fine children. They are entirely different in their manners from City girls generally—have none of their forwardness—foppishness or flippancy. Dickins is a plain—sensible man—Mrs. Dickins is . . . a woman of polish. The daughters are showy enough—but they seem to partake most of the character of the father.[44]

The occasion for parties at this time was Dickins's effort to obtain the post of chief clerk in the Treasury Department.

While the importance of social connection was not lost upon any member of the Dickins family, more important was Asbury Dickins's long association with the Columbian Institute. This organization, founded in June, 1816, was the first learned society to rise in Washington. After an organizational meeting under the title of the "Metropolitan Society," it became The Columbian Institute and was chartered in 1818 for a period of twenty years.[45]

Dickins became a member on October 6, 1817, and on April 6, 1818, was chosen secretary, a post which he held for twenty years. In 1820 a new constitution organized activities into five groupings: three sciences, viz. mathematical, physical, and political; general literature; and the fine arts.[46] Aside from meetings, the collecting of museum specimens and the cultivation of a botanical garden on the Mall were the chief activities. As secretary of the society, Dickins of course had charge of all correspondence, including that with non-resident members. Among these corresponding members the most prominent were Jared Sparks, John Trumbull, Benjamin Silliman, and Noah Webster. Resident members included many army and navy officers, many clergymen and lawyers, and a large representation from Congress and the Cabinet, while John Quincy Adams was president of the Institute from September 7, 1822, until January 15, 1830, and Andrew Jackson was a member during his presidential terms.[47]

---

[44] David Campbell to Mary H. Campbell, Washington, June 1, 1829. David Campbell MSS.

[45] Columbian Institute, Washington, D. C. Record of Proceedings of the Columbian Institute, held at the City of Washington and Incorporated by an Act of Congress, Passed the 20th of April, 1818. Originally Formed in the Year 1816, under the Title of the Metropolitan Society. MS. records, Library of Congress. This record is contained in a folio volume of 364 numbered pages and about 50 blank leaves, and covers activities of the Institute from June 15, 1816, until December 20, 1838. (Cited hereinafter as Columbian Institute, Records.)

[46] Columbian Institute, Records, October 11, 1820, p. 71.

[47] Columbian Institute, Records, September 7, 1822, p. 122; January 15, 1830, p. 314.

Most of the members, despite their attainments in many fields of endeavor, were amateurs in the sciences with which the Institute was chiefly concerned. This resulted in an early slackening of interest and poor attendance at the meetings. Despite these handicaps the essential importance of the undertaking is reflected by Dickins's comment to a corresponding member:

> Hitherto, I am sorry to say, our progress in all branches of our association has been slow and inconsiderable. It is to be observed, however, that the mere organization of a scientific institution among gentlemen, who are, for the most part, occupied in laborious official o professional duties, and who are scattered over almost every part of this extensive city, is a work requiring no little time and perseverance!

The society gave scientific advice in various enterprises, including aid in preparing a National Pharmacopoeia and in establishing an astronomical observatory.[48]

The Institute's concern with a botanical garden was one of its chief contributions. On May 8, 1820, Congress passed an act giving not over five acres of land for this purpose. During the following years some progress was made in draining this plot on the Mall and in planting it, but improvement was rather spasmodic.[49]

During 1825 and 1826 the Institute was most active in holding meetings at which papers were read by the members.[50] The meeting of July 15, 1826, took note of the deaths of Thomas Jefferson and John Adams and resolved to have eulogies of the two men prepared. Samuel H. Smith delivered the eulogy of Jefferson on January 6, 1827, and at a special meeting on March 16, 1827, William Cranch gave the eulogy of John Adams.[51]

The most popular feature of the society comprised the anniversary and public addresses, of which six were delivered. Per-

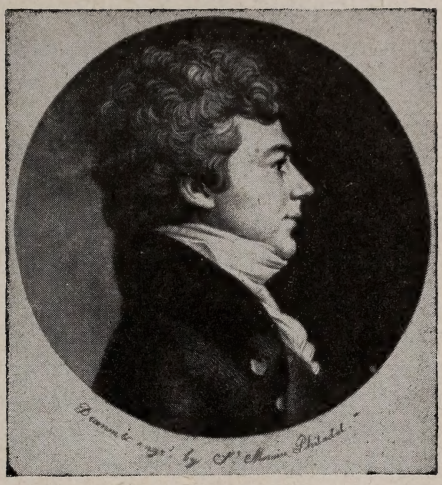
---

[48] Benjamin Silliman to Asbury Dickins, New Haven, Conn., December 29, 1829. Dickins MSS.; George Brown Goode, "The Origin of the National Scientific and Educational Institutions of the United States," American Historical Association, *Annual Report* (1889), pp. 53-161 (Washington, 1900); Richard Rathbun, *The Columbian Institute for the Promotion of Arts and Sciences*, United States National Museum, *Bulletin* 101 (Washington, 1917), pp. 3-78.

[49] Columbian Institute, Records, May 23, 1820, p. 63; June 5, 1824, p. 154; August 7, 1824, p. 157; May 14, 1825, p. 169.

[50] Between December 17, 1825, and January 15, 1827, fifteen papers were read on a variety of subjects, including finance, natural history, and physics. Columbian Institute, Records, pp. 189-247.

[51] Columbian Institute, Records, pp. 225, 246, 252.



ASBURY DICKINS at Twenty-One

From an engraving made at Philadelphia in 1801 by Charles B. J. Fevret de Saint-Memin, French refugee artist. This print was furnished through the courtesy of the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C., which owns one of the two complete sets of more than eight hundred Saint-Memin engravings, assembled by the artist himself. Other copies of this engraving of Dickins are in the possession of members of the Dickins family.

haps more such addresses might have been given had not politics intervened. Dickins twice asked John Quincy Adams to make the annual address, but the latter declined, saying that "the principal members of the Administration are now members . . . of the Institute with whom I can take no pleasure in associating; and one with whom I will never voluntarily associate anywhere." [52] Dickins's connection with the Columbian Institute lasted until its dissolution in 1838, and throughout all these years his position as secretary brought him into close contact with all the members, resident and corresponding.

As chief clerk in the Treasury Department, Dickins found himself in the midst of many a political squabble. The first of these was the growing enmity between William H. Crawford and John C. Calhoun, when both were in the cabinet under James Monroe. Dickins of course supported his chief, Crawford, defending him through various newspaper articles and by other means. The notorious A. B. plot of 1823-24 soon overshadowed other difficulties. The essence of this plot was that Ninian Edwards, through the columns of the Washington *Republican*, a Calhoun paper, accused Crawford of malfeasance of public funds. As Secretary of the Treasury, Crawford had permitted deposit of public moneys in various western banks of doubtful stability. The government had lost some money, but the policy was justified by the aid it furnished to pioneers in the purchase of lands. Crawford's friends leaped to his aid by the appointment of a House committee to investigate Edwards's charges. Dickins prepared Crawford's defense before the committee. Neither side was entirely convincing in its evidence, but the committee completely exonerated Crawford, while Edwards's political career was ruined.[53]

Most of these troubles grew out of the impending presidential contest of 1824, in which Crawford was at this juncture the

---

[52] J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, VIII, 253, 335 (entries for December 4, 1830, March 4, 1831).

[53] Draft of an Answer Prepared by Asbury Dickins, Chief Clerk of the Treasury Department under William H. Crawford, to an Address by Ninian Edwards . . . May 8, 1824. Holo. MS. Library of Congress; Willie Person Mangum to Charity Alston (Cain) Mangum, April 24, 1824. Willie P. Mangum MSS. Duke University; Martin Van Buren, *The Autobiography of Martin Van Buren*, edited by John C. Fitzpatrick, American Historical Association, *Annual Report* (1918), II, 181 ff. (Washington, 1920); J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, VI, 386 f. (entry for June 19, 1824); William Montgomery Meigs, *The Life of John Caldwell Calhoun* (New York, 1917, 2 vols.), I, 288-299; Ninian Wirt Edwards, *History of Illinois from 1778 to 1833; and Life and Times of Ninian Edwards* (Springfield, 1870), pp. 135-154; Theodore Calvin Pease, *The Frontier State*, pp. 98-104 (vol. II of *The Centennial History of Illinois*, Springfield, 1917-1920, 5 vols.).

leading candidate. His unfortunate illness greatly increased the duties of Dickins, who appeared at cabinet meetings, was one of the few persons allowed to see Crawford, and in fact was responsible for all the business of the Treasury Department. When the momentous presidential conflict finally ended on February 9, 1825, Dickins rode through a snow storm to bring the news to Crawford. Dickins's "face was flushed with emotion, his manner hurried. 'Hundreds wanted to be in haste to bring good tidings,' said he, 'but here I come with bad news. Adams is chosen on the first ballot.' " Thus Crawford recorded the event.[54]

Despite his position as Crawford's most trusted friend, Dickins had managed to keep Adams's good will. Consequently he remained secure in his post at the Treasury Department, although he took occasion to express to the new President his disappointment at receiving no promotion in recognition of his faithful service.[55]

Civic honors, however, came to Dickins during these years. In 1825 he was selected to be the Fourth of July orator. On that day the line of procession, which included the President, members of the Cabinet, the diplomatic corps, and other officials, formed near the White House and proceeded along Pennsylvania Avenue to the Capitol, where the ceremonies took place. After the reading of the Declaration of Independence, Dickins delivered his address which dwelt on the blessing of freedom, the glories of the Revolution, the enlightened character of Great Britain, and the success of revolutionary movements in South America.[56]

The following year Dickins had a prominent part in the semicentennial of American independence. He was a member of the committee of arrangements and in that capacity escorted the President from the White House to the Capitol on July 4, 1826, and acted as custodian of all letters received from the

---

[54] J. E. D. Shipp, *Giant Days, or the Life and Times of William H. Crawford*, p. 183; Margaret (Bayard) Smith, *The First Forty Years of Washington Society, Portrayed by the Family Letters of Mrs. Samuel Harrison Smith . . .* edited by Gaillard Hunt (New York, 1906), pp. 176 f.

[55] J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, VII, 80 f, (entry for December 14, 1825).

[56] Asbury Dickins, *Oration Delivered in the Capitol in The City of Washington, on the Fourth of July 1825 . . .* Published at the Request of the Committee of Arrangements (Washington, 1825), pp. 1-19; *Daily National Intelligencer*, Washington, June 9, 14, July 1, 4, 6, 1825.

surviving Signers, former Presidents, and other prominent personages.[57]

Within a year of his defeat most of William H. Crawford's party went over to Andrew Jackson. Dickins, however, as an official in the Adams administration, was not free to change his allegiance so openly. Under his new chief, Richard Rush, he continued to render outstanding services to the Bank of the United States. This support of the Bank, together with some incidents of his past, left Dickins in a precarious position when Jackson embarked on his policy of removals. Dickins was even in debt to the bank, which further condemned him in Jackson's eyes. No wonder the Dickins family gave lavish parties throughout the winter of 1828-29 in a feverish effort to conciliate the right people. The whole situation was described by John Quincy Adams:

> [We] talked . . . perhaps an hour upon the only subject which now furnishes materials for conversation at Washington, which is the removals and new appointments to office. They are effected a few at a time and in such a manner as to keep up a constant agitation and alarm among the office-holders. . . . Very few reputable appointments have been made, and those confined to persons who were indispensably necessary to the office, such as Asbury Dickins to the place of Chief Clerk in the Treasury Department.[58]

Dickins's success was a tribute to his political skill, personal charm, and efficient service. The new post gave him an annual salary of $2,000. Dickins's promotion was not without its repercussions, for Duff Green, through the columns of his *United States Telegraph,* attacked the Treasury personnel and Dickins in particular as "an old Crawford man and now . . . devoted to V. Buren . . . ." Thereupon Secretary Ingham made it plain that he would tolerate no interference with appointments in his own department.[59]

---

[57] J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs,* VII, 119 f. (entries for July 3, 4, 1826). Surviving Signers of the Declaration of Independence and former Presidents of the United States included Thomas Jefferson, John Adams (both of whom died on July 4, 1826, but had previously declined invitations to attend the celebration in Washington), Charles Carroll, James Madison, and James Monroe.

[58] J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs,* VIII, 138 (entry for April 16, 1829).

[59] John Campbell to David Campbell [June 25, 1829], David Campbell MSS.; Virgil Maxcy to John Caldwell Calhoun, Tulip Hill, June 4, 1829, *Correspondence of John C. Calhoun,* ed. by J. Franklin Jameson, American Historical Association, *Annual Report* (1899), II, 811 (Washington, 1902); *United States Telegraph,* Washington, June 24, 1829.

Between 1828 and 1833 the most important angle of Dickins's career was his close connection with the Second Bank of the United States. He was a strong friend of the Bank and was its chief supporter in administration circles. The Bank's president, Nicholas Biddle, depended on Dickins always to present the Bank in a favorable light to the administration and to smooth its relations with the Secretary of the Treasury. This valuable connection was jeopardized when, in 1828, the Bank called in its $2,500 loan made to Dickins. "This demand has placed Mr. Dickins in a very unpleasant situation," wrote the Bank's Washington cashier, who went on to propose that instead the Bank should lend Dickins $2,500 more, for which he would pledge $1,000 annually from his salary until the entire debt of $5,000 should be paid.

> There are other considerations [the cashier continued] of a delicate nature, which would induce me [to] accede to this proposition. They . . . must readily occur to you. Mr. Dickins fills the confidential station in the Treasury which has the management of the Bank accounts. He has already evinced the most friendly disposition towards the Bank, & has in many instances, to my certain knowledge, rendered services materially important to its interests . . . it is very important to have the person filling his station, well disposed to the Bank, as the view which may be taken of the subjects referred to him, may be materially affected by the feelings by which he is governed. . . . Such is my opinion of the services rendered by him, I should think it good policy to give up entirely, the whole $5,000, sooner than not to retain his friendly disposition. . . . [60]

Events of the following year bore out the wisdom of these precautions. Amid Jacksonian attacks on the Bank, Biddle and Secretary Ingham found themselves at odds over the Bank's supposed hostility to Jackson men. Biddle's fury was rendered harmless when Dickins convinced him that conciliation was the only policy which would be of real advantage to the Bank. Dickins's reward for his mediation came early in 1830 when his remaining debt ($2,500) to the Bank was cancelled.[61] But this

---

[60] Robert Smith to Nicholas Biddle, September 22, 1828, *The Correspondence of Nicholas Biddle dealing with National Affairs, 1807-1844*, edited by Reginald C. McGrane (Boston, 1919), pp. 53 f, (cited hereinafter as Nicholas Biddle, *Correspondence*).

[61] David Campbell to Mary H. Campbell, Washington, June 1, 1829. David Campbell MSS.; Nicholas Biddle to Asbury Dickins, Philadelphia, September 16 and 30, 1829, Nicholas Biddle, *Correspondence*, pp. 75-79; Marquis James, *The Life of Andrew Jackson* (New York, 1937), pp. 561 f.; Ralph Charles Henry Catterall, *The Second Bank of the United States* (Chicago, 1903), p. 254.

was only the beginning of the Bank fight. Biddle's long and carefully laid campaign for recharter was materially forwarded when Dickins subtly convinced the newly appointed Louis McLane that it was the especial prerogative of the Secretary of the Treasury "to present his own views and on his own responsibility"; accordingly McLane's annual report proposed to pay off the national debt in 1833 and recommended renewal of the Bank charter.[62]

Dickins's last service to the Bank was in connection with the payment of the national debt. Late in March, 1832, Dickins notified Biddle that on the coming July 1, the Treasury would pay off half the three-per-cent funded debt, for which the Bank must furnish $6,500,000. Because of the Bank's expanded business, sudden contraction to provide such a sum was almost impossible. In a scurry of activity Biddle got the date advanced to October 1, but the Treasury countered by deciding to pay two-thirds of the debt on October 1, and the remainder on January 1, 1833, thereby calling upon the Bank for $13,000,000 in a period of only three months. Meanwhile there were objections in some quarters. In October Dickins, "obviously & avowedly at the request of the Secretary of the Treasury," wrote a letter to Biddle which was intended to give the latter an opportunity to deny false statements about the three-per-cent stock appearing in a New York paper. Biddle ignored the whole business, replying neither to the letter nor to the newspaper. This negligence brought Dickins in person to Philadelphia where he impressed upon Biddle the need for an explanatory letter to the Secretary of the Treasury. Biddle complied, but still could not see any consistency in the Secretary's insistence on further assurance concerning a policy he already approved. Meanwhile the recharter bill had been passed and vetoed and Dickins's relations with the Bank were shortly to cease with his transfer to the Department of State.[63]

[62] Marquis James, *The Life of Andrew Jackson*, p. 586; R. C. H. Catterall, *The Second Bank of the United States*, pp. 209-211; Memorandum by Biddle, October 19, 1831, Nicholas Biddle, *Correspondence*, pp. 128-131. In this memorandum Biddle explains how the matter was managed: "When I saw him [i. e. McLane] at Washington he did not think he could go so far as to originate a recommendation of the Bank, & I therefore examined all the reports of all the Secretaries to show that the proposals for the Bank all originated with them & I left the volumes of these reports in Mr Dickin's hands marked so that he might urge them on the Secretary's attention" (p. 131). During the summer (June 21-August 8, 1831) Dickins had been acting Secretary of the Treasury.

[63] Memorandum by Biddle, October 19, 1831, Nicholas Biddle, *Correspondence*, pp.132-134. [The latter part of this memorandum was obviously written in 1832 or later.]; R. C. H. Catterall, *The Second Bank of the United States*, pp. 268 f.

When Louis McLane left the Treasury Department to become Secretary of State on June 1, 1833, he took Asbury Dickins with him as chief clerk.[64] Dickins's three and a half years in the Department of State were considerably less turbulent than the last few years at the Treasury had proved to be. In June, 1834, McLane was succeeded by John Forsyth as Secretary of State. In May and June, 1835, and again during the summer and autumn of 1836 Dickins was acting Secretary of State. During these periods the most important policy which Dickins had to carry forward was United States relations with Mexico. At the moment Dickins's chief task was to allay the apprehensions of the Mexican minister who was protesting the presence of American troops under General Edmund P. Gaines on the Texan border.[65]

Asbury Dickins resigned his post in the Department of State on December 12, 1836, to become secretary of the United States Senate. First, however, it is necessary to turn back to 1825 when he had failed to obtain the latter position. The long, complicated story goes back, in fact, to 1816, when Andrew Jackson suggested that President-elect James Monroe select his cabinet on a non-partisan basis. When, almost eight years later, Monroe tentatively put that advice into practice by nominating a Federalist for an office in Pennsylvania, both Senators from that state, William Findley and Walter Lowrie, protested vigorously. In self-defense, Monroe read to them Jackson's advice. The Crawford party seized upon this story, bent on making the most of it, while the Jacksonians, in fear of an unfavorable reaction upon their leaders, denied the existence of such a letter. "Lowrie was thus brought in collision, upon a question of veracity, with two of the most powerful men in the Country," namely Jackson and Monroe. Lowrie was the subject of violent newspaper attacks until an ace card fell into his hand when he received from an anonymous source a copy of Monroe's reply, corroborating Jackson's statement in 1816. Lowrie was now in a position to

---

[64] Louis McLane to Asbury Dickins, August 8, 1833. U. S. Department of State. Appointments Papers. Dickins was appointed on August 8, 1833, and two days later was authorized to be acting Secretary of State during illness or absence of the Secretary. Andrew Jackson to Asbury Dickins, August 10, 1833, U. S. Department of State. Appointments Papers.

[65] Andrew Jackson to Asbury Dickins, August 17, 1836, Andrew Jackson, *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, edited by John Spencer Bassett (Washington, 1926-1935, 6 vols.), V, 421; Marquis James, *The Life of Andrew Jackson*, p. 706.

force publication of the entire correspondence, which was done in May, 1824. Thus was Lowrie "fully vindicated before the Country but [the incident] left impressions on the minds of his brother Senators which sought and soon found an opportunity for their gratification by his election to the profitable and honorable office of Secretary of the Senate." [66]

Though an act of justice to Lowrie, the election was a great disappointment to Asbury Dickins. The party caucus had shown eleven votes for Lowrie and eleven for Dickins. When the balloting in the Senate occurred, however, the result was twenty-three for Lowrie and eighteen for Dickins. "Dickins said he had not only been disappointed [John Quincy Adams noted], but deceived, by many of Mr. Crawford's friends, who had encouraged him to expect their votes for that office, and yet he could not account for the election of Lowry [*sic*] unless several of General Jackson's friends had joined in voting for him." [67]

In 1836 the situation was somewhat more favorable for Dickins. Commenting on the prospects, his friend Silas H. Hill [68] observed that "if your high claims are urged with zeal and prudence, notwithstanding the various pledges given, you will I think be elected." Silas Hill offered his services, warning Dickins that he would "need every vote that can possibly be obtained. Should the other administration aspirants withdraw [Hill added] you will have a hard struggle with Dr. Naudain." The reward

---

[66] Walter Lowrie, *Memoirs of the Hon. Walter Lowrie*, edited by his son [John Cameron Lowrie] (New York, 1896), pp. 23-25; John Dunlap Wells, *Hon. Walter Lowrie* (New York, 1869), pp. 1-15; Martin Van Buren, *Autobiography*, American Historical Association, *Annual Report* (1918), II, 233-239; Andrew Jackson to James Monroe, October 23, November 12, 1816, Andrew Jackson, *Correspondence*, II, 261, 263-265; James Monroe to Andrew Jackson, December 14, 1816, James Monroe, *The Writings of James Monroe, Including a Collection of His Public and Private Papers and Correspondence Now for the First Time Printed*, edited by Stanislaus Murray Hamilton (New York, 1898-1903, 7 vols.), V, 341-349; J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, VI, 248, 285, 290, 295 f., 341 (entries for March 6, April 9, 12, 19, May 18, 1824).

Walter Lowrie (1784-1868), born in Edinburgh, Scotland, came as a child with his family to Butler County, Pennsylvania. His varied public life included service in the Pennsylvania state legislature and as United States Senator (1819-1825). His services as Secretary of the United States Senate terminated in 1836 when his lifelong interest in the church found expression in his appointment as corresponding secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church. In this work he continued until his death.

[67] J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, VII, 75, 80 f. (entries for December 8, 14, 1825); U. S. Senate, *Journal*, 19 Cong., 1st Sess., p. 34, December 12, 1825; 25 Cong., 2d Sess., p. 5, December 5, 1836. Records of this election are missing from Senate papers deposited in the National Archives; hence any explanation on the basis of the vote is impossible.

[68] Silas Holman Hill (1807-October 13, 1860) was born in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, but lived much of his life in Washington where he held various clerical posts. He was for many years (ca. 1830-1853) a clerk in the Third Auditor's office, Treasury Department. Sometime after 1853 he engaged in private law practice, continuing therein until his death. He and his wife, Mary (Varnum) Hill (1812-January 5, 1859) are buried in the Congressional Cemetery in Washington. *Daily National Intelligencer*, October 15, 1860; *Boyd's Washington Directory*, 1843, p. 107; 1846, p. 35; 1850, p. 153; 1853, p. 100; 1858, p. 150; 1860, p. 87.

for Hill's services was to be "a clerkship of not less than $1,500 per annum. . . ." Whether Dickins availed himself of this proffered assistance is unknown, but Hill's predictions were quite correct. The first ballot showed twenty votes for Dickins, eighteen for Arnold Naudain, and three for minor candidates. A second ballot resulted in Dickins's election with twenty-one votes as against eighteen for Naudain. Dickins immediately assumed his new duties under a bond of $20,000 requisite to his handling of the contingent fund of the Senate.[69]

Scarcely was Dickins settled in his new office when he had a part in one of the most dramatic moments in Senate history. The occasion was the passage of the expunging resolution. While Senators opposed to the Resolution arose and departed, and amidst hisses from the gallery, Asbury Dickins drew the "broad black lines around the original vote of censure and wrote in a sweeping hand across the face, 'Expunged by Order of the Senate this Fourteenth Day of January in the Year of our Lord, 1837.' " [70]

Despite this and many other interesting incidents during Dickins's twenty-five years as secretary of the Senate, the important aspect of his service belongs to administrative history. In 1836 his office staff consisted of six clerks and one messenger. As he gained experience in his new duties Dickins set about improving the efficiency of his office. The results were crystallized in an office manual entitled "Arrangement of Duties in the Office of the Secretary of the Senate of the United States," dated December 1, 1838. According to that manual, the work of the principal clerk pertained to legislative business and included the taking of minutes in the Senate, the preparation of the Senate journal from those minutes, the handling of bills,

---

[69] Silas H. Hill to Asbury Dickins, Washington, November 4, 1836; Asbury Dickins, Samuel Swarthwout, and Alexander Hamilton, bond, December 30, 1836, Randolph-Dickins MSS. (This bond was required by an act of February 23, 1815. U. S. *Statutes at Large.* III, 212 f.; Asbury Dickins to John Forsyth, December 12, 1836, U. S. Department of State, Appointments Papers; *National Intelligencer,* December 13, 1836; *The Globe,* December 13, 1836.

Arnold Naudain (1790-1872), born in Dover, Delaware, was educated at Princeton and at the University of Pennsylvania Medical College. After some years spent in medical practice, he served in the Delaware legislature (1823-1827), and then became United States Senator from Delaware (1830-June 16, 1836). After his failure to be elected secretary of the Senate, he returned to Delaware where he held other state offices. In 1845 he moved to Philadelphia and resumed the practice of medicine. (*Biographical Directory of Congress,* p. 1349).

[70] Henry Alexander Wise, *Seven Decades of the Union* . . . (Philadelphia, 1881), p. 143; Claude Moore Fuess, *Daniel Webster* (Boston, 1930, 2 vols.), II, 55; Ben Perley Poore, *Perley's Reminiscences of Sixty Years in the National Metropolis* . . . (Philadelphia, 1886, 2 vols.), I, 141 f.

reports, and other papers needed in the business of each day's session, and the printing of the legislative journal. The executive clerk carried out similar duties with respect to executive proceedings of the Senate. This included filing and indexing of treaties and nominations coming before each session, and the transfer of all such documents to and from the President. This clerk's further duties included the distribution of documents to Senators and the keeping of all financial records, such as the pay and mileage of Senators, salaries of all officers of the Senate, and disbursements from the contingent fund. The first legislative clerk handled and filed all reports and bills, was responsible for their transmission to the committees to which they were referred, and looked after the printing of all such items as were ordered to be printed. The second legislative clerk was responsible for recording the titles of bills, the yeas and nays, the action of the Senate on each bill, for having at hand all bills and other papers needed in transacting Senate business, and for collecting and filing all legislative papers. The two engrossing clerks had charge of the engrossing and enrolling of bills, transcribed the executive journal, took charge of the delivery of printed documents to Senators, and assisted the other clerks whenever necessary. The two messsengers performed janitorial services, kept the fires going, and distributed stationery, in addition to the actual carrying of messages. For all, Dickins added,

> The hours of business will be from 9 o'clock to 3 and until such later hour as the Senate may remain in Session; and it will be expected of the gentlemen in the Office to be ready at all times, within these hours, to furnish the information and perform the duties required of each; and that the business of each day will be dispatched during the day, so as to prevent accumulation or delay.[71]

From this listing of duties delegated to the various clerks, the work of the secretary himself becomes clear. His main responsibilities may be listed as:

---

[71] U. S. Senate, Office of the Secretary, Letterbook, III, 49-53. This manuscript letterbook, covering the years 1836-1851, is among the Senate records deposited in the National Archives. It contains copies of official correspondence sent out from the secretary's office, and other records, such as the itemized accounts of disbursements from the contingent fund and lists of persons who were entitled to receive documents. This is the only volume of its kind now preserved in the National Archives.

1) Keeping the senate journal;

2) The preparation, printing, binding, and distribution of Senate documents;

3) The filing and indexing of current papers in such a manner that they would be readily available for use in the transaction of Senate business;

4) The distribution of bills and accompanying papers to their proper committees and the accurate recording of Senate action on all bills;

5) The keeping of financial accounts relative to pay and mileage of Senators and disbursement of the contingent fund. The latter included all printing and binding costs, and expenditures for stationery, office equipment, furniture, fuel, and repairs.[72]

As in all other government agencies, activities in the office of the secretary of the Senate year by year grew more extensive and more complicated. By 1841 a second full-time messenger was added to Dickins's staff and when Congress was in session a third messenger was required.[73] On this basis the office operated until 1850, when some additions to the staff and expansion of duties resulted in a more detailed office manual. Additions to and changes in duties included these: the principal clerk was to keep a record of "all questions of order or of practice decided in the Senate"; the executive clerk was relieved of keeping accounts on pay and mileage and other financial records, and his duties were confined to executive records of the Senate, their distribution and indexing; the work of the legislative clerks was now greatly expanded and required three persons rather than the two who had formerly handled it; an account clerk now took care of all financial records, which included pay and mileage accounts, salary accounts, contracts for supplies, subscriptions to newspapers for members of the Senate, and payments from the contingent fund. There were now three

[72] U. S. Senate, Office of the Secretary, Letterbook, III, *passim.* This letterbook provides the chief source on which to base deductions about the secretary's duties. When Dickins assumed office, his salary was $3,000 per year, while all clerks in the office received $1,500. The following year the principal clerk's salary was increased to $1,800 and that of the next two in rank to $1,650. Other increases occurred in later years. Asbury Dickins to Silas Wright, January 25, 1837; "List of Officers of the Senate of the United States" [November 4, 1837], Letterbook, III, 7 f., 31; [Asbury Dickins] to William J. McDonald, John C. Fitzpatrick, and William Patton, March 3, 1837, U. S. Senate, Miscellaneous Papers. National Archives.

[73] Asbury Dickins to Millard Fillmore, chairman, Ways and Means Committee, March 1, 1842, U. S. Senate, Office of the Secretary, Letterbook, III, 91.

messengers and a page. The first messenger had charge of stationery and supplied it to Senators. The second messenger was janitorial supervisor and was responsible for the files of printed bills, documents, and newspapers. He also counted money received for disbursement and copied letters into the letterbook. The third messenger made the fires and swept and dusted, in addition to actually carrying messages, for which he was "allowed a horse and . . . also . . . a carryall during the session . . ." The page delivered messages and tended the fires. At least one messenger was required to be always at hand in the office.[74]

Dickins's office operated under a heterogeneous collection of legislation and resolutions. Dickins himself and his three chief clerks held office by virtue of an act of April 18, 1818. Three clerks were employed by authority of Senate resolutions of October 13, 1837, and July 7, 1838. The two remaining clerks were authorized by a Senate resolution of September 17, 1850. Salaries remained at $3,000 for Dickins himself; $1,800 for Lewis H. Machen, the principal clerk; and $1,500 for the remaining seven clerks. The two messengers received at this time $3.00 per day and the assistant messenger was paid $2.50.[75]

This salary scale remained official until 1854. Increases were taken care of on a year-to-year basis and were usually paid out of the Senate's contingent fund. In long-session years the Senate customarily voted two months' extra pay for Dickins and all the clerks, while messengers received $250 or $200 extra. Occasionally, however, additional pay was taken care of in an appropriation act, as was the case in 1837 and again in 1852.[76] Near the close of the unusually long first session of the Thirtieth Congress (December 6, 1847-August 14, 1848) Willie P. Mangum introduced a resolution allowing the secretary of the Senate $500 additional compensation in "consideration of his increased responsibility for the funds of the Senate." This was

---

[74] "Arrangement of duties in the Office of the Secretary of the Senate of the United States," November 25, 1850, U. S. Senate, Office of the Secretary, Letterbook, III, 421-428.

[75] *U. S. Statutes at Large*, III, 431, ch. LXIX, act of April 18,1818; Asbury Dickins to James J. McKay, February 20, 1844; *idem* to Townsend Haines, October 3, 1851, U. S. Senate, Office of the Secretary, Letterbook, III, 129 f., 487 ff.; U. S. Senate, *Journal*, 24 Cong., 2d Sess., pp. 331 f., March 3, 1837; 25 Cong., 2d Sess., p. 569, July 7, 1838; 25 Cong., 3d Sess., p. 356, March 3, 1839.

[76] U. S. Senate, *Journal*, 25 Cong., 2d Sess., p. 569, July 7, 1838; *U. S. Statutes at Large*, V, 175.

passed together with numerous additional allowances for various employees of Congress.[77]

In an effort to put the government establishment on a more systematic basis, an act of August 26, 1842, regulated various offices. Under it the secretary of the Senate was required to report each year the names, with salaries, of all clerks and other persons employed in his office, and "whether they have been usefully employed . . . and . . . whether the services of any of them have been dispensed with without detriment to the public service. . . . " In each department the duty of the chief clerk was defined as supervising the other clerks so that "their duties are faithfully executed, and . . . are distributed with equality." No extra clerk could be employed except during sessions of Congress or when "indispensably necessary" because of special calls made upon a department or office by Congress. Dickins was also required to report a "detailed statement" of expenditures from the contingent fund.[78]

In accordance with its 48th and 49th rules, the Senate elected its secretary, sergeant-at-arms, and other officers "on the second Monday of the first Session" of each Congress. Asbury Dickins wes re-elected without opposition thereunder on December 9, 1839, June 7, 1841, December 11, 1843, December 9, 1845, and December 13, 1847.[79] On February 9, 1849, this rule was repealed and no further election took place until March 17, 1853,[80] when Dickins encountered some opposition from Benjamin Brown French.[81]

Dickins gave the following account of the event:

Without previous intimation to any Senator with whom I conversed and without notice Mr. Adams[82] brought forward a reso-

[77] U. S. Senate, *Journal*, 30 Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 590, 591, 597, August 12, 14, 1848.

[78] *U. S. Statutes at Large*, V, 523-533, Act of August 26, 1842.

[79] U. S. Senate, *Journal*, 26 Cong., 1st Sess., p. 8, December 9, 1839; 27 Cong., 1st Sess., p. 8, December 9, 1839; 27 Cong., 1st Sess., p. 24, June 7, 1841; 28 Cong., 1st Sess., p. 27, December 11, 1843; 29 Cong., 1st Sess., p. 39, December 9, 1845; 30 Cong., 1st Sess., p. 44, December 13, 1847.

[80] U. S. Senate, *Journal*, 30 Cong., 2d Sess., pp. 189, 202, February 7, 9, 1849; 32 Cong., 2d Sess., pp. 342-345, March 14, 16, 17, 1853; *Daily National Intelligencer*, March 14, 17, 18, 1853; *New York Daily Tribune*, November 26, 28, 1849.

[81] Benjamin Brown French (September 4, 1800-August 12, 1870) was born in New Hampshire, where he was educated, studied law, and was editor of a newspaper. After being clerk of the New Hampshire senate, 1827-1830, he was, 1833-1847, a clerk of the U. S. House of Representatives, and later held other posts in Washington, where he lived for the remainder of his life. Joseph T. Brown, *Eulogy on the Life and Character of Benjamin Brown French, (33d,) Grand High Priest, Delivered before the Grand Chapter of the District of Columbia, September 29, 1870* (Washington, 1870), pp. 5-15.

[82] Stephen Adams (October 17, 1807-May 11, 1857) of Mississippi served in the Senate as a Union Democrat, 1852-1857. (*Biographical Directory of Congress*, p. 626).

lution that the Senate would during the present [session] elect their officers. . . . After having spoken to some of my friends, with a view to ascertain, what member[s] might be counted on, I suggested that the resolution should be called up the next day, and so modified as to provide for an immediate election, and that the election should take place the day following. The object of this was to prevent combinations, which, with the host of office seekers then in Washington, would immediately be made for dismissing of all the officers of the Senate, —leaving but little chance for the incumbents. This course, which seemed not to have been expected, was accepted. But, a caucus was called forthwith. My friends among whom were the high men of the South, went into it, and supported me with spirit, so that I obtained the nomination. . . . Mr. French, was my chief competitor, though Mr. Hickey [83] obtained one vote both in caucus and Senate, understood to be the vote of Mr. Bright. . . .[84]

The rule has not been restored; but I dare say that there will be new election at the next Congress.[85]

Dickins of course knew all the Senators throughout his quarter century of service, and was on terms of intimate friendship with many. As a Democrat and a native of North Carolina, his close associations tended to be with Southern Senators of that party. One notable exception as to party association was his long continued friendship with Willie Person Mangum, North Carolina Whig leader.[86] Early in the stormy session of 1848-49 Dickins urged Mangum to speed his steps to Washington. "I think your presence here is now very desirable on public considerations. You will have seen by the papers, that the Southern members are to meet on Monday evening. Your counsels are too valuable to be wanting on such occasions," wrote Dickins.[87] Later that year Mangum struck a more personal note when he wrote: "You will oblige me by sending me forty or

---

[83] William Hickey (August 3, 1801-January 5, 1866) was born in Maryland. After a brief clerkship in the War Department, he was appointed in 1824 clerk in the office of the secretary of the Senate and in 1855 was made chief clerk. He was one of three incumbents who retained their posts after 1861. *Daily National Intelligencer*, January 8, 1866, p. 3.

[84] Jesse David Bright (December 18, 1812-May 20, 1875), was U. S. Senator from Indiana, 1845-1862. In politics he was a pro-slavery Democrat and was expelled from the Senate (1862) in consequence of a letter recognizing Jefferson Davis as President of the Confederacy. (*D. A. B.*, III, 45 f.).

[85] Asbury Dickins to Willie P. Mangum, Washington, April 18, 1853, Willie P. Mangum MSS. Duke University.

[86] Willie Person Mangum (May 10, 1792-September 7, 1861), U. S. Senator from North Carolina, 1830-1835 and 1840-1853, was at first a Jacksonian Democrat, but he broke with Jackson's policies and became a Whig about 1840. *D. A. B.*, XII, 232 f. Between Mangum and Dickins there was a distant family connection: Mrs. Mangum and Dickins's mother were both related to the Alston family.

[87] Asbury Dickins to Willie P. Mangum, Washington, January 13, 1849, Willie P. Mangum MSS.

fifty dollars which shall be returned this week or by Monday. . . . I ask no body this sort of favor, except you. . . ." [88] When Mangum retired from the Senate in 1852, he wrote to Dickins: "I go off this evening not half prepared. . . . I have not taken my things out of my drawer in the Senate Chamber, . . . there may be many treasonable things in it, . . . and although you are a democrat I hardly think you would take pleasure in seeing the neck of an old friend stretched." [89] The closeness of their friendship was reflected in Dickins's assurance that "We miss you very much at Washington, I more than any any [*sic*] one. No sooner had you left us, that I had reason to see how much I owed to your friendship on all former occasions." [90]

Not until 1854 were the officers of the Senate put upon a uniform and consistent legal basis. This reorganization was the result of a resolution submitted on December 22, 1853, by James Murray Mason, providing

> That a select committee be appointed to take into consideration the several resolutions and orders of the Senate, providing for the appointment, and prescribing the duties of its officers; to report rules and regulations fixing the number of such officers, and other subordinates, classifying them; fixing their compensation, prescribing the mode of appointment to, and dismissal from, office, and effecting such organization generally as better to insure their responsibility and efficiency. . . .

The committee consisted of James Murray Mason, Lewis Cass, John Middleton Clayton, Thomas Francis Bayard, and James Alfred Pearce.[91] The investigations of the committee gave Asbury Dickins opportunity to state the case for his office. He explained that the salary scales had been "fixed nearly forty years ago," adding that the extra allowances voted yearly brought "the compensation of the principal clerk and executive clerk to $2,100 a year, and of the other clerks to $1,850 a year . . . a rate of compensation which is believed to be not beyond their services, especially when the present increase in the expenses of living is taken into consideration." He then elabor-

---

[88] Willie P. Mangum to [Asbury Dickins], October, 1849 [*sic*], Randolph-Dickins MSS.
[89] Willie P. Mangum to Asbury Dickins, September 12, 1852, Dickins MSS.
[90] Asbury Dickins to Willie P. Mangum, Washington, April 18, 1853, Willie P. Mangum MSS.
[91] U. S. Senate, *Journal*, 33 Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 61, 64, December 22, 23, 1853.

ated the anomalous position of William Clubb and Peyton Y. Page, who had been appointed as messengers but in the course of years' service had advanced to more responsible duties. Hence, Dickins suggested that they be given the rating of clerks, that the page, William Rohrer, be promoted to the rank of messenger, and that a new person be appointed as page.[92]

J. M. Mason reported for the select committee on July 10, 1854, and on July 17 resolutions were passed fixing the salaries of all officers and providing that while the secretary of the Senate and the sergeant-at-arms should have the power of appointment and removal of all persons employed in their offices, removals must be approved by the president of the Senate on the basis of written reasons for such removals by the officers making them. The salary scale was set at or very slightly above the amounts already being received by virtue of the extra allowances voted annually. These, however, were abolished, and all officers of the Senate were now assured of fixed salaries without having to depend on the annual beneficence of the Senate.[93]

Among Dickins's many duties was that of making an annual estimate of payments to be made from the contingent fund. Against this estimate a detailed record was kept of all expenses levied on the fund. Dickins personally took charge of obtaining many of the supplies, such as stationery, "generally selecting the articles myself [he explained] and obtaining them where they were to be had on the best terms, in regard both to quality and price; and I find that after the first years experience I was enabled to obtain most of them on better terms than before." [94] To an American manufacturer of penknives Dickins wrote, "[Your penknives] afford evidence of great improvement in that branch of American industry. I think, however, you will admit that they do not quite equal . . . the best work of the English cutlers. . . . I will give a preference to the manufacturers of our own country when ever I can properly do so. In pro-

---

92 U. S. Senate, *Report* No. 344, p. 5 (serial 707), 33 Cong., 1st Sess., July 10, 1854.
93 U. S. Senate, *Journal*, 33 Cong., 1st Sess., p. 512, July 17, 1854.
94 Asbury Dickins to E. Burke, chairman, Select Committee, House of Representatives, May 19, 1841, U. S. Senate, Office of the Secretary, Letterbook, III, 63. The act of February 10, 1854, made Dickins a disbursing officer in his capacity as handler of the contingent fund. *Congressional Globe*, 33 Cong., 1st Sess. p. 227 f. As disbursing officer he received an additional $600, bringing his annual salary to $3,600.

viding penknives for the Senators it will not do to incur any avoidable risk as to the tempers and quality of the blades. . . ." [95] To another manufacturer Dickins wrote, "The inferior quality of the glass is an insuperable objection to the ink stands and sand boxes which were returned. . . ." [96]

Many vexations attended Dickins's duties. He often had occasion to complain of printing done for the Senate. In one instance he found the paper to be of inferior quality, while the page was three lines short of the required size. "It is expected that these faults will be immediately corrected [he warned the printers] and . . . it is hoped that you will take care to prevent any ground for complaint in the future." [97] On other occasions dilatoriness on the part of printers, artists, or lithographers "produced serious inconvenience" and elicited sharp complaints from Dickins.[98] Sometimes mistakes on the part of Dickins's own office staff caused trouble, as when a Senator's speech was incorrectly printed. Dickins apologized for one such "unlucky mistake," called in and suppressed all erroneous copies, and substituted corrected copies. He concluded, "I am very much mortified by the mistake having been made, and will do all I can to put matters right." [99]

Not infrequently Dickins received notices from the Comptroller of the Treasury accusing him of discrepancies in accounts. These were usually the result of differences in the manner of calculation and were all adjusted. There was never any accusation or instance of unauthorized use of funds on Dickins's part.[100] In one or two instances, however, Dickins himself was subjected to criticism from his superiors. It was his duty to send daily to the President a copy of the Senate executive journal. Dickins's failure to do so caused trouble when President James K. Polk withdrew the name of James H. Tate to be United States consul at Buenos Aires. Meantime the Senate

---

[95] Asbury Dickins to Messrs. Ibbetson & Haner, May 1, 1845, U. S. Senate, Office of the Secretary, Letterbook, III, 156 f.

[96] Asbury Dickins to Messrs. Bowne & Company, November 26, 1851, U. S. Senate, Office of the Secretary, Letterbook, III, 511.

[97] Asbury Dickins to Wendall & Van Benthuysen, December 21, 1847, U. S. Senate, Office of the Secretary, Letterbook, III, 253.

[98] Asbury Dickins to James Ackerman, January 4, 1851, U. S. Senate, Office of the Secretary, Letterbook, III, 444.

[99] Asbury Dickins to Hamilton Fish, September 9, 1854, Hamilton Fish MSS. Library of Congress.

[100] Asbury Dickins to J. N. Barker, May 17, 1838, U. S. Senate, Office of the Secretary, Letterbook, III, 39.

resolved to reconsider Tate's nomination, but of this Polk was not officially informed because he had not received his copy of the executive journal. When Dickins finally appeared at the White House with the executive journal, Polk noted that he spoke "in an evasive way, and manifested much indifference on the subject, saying that the clerks in his office were very busy and could not furnish copies daily with convenience. So great was his apparent indifference that I felt indignant and became perhaps a little excited," Polk confessed, so much so that he threatened to expose Dickins's remissness to the Senate. This had the desired effect and led Dickins to apologize, promise the daily copy of the journal, and offer to state his omission of duty to the Senate. Polk declined to consent to this, and so ended the incident.[101]

The secretary of the Senate was expected to have a thorough knowledge of all legislation relating to the Senate's operation and of established precedents on many questions. Of the latter there was an instance in 1841, when for the first time a President died in office and Vice President John Tyler became President. Samuel Lewis Southard, president pro tempore of the Senate, asked Dickins for a statement of precedents "when the Vice President has . . . ceased to act." Dickins had to admit that there was no precedent for an identical situation, but he noted former elections of president pro tempore of the Senate who had served until a Vice President was next elected and assumed office. Dickins added, "It does not appear that the salary of the Vice President was paid to the President pro tempore in any instance. . . ." [102]

The question of pay and mileage to Senators was a matter of some controversy and no little interest. When, in March, 1845, several Senators applied for mileage to cover a special session immediately following the close of the regular session, Vice President George Mifflin Dallas was considerably surprised to learn from Dickins that "no distinct and controlling decision" had ever before been made on such a question, and that "no such

---

[101] James Knox Polk, *The Diary of James K. Polk during His Presidency, 1845 to 1849, now First Printed from the Original Manuscript in the Collections of the Chicago Historical Society;* ed. and annotated by Milo Milton Quaife . . . with an Introduction by Andrew Cunningham McLaughlin . . . (Chicago, 1910, 4 vols.), I, 166, 172 (entry for January 17, 1846).

[102] Asbury Dickins to Samuel Lewis Southard, April 23, 1841, U. S. Senate, Office of the Secretary, Letterbook, III, 72.

allowance had been made on similar occasions." The Vice President decided that each Senator was entitled to mileage at the beginning and close of each session, "without any enquiry or regard as to where he actually was or how he was actually engaged when he became a Senator and without any enquiry or regard as to, where he intends to travel or remain when the Senate adjourns." [103] This decision led, of course, to the applications of Senators and former Senators for payment of mileage at former special sessions. These claims were not allowed, for as Dickins informed the applicants, the decision was not retroactive.[104]

The question, with variations, arose again in 1849, when the Comptroller of the Treasury (Elisha Whittlesey) disallowed part of Dickins's pay and mileage accounts and concluded that Dickins owed the Treasury $42,003. Dickins objected under several headings: (1) that the Comptroller had exceeded his authority; (2) that an accounting officer was acting as an interpreter of the laws; (3) that "the certificate of the President of the Senate" had always been a sufficient authorization for payment; (4) and that it involved the whole question of right to mileage. The controversy was finally submitted to Attorney General Reverdy Johnson, who upheld Dickins's arguments and settled conclusively the various points involved: (1) the president of the Senate is the sole judge of amounts of compensation due and his certificate is conclusive; (2) mileage is part of a Senator's compensation, and not mere defrayment of travelling expenses, and hence actual travel is not necessary. Dickins's position was thus fully vindicated and his accounts and payments were adjudged correct.[105] Somewhat later Dickins refused

---

[103] George M. Dallas to Asbury Dickins, March 17, 1845; Asbury Dickins to James Buchanan, W. T. Colquitt, W. L. Dayton, George McDuffie, J. W. Miller, and R. J. Walker, March 24, 1845, U. S. Senate, Office of the Secretary, Letterbook, III, 142-150, 310, 343. Dallas stipulated that mileage must be applied for in writing. Four years later this regulation was waived on the ground that Senators were entitled by law to mileage, and therefore they should not be required to ask for it.

[104] Asbury Dickins to John Norvell, June 30, 1849; *idem* to Oliver Hampton Smith, March 12, 1850, U. S. Senate. Office of the Secretary, Letterbook, III, 332, 391. Most of the applications were made at the instigation of claim agents.

[105] Asbury Dickins to William M. Meredith, Secretary of the Treasury, October 17, 1849; [Asbury Dickins], "Remarks on a Paper By the Comptroller (Mr. Whittlesey) on the Rejection of Certain Items in the Account of the Secretary of the Senate for Compensation of Senators. Submitted to the Attorney General: To Whom the Subject Has Been Referred by the Secretary of the Treasury, In an Appeal by the Secretary of the Senate from the Decision of the Comptroller," November 5, 1849, U. S. Senate, Office of the Secretary, Letterbook, III, 339 f., 345-362; "Official Opinion of the Hon. Reverdy Johnson, Attorney General U. S., on the Question of Mileage at a Special Session of the Senate," November 27, 1849, U. S. Senate, 33 Cong., 2d Sess., *Executive Documents*, vol. II, pp. 2066-2084 (serial 603). This document in pamphlet form is bound in the Letterbook of the Secretary of the Senate.

pay and mileage to William McKendree Gwin on the ground that as Senator he could not be paid until California was admitted as a state.[106]

Beginning in July, 1851, all employees of Congress were paid by check rather than in cash. This led to one of the lighter incidents of Dickins's career. A member of the Capitol Police absolutely refused to accept his salary in the form of a check. Elaborate oral explanation failed to convince the man that he could convert his check into solid gold and silver coin. Finally Dickins resorted to a full written explanation of the new system. After further oral persuasion the skeptic reluctantly took his check and brought the difficulty to a close.[107]

As a new administration and war came to Washington in 1861, Asbury Dickins departed with the old era. In April, 1861, one of his clerks resigned to join the Confederacy.[108] When Congress met in July the Senate quickly proceeded to the election of a new secretary in the person of John W. Forney. Almost a month later the Senate voted Dickins one year's salary.[109] The Dickins family were highly incensed at what they viewed as their father's ouster from office. Yet in retrospect no other procedure could have been expected. Dickins was more than eighty years old, well past a justifiable retirement age.[110] The unsettled times made harsh a retirement that otherwise might have been surrounded by honors and laurels.

Asbury Dickins died suddenly, probably of heart failure, on October 21, 1861, at his home in Washington.[111] Amid the excitements of war one of the nation's oldest public servants was quietly buried and quickly forgotten. The vicissitudes of war scattered his children and their families. Francis Asbury Dickins tried to maintain a strict personal neutrality on his

---

106 Asbury Dickins to Corcoran and Riggs, July 11, 1850, U. S. Senate, Office of the Secretary, Letterbook, III, 404.

107 Asbury Dickins to John L. Wirt, September 2, 1851, U. S. Senate, Office of the Secretary, Letterbook, III, 478 f.

108 E. T. Montague to Asbury Dickins, April 26, 1861, Randolph-Dickins MSS.

109 U. S. Senate, *Journal*, 37 Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 41, 179 f., 188 f., July 15, August 5, 6, 1861.

110 In 1858 a Democratic Senator wrote, " . . . Mr. Dickens [*sic*] looks just as he did to me in 1834, when, with you, I was at his house at an evening party. But he & old Machen . . . are so deaf & somnolent, that they are unfit for their places. Col. Hickey, the chief clerk of the Senate is the only efficient . . . officer of the three. The other two ought to be superseded. If the Constitution allowed they should be pensioned." Clement Claiborne Clay [Senator from Alabama] to C. C. Clay, Sr., Washington, December 11, 1858, C. C. Clay MSS. Duke University.

111 *Evening Star*, Washington, October 23, 1861; *Daily National Intelligencer*, October 24, 1861.

farm, Ossian Hall, but he was constantly beset by passing and repassing troops and by loss of property and livestock, while he himself was imprisoned numerous times. In 1866 he reopened his claims office in Washington.[112]

Asbury Dickins's passing epitomized the end of an era. He had entered government service when his country was young and weak. He took up residence in the Capital City when it was still marred by ravages of the fire set by a hostile army in 1814. He was a constant figure amid the changing official population of Washington. Among politicians he moved with friendliness, ease, and expert step, dexterously avoiding the pitfalls of politics. "In all the stations which he occupied his faithfulness, talents, and gentlemanly bearing won the high respect of his superiors and of all others who knew him." [113]

[112] Randolph-Dickins MSS., 1861-1866, *passim*. Extensive correspondence in this collection gives an extraordinarily interesting picture of Francis Asbury Dickins's troubles during the war years.

[113] *Daily National Intelligencer*, October 24, 1861, p. 3.

JAMES DUNWOODY BULLOCH AND THE CONFEDERATE NAVY

By WILLIAM P. ROBERTS

At the beginning of the Civil War the Confederate leaders realized the need of a navy with which they could challenge Union control of the seas; otherwise the Confederacy would be unable to acquire supplies from abroad, while the Union armies could draw upon the economic resources of the whole world. Since the South had neither ships nor shipbuilding facilities, the Davis government sent James Dunwoody Bulloch to Europe to secure ships and supplies for the Confederate Navy.

Bulloch was a loyal son of the Old South. He belonged to a Georgian family that had long been distinguished in political and nautical affairs. His great-grandfather, Archibald Bulloch, was Revolutionary governor of Georgia;[1] and his father, James Stephens Bulloch, was a member of the company under whose auspices the *Savannah* had made her famous voyage across the Atlantic from Savannah to Liverpool.[2] The young James Dunwoody was born near the historic town of Savannah, Georgia, on June 10, 1823, but spent most of his early life in the little town of Roswell, not far from Atlanta.[3]

Early in life, Bulloch decided upon a seafaring career. He entered the United States Navy in 1839 and served on various vessels until 1853, when he left the navy to join the merchant marine. Between 1853 and the Civil War Bulloch commanded several merchant vessels, one of which was the *Black Warrior.* While Bulloch was in command of that vessel, it was seized by the Spanish authorities in Cuba, and that caused diplomatic complications; this so-called *Black Warrior* incident was one of the contributing factors leading to the famous Ostend Manifesto.[4]

When Georgia seceded from the Union on January 11, 1861, Bulloch was in command of the mail steamer, *Bienville,* which was owned by a New York shipping firm. At that time many

[1] L. L. Knight, *Georgia's Landmarks, Memorials, and Legends,* II, 217. (Hereafter cited as Knight, *Georgia's Landmarks.*)
[2] J. M. Callahan, "James Dunwoody Bulloch," *Dictionary of American Biography,* III, 257.
[3] Knight, *Georgia's Landmarks,* II, 217.
[4] J. D. Bulloch, *The Secret Service of the Confederate States in Europe; or How the* Confederate Cruisers Were Equipped, I, 31-32. (Hereafter cited as Bulloch, *Secret Service.*)

southern officers resigned their commissions in the United States Navy and merchant marine, and the Confederate Congress passed an act accepting these officers into the Confederate Navy at their former rank. Although Bulloch's sympathies were with the South, his business connections and many of his friendships were in the North, so he did not sever his connections with the New York shipping firm immediately. He was not certain that there would be a war, and he did not want to act prematurely. As Bulloch himself phrased it:

> I had become completely identified with the shipping interests of New York. I had no property of any kind in the South, nor any pecuniary interests whatever in that part of the country. Many persons thought to the very last that somehow or other an agreement would be come to, and there would be no war, and I did not feel that there was either a necessity or obligation requiring me to give up my occupation and business connections prematurely.[5]

On the morning of the attack upon Fort Sumter, Bulloch was in New Orleans in command of the *Bienville*. He knew of the attack by ten o'clock that morning and immediately decided to cast his lot with his native state.

> When Beauregard fired the first shot at Fort Sumter in the early dawn of April 13, 1861, he sounded a call which summoned every man to fall into line on his own side, and there could no longer be hesitation or delay. Those officers who had retired from the United States navy to enter the Mail Service, and who remained in it, were now drawn by a natural law to their own side of the dividing line. Those from the Northern States thought it their duty to offer their services to the Government at Washington, and were restored to their former positions in the United States Navy. Those from the Southern States were impelled by corresponding motives to offer their services to the Government at Montgomery, and were incorporated into the Confederate Navy.[6]

On that very day Bulloch wrote his friend, Judah P. Benjamin, the Confederate States Attorney General, offering his services to the cause of the South.

Before entering the Confederate service, Bulloch returned the *Bienville* to its owners in New York and then hurried to

[5] Bulloch, *Secret Service*, I, 32.
[6] Bulloch, *Secret Service*, I, 32-33.

Montgomery to receive his orders. On May 8, 1861, Stephen R. Mallory, Confederate Secretary of the Navy, notified Bulloch that he was to go abroad to secure ships and naval supplies. Since the Confederate leaders wanted cruisers to prey upon the United States merchant marine, Bulloch was instructed to secure a number of vessels suitable for cruising purposes.

Mallory gave Bulloch careful instructions. Bulloch was told to be " . . . prudent and heedful, so as not to involve the diplomatic agents of the Confederate States in embarrassing complaints for alleged violation of neutral law or obligation." [7] Mallory authorized him " . . . to practice wide discretionary powers within the general limits of his instructions. . . ." [8] This proved to be most helpful, because it often required months to transmit instructions from Montgomery or Richmond to Liverpool.

Mallory gave Bulloch an order calling for the purchase of several steam-propelled vessels that could be used as commerce destroyers to prey upon the United States merchant marine. As the Navy Department wanted these vessels as soon as possible, Mallory suggested that Bulloch try to find suitable ships already built and for sale and thus save the valuable time necessary for construction. Bulloch was to have new vessels constructed in case suitable ones were not for sale. Discussing the type of vessels wanted, Mallory wrote: "The class of vessels desired for immediate use is that which offers the greatest chances of success against the enemy's commerce, and in their selection, the department is unwilling to limit your judgment." [9] Mallory also gave Bulloch a long list of supplies to be secured in Europe for the Confederate States Navy.[10]

On the evening of May 9, 1861, Bulloch left Montgomery for Europe to undertake one of the most important and most difficult tasks of the Confederate service. The Confederacy needed a fleet of fighting ships, and it was Bulloch's job to supply one. Immediately after secession most of the vessels in Southern ports departed, leaving only one vessel suitable for fighting

---

[7] Bulloch, *Secret Service*, I, 47.
[8] Bulloch, *Secret Service*, I, 48.
[9] *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of Rebellion*, Second Series, II, 64. (Hereafter cited as *Official Records*.)
[10] *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 65.

purposes; this one ship became the famous cruiser, *Sumter.*[11] The South lacked not only ships but shipbuilding facilities. In ante-bellum days the South had concentrated on the production of staple crops and had left the business of shipbuilding to the North. Pensacola and Norfolk had the only shipyards in the South; and, as these yards were not satisfactory for building fighting ships,[12] the Confederate Navy had to be built in foreign ports.

In its effort to build a navy in Europe, the Confederacy was confronted by two embarrassing situations; it lacked the necessary funds, and diplomatic difficulties were virtually insurmountable. France and Great Britain recognized the belligerent rights of the South, but as no nation ever extended *de jure* recognition to the Confederate government, it could not negotiate with other powers. The Davis administration sent William Lowden Yancey, Pierre A. Rost, and A. Dudley Mann to England, but the Palmerston government would not receive them.

A majority of the English people were definitely opposed to slavery, one of the basic institutions for which the Confederacy stood. The common people of Great Britain had a great abhorrence of this "peculiar institution," which had long since been abolished in England. Antislavery meetings, held in various parts of the United Kingdom, petitioned the Palmerston government to refrain from extending recognition to the Southern Confederacy.[13]

Not only did Great Britain refuse to recognize the Confederacy, but the statutes of the United Kingdom contained an act which virtually prohibited the Confederacy's building warships in British ports. "In 1819 on the motion of Canning, Parliament passed a Foreign Enlistment Act prohibiting the equipment of ships in British ports for a power engaged in a war in which Britain was a neutral." [14] Violation of this act would mean the forfeiture of any ships so built.

Furthermore the Confederates were opposed by a very efficient United States minister, who exerted every effort possible to pre-

[11] Bulloch, *Secret Service*, I, 46.
[12] Bulloch, *Secret Service*, I, 22.
[13] D. Jourdan and E. J. Pratt, *Europe and the American Civil War*, p. 10.
[14] "This act was drawn up to deal with the circumstances arising from the War of Liberation in Spanish America, and a similar measure was at about the same time passed in the United States." A. W. Ward and G. P. Gooch, editors, *Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy*, II, 516.

vent the Confederacy from obtaining any aid from the British Empire. Lincoln had selected Charles Francis Adams, son of John Quincy Adams and grandson of John Adams, for this all-important diplomatic post. Adams was an able diplomat, and his mission to the Court of Saint James's added glory to his historic family name.

French diplomacy offered less hope for the Confederates than did the British. On June 10, 1861, Napoleon III published a proclamation of neutrality in which regulations concerning belligerent activities on French soil were more emphatically stated than in the British Foreign Enlistment Act of 1819. The French proclamation

> . . . forbade any French subject co-operate in any *manner whatever* in the equipment or armament of a vessel-of-war or a privateer for either belligerent, and French lawyers afterwards consulted were unanimous in the opinion that the Government would be bound to prevent any ship leaving France for the service of the Confederate States.[15]

Faced by such obstacles, Bulloch realized that his chances for success were limited, but loyal to the South and faithful to his trust, he gladly accepted his assignment and headed for England, where he exerted every possible effort to secure vessels and supplies for the Confederacy.

Bulloch arrived in Liverpool on June 4, 1861. Since he went as a secret agent, he was not dressed in the uniform of the Confederate States, but in ordinary civilian clothes.[16] Confederate activities had to be kept secret because of the European neutrality laws.[17] Soon after arriving in England Bulloch visited the Confederate commissioners, Yancey, Rost, and Mann, and discussed the diplomatic situation with them.

Bulloch also called upon Fraser, Trenholm, and Company,[18] where he was cordially received. He was given an office in their building which he occupied for a year. Bulloch found that no funds had been sent by the Confederacy, but Charles K.

---

15 Bulloch, *Secret Service*, II, 22.
16 A. Sinclair, *Two Years on the Alabama*, p. 7.
17 Bulloch to Mallory, October 1, 1863, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 84.
18 Fraser, Trenholm, and Company was a Liverpool branch of the Charleston banking firm of John Fraser and Company. George A. Trenholm was president of the bank in Charleston. Brooks Adams, "The Seizure of the Laird Rams," Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, XLV (1911-1912), 290.

Prioleau, resident partner of the firm, realized the necessity of prompt action and agreed to underwrite any orders which Bulloch considered to be of pressing importance.[19]

Bulloch investigated the possibilities of purchasing vessels already built but found this idea impractical since there were no suitable ships for sale.[20] He therefore contracted with two shipbuilders to build a ship apiece. Fawcett, Preston, and Company of Liverpool was to build a wooden vessel 185 feet long, 28 feet 4 inches wide, 14 feet in depth, and similar to the British gunboats of that day.[21] In addition to sails the vessel was to be provided with a 200-horsepower screw steam engine with power to propel the ship at a calculated speed of twelve and one-half knots. This ship, equipped with heavy guns, was to be completed by the second week in December, 1861;[22] its cost of £45,628 was to be paid in periodic installments, and to facilitate immediate commencement of construction, Fraser, Trenholm, and Company agreed to be responsible for the first payment.

In the construction yards this vessel was known as the *Oreto* but was later rechristened C. S. S. *Florida.* Fawcett, Preston, and Company sublet the contract to William Miller and Sons of Liverpool.[23] Fawcett, Preston, and Company handled the payments and built the armament for the ship. Lest he arouse suspicion, Bulloch did not approach the builder as an official agent of the Confederate government, but "The contract was made with me as a private person, nothing whatever being said about the ultimate destination of the ship or the purpose for which she was intended. It is not usual for building firms to ask question, or to express opinions as to the motives or purposes of those from whom they take orders." [24] Nevertheless, the builders suspected the ultimate plans for the ship.[25]

Bulloch arranged for a second ship to be built by the Laird Brothers at Brinkenham across the Mersey River from Liverpool. The plans of this vessel were carefully drawn, and meticulously supervising the planning and construction, Bulloch incorporated

---

19 Bulloch, *Secret Service,* I, 52.
20 Bulloch to Mallory, August 13, 1861, *Official Records,* Second Series, II, 84.
21 R. S. Maclay, *History of the United States Navy from 1775 to 1893,* II, 554.
22 Bulloch to Mallory, August 13, 1861, *Official Records,* Second Series, II, 95.
23 *Papers Relating to the Treaty of Washington,* I, 134.
24 Bulloch, *Secret Service,* I, 58.
25 Bulloch, *Secret Service,* I, 58.

many of his own ideas into the general design of the ship. This vessel, destined to become the most renowned of the Confederate cruisers, the C. S. S. *Alabama*, was in the Laird yards simply known by the number, "290." Like the *Oreto*, the "290" was to be a wooden, combination sail and steam vessel, but it was to be larger and more heavily armed than the first one. A long ship, 210 feet from prow to stern, its extreme width was to be 32 feet, and it was to be 17 feet 3 inches deep. It was to weigh 1,024 tons and was to have a heavy battery. Construction of the vessel was to be postponed until funds could be received from the Confederate government,[26] and the price of the vessel, set at £47,500, was to be paid in five installments of £9,500 each.[27]

Although the Lairds did not inquire into Bulloch's ultimate plans for the "290," Bulloch was sure they suspected that the vessel would become a Confederate cruiser, but they never told him of their suspicions.[28] After making certain that Bulloch was capable of paying for the vessel, the Lairds went ahead getting ready for construction.[29]

While arranging for the building of the two cruisers, Bulloch ordered the necessary armaments for the vessels and contracted for large quantities of additional naval supplies such as guns, ammunition, and clothing for seamen. He secured a great many supplies but had some difficulty in securing transportation for them. Huse and Anderson, agents for the Confederate Army, had also bought supplies in England; but they, like Bulloch, had difficulty in getting them to the Confederacy.[30] To facilitate the transportation problem, Bulloch purchased the steamer *Fingal* for £17,500 and placed upon it a large quantity of supplies for the Confederate army, the navy, and several of the Confederate states.[31]

Taking personal command of the *Fingal* in November, 1861, Bulloch brought it safely to the port of Savannah, thus demonstrating the ineffectiveness of the blockade and at the same time supplying the Confederate armed forces with valuable equipment. "No single ship ever took into the Confederacy a cargo so

---

26 Bulloch to Mallory, August 13, 1861, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 65.
27 Bulloch, *Secret Service*, I, 62.
28 Bulloch, *Secret Service*, I, 59.
29 Bulloch, *Secret Service*, I, 60.
30 Bulloch, *Secret Service*, I, 111.
31 Bulloch, *Secret Service*, I, 111-112.

entirely composed of military and naval supplies. . . ." [32] Commenting on the importance of this voyage, the writer of Bulloch's obituary in the *Confederate Veteran* said, "The successful entry of the *Fingal,* under his [Bulloch's] command, into Savannah, loaded with arms and ammunition, supplied the immediate needs of our soldiers, which, being supplemented with the *Spolia opima* of Bull Run, placed our army in Virginia on a war footing. . . ." [33] Bulloch remained in the Confederate States until March, 1862, when he returned to England.

Before departing from Britain for the Confederate States in November, 1861, Bulloch had left instructions for the completion of the *Oreto,* and when he returned she was ready to sail. The problem remained of getting her to sea under the Confederate flag.

In making preparation for the vessel's departure, Bulloch was careful not to violate any laws. He employed F. S. Hull, a member of a leading firm of Liverpool solicitors, to guide him through the entanglements of the Foreign Enlistment Act.[34] According to Hull's interpretation of that law, it would be no offense for a British subject to equip, outside of British jurisdiction, a ship to cruise against a friendly power, nor would it be illegal for a British subject to equip a ship, within British jurisdiction, without the intent of cruising against a friendly power. Furthermore, Hull contended that the mere building of a ship did not constitute an offense, irrespective of how or by whom that vessel might be built.[35] This meant that ships could be built in England but that they could not be equipped for Confederate service in English ports. Such vessels could, however, be equipped outside of British jurisdiction. Other British lawyers maintained that private individuals could have ships built for the Confederacy, even ships whose obvious purpose was battle, if the ownership and destination were concealed, and if no seamen were enlisted in British ports.

In getting the *Oreto* ready for sea, Bulloch followed the recommendations of his attorneys so as not to violate the Foreign Enlistment Act. He kept the Confederate ownership of the

---

[32] Bulloch, *Secret Service,* I, 112.
[33] "James Dunwoody Bulloch," *Confederate Veteran,* IX (1901).
[34] Bulloch, *Secret Service,* I, 64.
[35] Bulloch, *Secret Service,* I, 67.

vessel secret; and, in order to disguise its ultimate purpose, the ship was built in the name of an Italian merchant of Liverpool and Palermo, and it was renamed *Palermo.*

Bulloch had hoped that Britain would declare war upon the United States, making it possible to arm the ship without difficulty,[36] and when disappointed in that hope, he tried to arm the vessel secretly at Liverpool; but, since British officials watched the ship too closely,[37] he decided to send her to some secret rendezvous in the Caribbean as a merchant ship under a neutral flag.[38] The arms were sent to the West Indies by British ships,[39] and the engineer was instructed to arm the vessel at sea.[40] Bulloch said that the hammock, netting, ports, and general appearance of the ship made apparent her ultimate use, but " . . . there is nothing to compromise the particular character she must assume for the voyage." [41]

The ship, renamed *Manassas,* sailed from the port of Liverpool as an ordinary merchant vessel with a British captain and crew and flying the British flag. The crew, having been selected in strict accordance with the British Merchant Shipping Act,[42] was unaware of the future plans of the ship, but Bulloch said that the principal officers were willing to take any chances so long as they could be sure of their pay.[43] The vessel was registered for a voyage from " . . . Liverpool to Palermo, and thence, if required, to a port or ports in the Mediterranean Sea, or in the West Indies, and back to a port of discharge in the United Kingdom, the voyage not to exceed six months." [44]

The *Manassas* cleared the port of Liverpool on March 22, 1862. Thus the first Confederate cruiser built in England went into the Atlantic under the guise of a merchant vessel, carrying one innocent-looking passenger, Master James Low of the Confederate States Navy. Low sailed with the *Manassas* to Nassau where he turned her over to Captain James N. Maffit, the Confederate naval officer who had been selected to command that

---

[36] Bulloch to Mallory, November 19, 1861, *Official Records,* Second Series, II, 105.
[37] Bulloch to Mallory, March 21, 1862, *Official Records,* First Series, I, 756.
[38] Bulloch to Mallory, November 19, 1861, *Official Records,* Second Series, II, 105.
[39] Bulloch, *Secret Service,* I, 160, 168; *Papers Relating to the Treaty of Washington,* II, 286-287.
[40] Bulloch to Mallory, March 21, 1862, *Official Records,* First Series, I, 756.
[41] Bulloch to Mallory, March 21, 1862, *Official Records,* First Series, I, 754.
[42] Bulloch, *Secret Service,* I, 153.
[43] Bulloch to Mallory, March 21, 1862, *Official Records,* First Series, I, 754-755.
[44] Bulloch, *Secret Service,* I, 153.

cruiser.[45] Then the ship was rechristened *Florida* and was armed and equipped for the Confederate service.

While Bulloch was outfitting the *Florida* for her famous voyage, United States diplomatic officials were endeavoring to get the British government to seize the vessel. Thomas H. Dudley, United States consul at Liverpool, watched the ship closely. Although their attention was called to the vessel in November, 1861, the United States officials waited until February 18, 1862, before complaining to the British government.[46] On February 26, 1862, the British government replied that they were unable to find evidence proving that the vessel was intended for the Confederacy,[47] and Charles Francis Adams made no further effort to prove the destination of the ship until after she sailed.[48] Nevertheless, James Ford Rhodes condemns the Palmerston government for allowing the vessel to sail. He says:

> The Government of Great Britain was guilty of culpable negligence in permitting in March the sailing of the *Florida*, a vessel equipped for war, which had been built at Liverpool for the service of the Confederates. Sincere and diligent inquiry on the part of the authorities would have disclosed her true character and destination, and a friendly disposition towards the United States would have detained her until sufficient legal investigation could be made in proceedings for her condemnation.[49]

In its counter case presented to the Geneva Arbitration Tribunal, the British government denied that it had sufficient evidence to stop the *Florida* under the Foreign Enlistment Act,[50] and it claimed that not even Dudley knew of Bulloch's real connections with the *Oreto;* at least he communicated no such information to the British Foreign Office.[51]

> . . . up to the time that she [the *Florida*] left Liverpool, his [Dudley's] correspondence mentions not a single circumstance proving, or tending to prove, for what purpose she [the *Florida*] was intended, be-

---

45 Bulloch to John Low, March 21, 1862, *Official Records*, First Series, I, 757.
46 Charles Francis Adams to Earl John Russell, February 18, 1862, *Executive Documents Printed by the Order of the House of Representatives During the Third Session of the Thirty-Seventh Congress 1862-'63*, I, 39. (Hereafter cited as *Executive Documents.*)
47 *Papers Relating to the Treaty of Washington*, II, 301.
48 *Papers Relating to the Treaty of Washington*, II, 301.
49 J. F. Rhodes, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*, IV, 81-82.
50 *Papers Relating to the Treaty of Washington*, II, 299.
51 *Papers Relating to the Treaty of Washington*, II, 300.

yond some rumors as to her probable movements which turned out to be erroneous.[52]

Bulloch's great desire was to become the commander of a Confederate cruiser. About two months after his arrival in England in 1861, he wrote as follows to the Navy Department:

> I beg to urge an application for the command of the first ship that goes to sea under our flag from this side of the ocean, and to earnestly request that you will send me a commission for that purpose by the earliest opportunity. I have had much trouble and perplexity in getting the contracts for the two ships taken, and trust you will grant me the justice and propriety of my claim to use one of them myself. Any commission you will grant me will be given up at the end of the war, so that I will not embarrass you in arranging the peace settlement.[53]

In January, 1862, Bulloch was notified that he had been assigned the rank of commander and should take command of the first vessel.[54] Bulloch had not expected this, because he was only a lieutenant when he retired from the United States Navy in 1853, and he had expected to be given the same rank in the Confederate service. Upon receiving his new commission, he wrote to his superiors as follows: " . . . I cannot but declare that it is beyond expectations and in excess of my deserts." [55] Professional navy men are particular about the matter of seniority, and, as Bulloch was disturbed over the matter, he wrote to the Navy Department as follows:

> . . . neither in person nor through the influence of others have I sought this advancement. I desired and requested a commission, so that I should in reality be a national officer, but I did not imagine that the President would place me in a position higher than my date in the old United States service would entitle me to, and I would rather go back to that position now than to be the cause of discontent in the service or of wounding the feelings of a single one of the gallant gentlemen who headed the list of lieutenants.[56]

Bulloch's fear of jealousy on the part of other officers was well founded; and three months later Lieutenant James H.

---

[52] *Papers Relating to the Treaty of Washington*, II, 300.
[53] Bulloch to Mallory, November 13, 1861, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 86-87.
[54] Bulloch to Mallory, January 22, 1862, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 134.
[55] Bulloch to Mallory, January 22, 1862, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 134.
[56] Bulloch to Mallory, January 22, 1862, *Official Records*, Second Series, II 135.

North [57] of the Confederate Navy protested against Bulloch's promotion. He wrote as follows:

> Rank to a military man is everything and that rank has been taken from me. When South Carolina, my native state, and from whence I received my appointment, seceded from the Union, I felt it my duty to give up that commission I had held in the general navy so long, and tender to her my services, and now that commission I so much coveted and so ardently hoped for has been given to another, and that other a civilian, who, when in the service, was many years my junior. . . . I must beg to record my solemn protest against the foregoing act. I ask for nothing but that justice be shown that corps by the government to whom we belong.[58]

This is typical of the attitude a few Confederate officers took toward Bulloch's jump in rank; nevertheless Bulloch retained the rank of commander, which was also given to North later. Although Bulloch's request to command the first ship was also granted, this ship was completed in the winter of 1861-1862, while Bulloch was in the Confederate States. Fearing that he would not get back to England in time to assume command, Bulloch requested the Navy Department to authorize him to command the second instead of the first vessel.[59]

Furthermore, he said, ". . . I would . . . prefer to bring over the second, as she is more especially the style and model of my own selection . . ." [60] Mallory gave Bulloch permission to command the ship of his choice.

Meanwhile, the construction of the second cruiser was proceeding favorably, but a little behind schedule. The Lairds worked slowly so as to make no mistakes, and they put only the best materials into the ship.[61] When the vessel was launched on May 15, 1862, she was christened *Enrica* by an unknown lady who knew nothing about the future plans of the ship.[62]

In getting the *Enrica* ready for sea, Bulloch was again careful not to violate the Foreign Enlistment Act. To take her to

---

[57] The Navy Department had sent Lieutenant North to Europe for the purpose of securing an ironclad vessel for the Confederate Navy.

[58] North to Mallory, March 29, 1862, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 177.

[59] Bulloch had instructed the builders of the *Oreto* to turn the vessel over to Fraser, Trenholm, and Company in case she was ready before he returned, and the banking firm was to give the ship to the ranking Confederate naval officer in England. Bulloch to Mallory, January 13, 1863, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 130.

[60] Bulloch to Mallory, January 13, 1863, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 130.

[61] Bulloch, *Secret Service*, I, 226.

[62] Bulloch, *Secret Service*, I, 228.

sea, Bulloch selected a British commander, Matthew J. Butcher, and instructed him to sail to a rendezvous in the Azores, where he would meet the *Agrippina*[63] with arms for the voyage.[64] Bulloch also enlisted a British crew to man the vessel on the trip to the Azores.[65] The crew was unaware of the fact that the vessel was to become a Confederate cruiser, but Captain Butcher was familiar with the ultimate plans for the ship.[66]

Clarence R. Younge, Acting Assistant Paymaster of the Confederate Navy, accompanied Butcher on the vessel when it left England, presumably as a passenger. Younge had an inventory of the ship's goods and was to check them. He was to be under Butcher's orders and was to mix with the British crew and to enlist as many of them as possible for the Confederate service. After the ship had been turned over to a Confederate commander, Younge was to continue to serve on the vessel under the orders of that officer.[67]

Agents of the United States government carefully watched the building of the "290," as the *Enrica* was first called, and endeavored to get the British government to seize it.[68] On June 23, 1862, Charles Francis Adams wrote the British Foreign Minister saying that a vessel even more powerful than the *Oreto* was being built by persons known to be Confederate agents.[69] On the same day United States Consul A. F. Squarry wrote the British Board of Customs requesting the detention of the vessel being built at the Laird yards; he enclosed two affidavits giving proof that the vessel was for the Confederates.[70]

Bulloch was known to be a Confederate agent, and the United States agents in Great Britain were able to get a number of witnesses to sign affidavits, swearing that Bulloch had enlisted them for service on the vessel under construction at the Laird Yards.[71] Bulloch declared that all of these affidavits were false.[72] The

---

[63] Bulloch had purchased the *Agrippina* to serve as tender for the *Enrica*.
[64] Bulloch to Matthew J. Butcher, July 30, 1862, *Official Records*, First Series, I, 232.
[65] Bulloch, *Secret Service*, I, 232.
[66] Bulloch, *Secret Service*, I, 232.
[67] Bulloch to C. R. Younge, July 28, 1862, *Official Records*, First Series, I, 773.
[68] Bulloch, *Secret Service*, I, 227-231.
[69] Adams to Russell, June 23, 1862, *Executive Documents 1862-'63*, I, 129.
[70] A. F. Squarry to the British Board of Customs, July 26, 1862, *Executive Documents 1862-'63*, I, 153.
[71] Bulloch to Mallory, August 3, 1862, *Official Records*, First Series, I, 775.
[72] Bulloch to Mallory, August 3, 1862, *Official Records*, First Series, I, 775.

Federal agents were able to get witnesses to sign depositions swearing that they had seen Bulloch aboard the "290." [73]

Adams requested that the ship be detained until he could secure the necessary evidence to prove that it was to be used against the United States. Russell told Adams to give the evidence concerning the *Enrica* to the British collector of customs at Liverpool.[74] James Ford Rhodes says that on " . . . July 9, Dudley addressed to the collector a letter which no impartial man could read without being convinced that the vessel in question was designed for the Southern Confederacy".[75] He says further ". . . that the collector, the solicitor, and the Commissioners of Customs knew in their hearts that the *Alabama* was intended for the Confederate government. . . ." [76] Rhodes takes the position that these officials wanted the ship to get away and that they justified their failure to seize her by the fact that they did not have the technical evidence necessary for action.[77]

It is not clear as to exactly what legal proof the Federal agents had concerning the Confederacy's ownership of the "290." Notwithstanding the fact that Bulloch was doing his best to keep the matter secret,[78] the United States officials were convinced that the vessel was for war purposes.[79] But the question of the ultimate ownership of the vessel was important, and the British left it to the Union officials to prove that the ship was being built for the Confederates. Dudley submitted his evidence to R. P. Collier, one of the most eminent barristers in England, and Collier thought that there was sufficient evidence to have the ship seized.[80] Dudley gathered a number of affidavits, which he considered sufficient to detain the vessel, and presented them to the collector of customs on July 21.[81] Her

---

[73] Deposition of Matthew Maguire, July 21, 1862, *Papers Relating to the Treaty of Washington*, I, 318; deposition of Edward Roberts, July 22, 1862, *Papers Relating to the Treaty of Washington*, I, 321.

[74] Russell to Adams, July 4, 1862, *Papers Relating to the Treaty of Washington*, I, 311.

[75] Rhodes, *History of the United States*, IV, 86; Thomas H. Dudley to the collector of customs at Liverpool, July 9, 1862, *Papers Relating to the Treaty of Washington*, I, 312-313. Most of the evidence in Dudley's dispatch was based upon hearsay and unverified statements.

[76] Rhodes, *History of the United States*, IV, 86.

[77] Rhodes, *History of the United States*, IV, 86.

[78] From the very nature of Bulloch's reports, it is obvious that he did his best to maintain secrecy. But the Comte de Paris writes: " . . . Captain Bulloch . . . did not hesitate in loudly proclaiming the use his government intended to make of this vessel against American commerce." Comte de Paris, *History of the Civil War in America*, p. 647.

[79] *Papers Relating to the Treaty of Washington*, I, 147.

[80] *Papers Relating to the Treaty of Washington*, I, 148.

[81] *Papers Relating to the Treaty of Washington*, I, 148; for the evidence itself see *Correspondence Concerning Claims Against Great Britain*, III, 21-28, and IV, 391 ff.

Majesty's Government agreed that the evidence definitely proved that the vessel was for the Confederacy.[82]

Sending additional evidence to Russell on July 22,[83] and still more on July 24,[84] Adams urged the British authorities to act immediately, since the vessel might leave at any moment.[85] Upon examining the evidence, the law officers of the crown reported to Russell on July 29 that it was sufficient basis upon which to seize the ship; so Russell immediately ordered that it be detained.[86]

While Adams and his associates were trying to have the vessel seized, the Confederate agents were not idle. Upon receiving information on July 26 that it would be dangerous to leave the *Enrica* at Liverpool another forty-eight hours,[87] Bulloch acted without delay; and on the very day that Russell ordered the vessel seized, the *Enrica* made a trial run.[88] The ship left port on the morning of July 29, and was to return that evening. Instead she sailed away never to return.

Several days before the vessel left, Russell told Adams that the matter had been referred to the "proper authorities." [89] Russell told the truth, but while Bulloch was getting the ship ready for sea, the papers relating to the case were in the hands of one of the queen's advocates, who was suffering from mental disturbances that incapacitated him for serious work.[90] Sensing that something was wrong, Adams persisted and finally persuaded the British government to seize the ship without further delay.[91] But Russell's seizure orders came too late; the *Enrica* had already sailed.[92]

The *Enrica* sailed from Liverpool to the Azores, where she waited for the *Bahama* and the *Agrippina* to bring her guns, additional crewmen, and supplies. Aboard the *Bahama* were

---

82 *Papers Relating to the Treaty of Washington*, I, 149.
83 *Papers Relating to the Treaty of Washington*, I, 149; *Correspondence Concerning Claims Against Great Britain*, III, 31; VI, 397.
84 *Papers Relating to the Treaty of Washington*, I, 149.
85 *Papers Relating to the Treaty of Washington*, I, 150.
86 *Papers Relating to the Treaty of Washington*, I, 149.
87 Bulloch, *Secret Service*, I, 238. Price Edwards, collector of customs at Liverpool, was accused of being bribed before letting the vessel go. Other British officials were accused of notifying Bulloch of the pending seizure; but Bulloch said that these were false accusations. Bulloch's source for this information is therefore unknown.
88 Brooks Adams, "The Seizure of the Laird Rams," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, XLV (1911-1912), 290. The vessel had made one trial run before. Bulloch, *Secret Service*, I, 238.
89 J. G. Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction*, p. 472.
90 Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction*, p. 472.
91 Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction*, p. 472.
92 Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction*, p. 472.

Bulloch and Captain Raphael Semmes, who had been selected to command the new cruiser.[93] In the Azores the vessel was armed and fitted for the Confederate service. Then she was rechristened *Alabama*. On Sunday, August 26, 1862, the *Alabama* steamed out to sea. As soon as she was outside Portugese jurisdiction, the Confederate flag was hoisted to the mast, and the second Confederate cruiser was off to a voyage of destruction.

Bulloch returned to England on one of the tender ships, and Semmes was left in command of the *Alabama*.[94] Although Bulloch had originally intended to command the vessel himself, it was later decided that it would be best for him to remain in England to undertake a still greater job.

The *Florida* and the *Alabama* were light wooden ships designed to attack merchantmen but were not powerful enough to attack the vessels of the Union blockading fleet. Since the destruction of the blockade was one of the major desires of the Confederate Navy, Mallory determined that the Navy should have some vessels formidable enough to achieve that end.

At the time of the Civil War the latest development in fighting ships was the ironclad, a wooden vessel covered with heavy, armored plating. During the Crimean War the French had a number of floating armored batteries which proved themselves invulnerable against wooden ships.[95] Shortly after the peace was made, the French built the ironclad *Gloire,* which proved to be the most formidable ship afloat. Other powers also began to build ironclad fighting vessels, but before 1861 ironclads in the United States were still in the experimental stage.

Secretary Mallory realized the value of the ironclad and determined to secure a number of them for the Confederate Navy. The first Confederate ironclad, the *Virginia,* was built on the hull of the *Merrimac,* a 40-gun, 3,500 ton frigate, which the Federal forces had sunk in Norfolk harbor when they withdrew from that port. After raising the ship, the Confederates removed its superstructure and covered it with heavy armaments made from railroad rails. By sinking two of the best United States blockading vessels, the *Cumberland* and the *Congress,*

---

[93] *Papers Relating to the Treaty of Washington,* I, 151; Raphael Semmes, *Service Afloat; or the Remarkable Career of the Cruisers Sumter and Alabama,* p. 404.
[94] Bulloch to Mallory, September 10, 1862, *Official Records,* First Series, I, 777.
[95] J. P. Baxter, *The Introduction of the Ironclad Warship,* p. 13.

the *Virginia* proved that the ironclad could destroy the blockade.

Early in the war Lieutenant James N. North had been sent to Britain to investigate the possibilities of building ironclads; but, as the Navy Department had not heard from him when Bulloch visited Richmond in November, 1861, Mallory discussed ironclads with Bulloch.[96] Bulloch hesitated when Mallory suggested that he secure armored rams in Europe for the Confederate fleet, because he did not think that the British government would allow them to sail. Although he had been able to disguise the *Florida* as a merchant vessel, an armored ram with turrets could not be treated in that fashion, but in April, 1862, Mallory instructed him to secure two rams in England as quickly as possible.[97]

Soon after getting his instructions Bulloch contracted with the Lairds for the construction of two ironclads, each to cost £93,750; one was scheduled to be completed in March and the other in May, 1863. Bulloch did not inform the Lairds of his ultimate plans for the rams; but since the *Florida* had already gone to sea, the Lairds were probably able to conclude that the rams were intended for the Confederacy.[98]

In the contract the Lairds and Bulloch agreed upon the dimensions of the rams; 220 feet in length, 42 feet in extreme width, and weighing 1,800 tons, they were to be propelled by engines totaling 350 horsepower at a calculated speed of 10½ knots. To supplement the power of the engines, they were to be rigged as barks with sails. The hulls were to be covered with sheets of teak twelve inches in thickness, further incased in iron plates. One hundred twenty feet of the midship section, which covered the entire engine space, were to be protected by four and one-half inches of plating; and from there the thickness of the armor, as it approached the ends of the vessel, was to taper off gradually to three inches. The hulls were to be divided into watertight compartments or bulkheads made of light, thin, but tough, Low Moor iron. For mounting the guns, each ship was to have three fixed turrets protected by five and one-half inches of iron

---

[96] Bulloch, *Secret Service*, I, 380.
[97] Mallory to Bulloch, April 4, 1862, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 186.
[98] Bulloch, *Secret Service*, I, 385-387.

backed by twelve inches of teak. Heavy iron shields, covering the turret ports, were to be raised and lowered by steam valves; and watertight compartments beneath the floors were to be used to keep the vessel properly submerged by letting water in when the ships were not weighted down with fuel and supplies.[99]

Actual construction soon began on these rams, which Bulloch had contracted for and helped design. Secretary Mallory's letter to Bulloch of October 27, 1862, approving the design of the ships, declared that the Confederacy placed great hopes in these ironclads, and Bulloch said that "Everyone who has seen them in process of construction has expressed satisfaction with their general arrangements and combination of qualities."[100] Perfectly confident that if the rams should be ready in December, 1862, ". . . they could sweep away the blockading fleet of the enemy," Bulloch admitted that the Union fleet had some more formidable ships; but, since these could operate only in smooth water, he was of the opinion that they could be either shunned or sunk at deep sea.[101]

Bulloch wanted to have still more ironclads constructed, but, since he was having difficulty in financing those already under construction, he did not contract for more rams to be built in England. Meanwhile, at the Laird yards, construction proceeded on these rams, commonly known as the Laird rams.

Since it was impossible to convince anyone that a ram with heavy armor plating was for any purpose other than war, the problem of getting these vessels afloat without the interference of British officials was one that caused Bulloch no little anxiety.[102] In addition, Bulloch feared that the armor plating would be considered armament and thus a violation of the Foreign Enlistment Act. However, his legal counsel did not think so.[103] In order to insure the safety of the rams, Bulloch, carrying on all transactions as a private individual, arranged that no arms or ammunition be placed upon the rams before sailing.[104]

---

[99] Bulloch to Mallory, July 21, 1862, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 223-225.
[100] Mallory to Bulloch, October 27, 1862, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 284.
[101] Bulloch to Mallory, December 8, 1862, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 309.
[102] Bulloch, *Secret Service*, I, 382.
[103] Bulloch, *Secret Service*, I, 389.
[104] Bulloch, *Secret Service*, I, 386.

Meanwhile, Federal agents in Britain had noticed the rams and were doing their best to have them seized. The failure of the British government to seize the *Alabama* made these agents more alert, and they resolved never to allow another ship to leave Britain for the Confederacy. On November 3, 1862, Secretary Seward wrote Adams that he had information concerning ironclads being built in England ostensibly for the Chinese government but really for the Confederates.[105] This information was furnished by Dudley, who was able to find out more about the Laird rams than he had about either the *Florida* or the *Alabama.* He wrote Seward as follows:

> The two ironclad rams building by the Messrs. Lairds for the Confederates are each to have two revolving towers of turrets similar to the monitors. When these two vessels are finished they will be truly formidable vessels. The department must understand that no pains or expense is being spared to make them the most powerful and destructive vessels afloat. Nothing is being omitted that science or skill can suggest. The contractors have one of the largest yards in the kingdom and every facility and means for building vessels like these. You must not deceive yourselves. When finished, they will have more power and speed, than any ironclads that have as yet been built, and so protected with steel and armor plate as to be almost invulnerable.[106]

During the month of July, 1863, the Federal agents in England became much more active, especially around the Laird yards.[107] Dudley knew exactly when the first ram was launched; he wrote to Seward, "The ram at Lairds was launched today at about one o'clock."[108] He even knew that turrets were hoisted on ram 296 on August 27, 1863.[109]

In the meantime, in January, 1863, when Clarence R. Younge deserted the Confederacy, Bulloch's plans for building a navy in Europe suffered a tragic setback. Younge, who had been Bulloch's secretary in Liverpool and was later paymaster on the

---

[105] William H. Seward to Charles Francis Adams, November 3, 1862, *Correspondence Concerning Claims Against Great Britain,* II, 318.
[106] Dudley to Seward, March 25, 1863, *Correspondence Concerning Claims Against Great Britain,* II, 318-319.
[107] Bulloch to Mallory, October 20, 1863, *Official Records,* Second Series, II, 508.
[108] Dudley to Seward, July 4, 1863, *Correspondence Concerning Claims Against Great Britain,* II, 323.
[109] Dudley to Seward, August 27, 1863, *Correspondence Concerning Claims Against Great Britain,* II, 350.

Alabama,[110] deserted the Confederacy and on April 3, 1862, went to the United States legation in London, where he informed the officials that Bulloch had been in charge of building the *Florida*, the *Alabama*, and the Laird rams.[111]

Meanwhile, another matter further complicated the diplomatic situation. Fraser, Trenholm, and Company, having decided to make the Confederacy a present of a 287-ton steamer,[112] had Fawcett, Preston, and Company and William Miller and Sons build the *Alexandra*, under the direction of Lieutenant John R. Hamilton, one of Bulloch's subordinates.[113] The Federal agents, learning of this vessel, took steps to prevent its departure; and on March 28, 1863, Dudley asked the collector of customs at Liverpool to have the vessel seized.[114]

A few days later, Russell wrote Adams that orders had been given for the seizure of the *Alexandra;*[115] and it was taken into custody before the builders delivered it to Fraser, Trenholm, and Company.[116] After the seizure a trial took place to ascertain whether or not the Foreign Enlistment Act had been violated. Bulloch, notifying the builders that he would pay a part of all of the lawyer's fee, instructed them to hire the best counsel available.[117]

At the trial a number of witnesses were examined. Joseph Acton, day-and-night watchman for William Miller and Sons, testified that he had seen Bulloch aboard the *Alexandra*.[118] His testimony was false, however, for Bulloch never saw the ship until after she had been seized by the British government.[119] Going through several courts, the case was finally dismissed.

---

110 While in Savannah in January, 1861, Bulloch met Younge in the paymaster's office. On the paymaster's recommendation Bulloch took Younge to England to serve as his clerk, and for a while Younge had charge of Bulloch's correspondence. Deposition of Clarence R. Younge, *Executive Documents 1863-'64*, I, 221-222. Bulloch soon discovered that Younge was " . . . light and trivial of character and disposition . . . " but Bulloch " . . . never imagined that he was dishonest in money matters and could not have supposed him capable of treason." Bulloch to Mallory, June 30, 1863, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 448-449. Younge served as paymaster on the *Alabama* until he deserted at Port Royal in January, 1863. Deposition of C. R. Younge, *Executive Documents 1863-'64*, I, 221.

111 Deposition of Clarence R. Younge, *Executive Documents 1863-'64*, I, 221-228, 335-347.

112 Bulloch to Mallory, November 7, 1862, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 294.

113 Bulloch to Mallory, November 7, 1862, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 294.

114 *Papers Relating to the Treaty of Washington*, II, 257-258.

115 Earl John Russell to Adams, April 5, 1863, *Executive Documents 1863-'64*, I, 234.

116 Bulloch to Mallory, June 30, 1861, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 447.

117 Bulloch to Mallory, June 30, 1863,*Official Records*, Second Series, II, 448. Bulloch paid some money to the attorney, but the amount or the per cent of the total fee that Bulloch paid is not known.

118 "The Seizure of the Ship *Alexandra*," Court of Exchequer, Sitting at Westminister, June 22, 1863, *Executive Documents 1863-'64*, I, 328.

119 Bulloch, *Secret Service*, I, 352.

Since the British government was unable to prove that the vessel was for the Confederates, she was restored to her owners, Fawcett, Preston, and Company.[120] After her restoration the vessel's name was changed to *Mary*, and she sailed to Halifax and then to the British West Indies, where she was seized at the port of Nassau by the British government and thus was never armed as a Confederate cruiser.[121]

The problems arising from the *Alexandra* affair caused the Confederate Navy Department to realize that there would be difficulty in getting the Laird rams armed and into the Confederate service. Bulloch wrote to Mallory, telling him that it was the illness of the Queen's advocate alone that enabled him to get the *Alabama* to sea and that there was real danger that the Laird rams would be seized. Bulloch wrote, "Dread of offending the United States seems to be the British rule of action nowadays." [122] Realizing the danger, Mallory suggested that the rams be fitted out from French ports.[123]

By February 3, 1863, Bulloch had concluded that the British government would seize the rams;[124] and Mallory altered his original idea of fitting them out in French ports and suggested that they be transferred to French ownership.[125] Such a transfer would be fictitious, but it would tend to draw attention away from the rams and might save them for the Confederacy. Mallory wrote John Slidell, the Confederate diplomatic agent in France, to advise Bulloch of the possibility of transferring the ships to French ownership.[126]

Accordingly, in the latter part of March, 1863, Bulloch transferred the ownership of the rams to Bravay and Company of Paris; under qualified solicitors the necessary papers for this transition were drawn up in legal fashion.[127] To remove suspicion, Bravay and Company pretended to act as the purchasing agents for the Pasha of Egypt.[128] This guise was easy, because the Viceroy of Egypt had actually arranged with Bravay and

---

120 Seward to Adams, April 28, 1864, *Correspondence Concerning Claims Against Great Britain*, I, 306.
121 *Papers Relating to the Treaty of Washington*, I, 260.
122 Bulloch to Mallory, January 7, 1863, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 331-332.
123 Mallory to Bulloch, January 7, 1863, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 333.
124 Bulloch to Mallory, February 3, 1863, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 351.
125 Mallory to Bulloch, March 19, 1863, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 376.
126 Mallory to Slidell, March 1863, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 396.
127 Bulloch to Mallory, June 30, 1863, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 445-446.
128 Bulloch, *Secret Service*, I, 402.

Company to have two armed frigates built, but the Egyptian request had been kept secret for political reasons.[129] " . . . the solicitors employed to conduct the sale remarked on its completion, 'the ships are now irretrievably the property of Messrs. Bravay and could not be recovered by any process they might think proper to oppose.' " [130] It seemed to Bulloch that the ships were safe,[131] but to make the transfer appear genuine he refrained from visiting the Laird yards and examining the vessels.[132] The Lairds were not told that the sale was fictitious; and they thought that they were really building the rams for Bravay and Company.[133]

Meanwhile, the Federal agents worked feverishly to prevent the rams from falling into Confederate hands. On July 11, 1863, Adams asked Russell to confiscate the rams and gave him affidavits containing proof that the ships were for the Confederates.[134] The affair was complicated. The French consul at Liverpool said that the rams were not for France, and the Viceroy of Egypt had notified Bravay and Company that his government had decided against accepting the rams. Therefore, Bulloch's sale did not convince the Federal agents that the Confederates had abandoned hope of getting the rams. Nevertheless, on July 24, 1863, the law officers of the crown stated that they did not consider that the available evidence made the rams subject to seizure.[135]

Adams continued to flood the British Foreign Office with additional evidence and requests that the rams be seized. Although the crown counsel did not think the evidence sufficient to warrant confiscation, Russell realized that the escape of the vessels would cause a serious crisis in Anglo-American relations; so on September 3, 1863, he ordered that the rams be detained. He reached this decision privately, without the advice or consent of the cabinet; consequently, he could only write the American minister, ". . . I have to inform you that the matter is under

---

129 Bulloch, *Secret Service*, I, 406-407.
130 Bulloch to Mallory, October 20, 1863, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 507-508.
131 Bulloch to Mallory, October 20, 1863, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 508.
132 Bulloch to Mallory, June 30, 1863, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 445-446.
133 Bulloch, *Secret Service*, I, 405.
134 Brooks Adams, "The Seizure of the Laird Rams," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, XLV (1911-1912), 290; Adams to Russell, July 11, 1863, *Executive Documents 1863-'64*, I, 361-362.
135 Brooks Adams, "The Seizure of the Laird Rams," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, XLV (1911-1912), 290.

the serious and anxious consideration of Her Majesty's Government." [136]

Not knowing of Russell's decision to detain the rams, Adams wrote the Foreign Minister on the fifth: "It would be superfluous in me to point out to your lordship that this is war. . . ."[137] Adams went on to say, "In my opinion it would be impossible that any nation, retaining a proper degree of self-respect, could submit to a continuance of relations so utterly deficient in reciprocity." [138] This note embodied an ultimatum, but, because of Russell's previous decision to detain the rams, it was unnecessary.[139] On September 8 Russell wrote Adams that instructions had been given not to allow the ironclads to leave Liverpool.[140]

When the matter of Russell's unauthorized action in seizing the rams came before the cabinet, Lord Palmerston backed his Foreign Minister in order to hold the cabinet together.[141] On September 11 Russell promised Adams that the rams would be held " . . . until satisfactory evidence can be given as to their destination. . . ." [142] Fearing that the Confederates would try to slip the rams out or take them by force, the British government ordered them placed in the river.[143] The Lairds protested against this order on the grounds that the vessels would be damaged, but the protest was in vain.[144] Captain E. A. Inglefield, who was assigned the job of watching the rams, had orders to board them if he saw any sign of an attempt to deliver them to the Confederates.[145] The rams remained in the possession of the builder, however, and the Lairds were allowed to continue work on them.

Meanwhile the Lairds requested permission for one of the rams to make a trial run. On September 9 they were notified that Russell's permission was prerequisite for any trial,[146] and

---

136 Brooks Adams, "The Seizure of the Laird Rams," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, XLV (1911-1912), 298.
137 Adams to Russell, September 5, 1863, *Executive Documents 1863-'64*, I, 418.
138 Adams to Russell, September 5, 1863, *Executive Documents 1863-'64*, I, 418.
139 Adams to Russell, September 5, 1863, *Executive Documents 1863-'64* I, 418.
140 Russell to Adams, September 8, 1863, *Executive Documents 1863-'64*, I, 419.
141 Brooks Adams, "The Seizure of the Laird Rams," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, XLV (1911-1912), 292.
142 Russell to Adams, September 11, 1863, *Executive Documents 1863-'64*, I, 432.
143 *Executive Documents 1864-'65*, I, 410.
144 *Executive Documents 1864-'65*, I, 430.
145 Brooks Adams, "The Seizure of the Laird Rams," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, XLV (1911-1912), 302.
146 Edwards to Laird Brothers, September 11, 1863, *Executive Documents 1864-'65*, I, 402.

this permission was granted on the fourteenth. The British government, in order to make certain that any trial would not be a repetition of the escape of the *Alabama*, laid down certain stipulations for the trial. It ordered that an adequate number of British sailors and marines be aboard the ram to insure its return to a British port,[147] and a customs official had to be present with authority to seize the ship in case that there was an attempt to deliver it to the Confederates.[148] Finally, although arrangements had been made, the date of the trial was postponed several times, and the British government took full possession before the trial was made.

On October 20, 1863, Bulloch wrote Mallory that the British government would never allow the rams to leave England unless the French Emperor appealed in behalf of his subject, Bravay and Company.[149] The British government had officially ordered the rams to be seized on October 9, 1863;[150] and on October 28 Captain Inglefield, who had been carefully watching the rams to prevent their departure, notified the Lairds that the British government would take full possession and that the workmen must be removed.[151]

Thus the only hope the Confederacy had of securing the rams rested with Napoleon III. Slidell informed Bulloch that the Emperor was aware of the transaction between Bulloch and Bravay and Company, and at the proper time the French government "would come forward in support of the claims or assumed rights of its citizens." [152] But in the final test Napoleon III refused to act,[153] and Bulloch's last hope was thereby dissipated. Of course, there would be a trial at which Bravay and Company could put up a good fight; but Bulloch, fearing that it would be a trial of delay, wrote Mallory as follows: "The solicitors and counsel employed are of the opinion that if the first verdict is for the defendants, the Crown will appeal to the exchequer chamber and from thence to the House of Lords, and in that

---

147 H. Brand to Laird Brothers, September 19, 1863, *Executive Documents 1864-'65*, I, 404.
148 Hamilton to Laird Brothers, October 7, 1863, *Executive Documents 1864-'65*, I, 405.
149 Bulloch to Mallory, October 20, 1863, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 510.
150 *Papers Relating to the Treaty of Washington*, I, 263.
151 Captain E. A. Inglefield to the Laird Brothers, October 28, 1863, *Executive Documents 1864-'65*, I, 427.
152 Bulloch to Mallory, October 20, 1863, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 510.
153 Bulloch to Mallory, February 17, 1863, Bulloch, *Secret Service*, I, 426-427.

case will not reach the last court of appeals this entire year." [154] To avert a long trial, the British government agreed to buy the rams from Bravay and Company for £30,000 plus the original contract price.[155]

Realizing that it would be impossible to get the rams to sea under the Confederate flag, Bulloch decided to sell them so that the Confederacy would not lose the money it had invested. Accordingly he instructed Bravay and Company to sell the rams ". . . in good faith and with as little delay as possible." [156] The rams were therefore sold to the British government and when completed were taken into Her Majesty's Navy as the *Scorpion* and the *Wivern*.[157] Thus Bulloch's efforts to secure ironclads in England proved to be totally unsuccessful.

While endeavoring to get the Laird rams afloat, financial problems were not the least of Bulloch's worries. Although there are no available statistics on his expenditures from 1861 until 1865,[158] the cost of ships and supplies must have been large, since the *Florida* alone cost £45,628 and the *Alabama*, £80,937.[159] Bulloch also had to purchase tenders and supplies for these and other ships. Bulloch had to pay high prices for supplies; and in addition to financing the activities under his own direction, he was the financial agent for all of the activities of the Confederate Navy in both England and in Continental Europe.[160] He had to supply funds for vessels built under the direction of such Confederate officers as Matthew Fontaine Maury, James H. North, and George T. Sinclair.[161] He was often instructed to furnish funds for minor activities of the Confederate Navy,[162] and he had to pay for naval supplies purchased at Nassau and Bermuda.[163]

---

154 Bulloch to Mallory, May 13, 1864, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 654.
155 Bulloch, *Secret Service*, I, 442.
156 Bulloch to Bravay and Company, February 7, 1864, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 586.
157 Bulloch, *Secret Service*, I, 389.
158 A vague statement in the *Index* places the expenditures of the Confederate Navy for a period of indefinite length ending April 1, 1864, at $10,853,737.55. London *Index*, July 25, 1865.
159 Bulloch, *Secret Service*, II, 275.
160 Mallory to Bulloch, December 29, 1863, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 569.
161 Mallory to Bulloch, June 19, 1863, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 441.
162 Bulloch furnished Lieutenant Commander W. E. Evans with £1,000. W. E. Evans to Samuel Barron, April 14, 1864, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 682. Lieutenant William H. Ward was authorized to draw £4,000 from Bulloch. Mallory to Bulloch, September 19, 1864, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 725. Mallory to Bulloch, September 20, 1864, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 726. Mallory authorized Lieutant Commander John Wilkinson to draw £4,000 on Bulloch. Bulloch to Mallory, November 26, 1864, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 773.
163 Mallory to Bulloch, November 26, 1864, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 719.

At first the Confederacy used what specie it had to pay for goods purchased abroad, and from time to time throughout the war Mallory sent small sums of money to Fraser, Trenholm and Company or directly to Bulloch; but, since the supply of coin was limited and therefore soon exhausted,[164] most of the payments were met by barter. Early in 1864 the Confederacy shipped 171,371 pounds of tobacco to England to pay for provisions and clothing.[165]

The South had one product, cotton, which was almost as good in England as specie. British industries, in dire need of this material, were willing to pay tremendous sums for it, and the Confederacy had enough cotton to pay for all the ships that it needed. But the Union blockade of Southern ports and the "King Cotton" policy of the Davis administration limited the quantity of cotton that could be shipped to Britain. Professor Frank L. Owsley says that cotton was the very foundation stone of the Confederacy's foreign policy. The leaders at Richmond thought that by refraining from shipping cotton to Europe they could compel Britain and France to come to the aid of the South. Although the Confederate leaders relied on this theory until well into the third year of the war,[166] Bulloch did not believe in it; he said that the Confederacy should have shipped 200,000 bales of cotton to England during the first year of the war.[167] He wrote Mallory that every ship leaving the Confederacy for England should be loaded with cotton. In spite of the blockade and the "King Cotton" policy, a considerable quantity of cotton was shipped to England to be used in payment for ships and supplies purchased for the Confederate Navy, but this was not nearly enough.

The Confederate Treasury tried various methods of raising the necessary funds to finance naval construction abroad. The Davis government thought that much money could be raised by cotton bonds, exchangeable for cotton at any Confederate port,[168] but these bonds did not have the value of specie.[169] James Spence and General Colin J. McRae, who were sent to

---

164 Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy*, p. 385.
165 Mallory to Bulloch, September 7, 1864, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 719.
166 Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy*, p. 1.
167 Bulloch, *Secret Service*, I, 102-103.
168 Bulloch to North, December 23, 1862, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 319.
169 Bulloch to Mallory, November 25, 1863, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 521.

sell bonds and to secure loans for the Confederate cause, met with little success, and the financial deficiency continued to be one of Bulloch's chief problems.

While Bulloch was having the Laird rams built, other Confederate agents were carrying on similar activities abroad. With Bulloch's aid, Lieutenant James N. North had a 3,200 ton armored frigate built in Glasgow, but the British government prevented this vessel from sailing. North's ship and the Laird rams, the greatest construction projects undertaken by the Confederate Navy in England, failed. If these vessels had gotten to sea, they might have succeeded in breaking the blockade of Confederate harbors and even in making disastrous raids upon Union ports. Such action might have had a decisive effect upon the outcome of the Civil War.

Bulloch had done his best to provide the Confederacy with a means of breaking the blockade, but his efforts ended in failure. The failure was due, not to inefficiency on Bulloch's part, but to the fact that the United States government was willing to go to any length to prevent the rams from getting to sea. The Palmerston government, unwilling to risk war with the United States, ordered that the vessels be seized. Thus Bulloch's work was disrupted by forces beyond his control.

While trying to get the Laird rams to sea, Bulloch was having other ships built in France. Since the Confederate Navy Department wanted several more commerce destroyers and a number of ironclads that could be used to break the blockade, Bulloch's instructions were to get as many ships as possible,[170] and the method of doing this were left to his discretion. By the summer of 1863 Bulloch realized that it would be useless to have any more vessels built in British shipyards, because the attitude of the Palmerston government destroyed all hopes of getting such ships afloat.

Even before abandoning hope of building a navy in England, the Confederates had begun to look elsewhere for a place from which to launch rams and commerce destroyers. In fact, from the beginning the Navy Department had considered the possibilities of building warships in French ports. But, because the French proclamation of neutrality appeared to be more prohibi-

---

[170] Bulloch, *Secret Service*, II, 28.

tive than the British, the Confederacy had built its first ships in England.[171] In spite of the emphatic statement of the French proclamation, the political situation in France offered rather favorable possibilities for the Confederacy. Since Napoleon III was complete dictator, the Emperor's cooperation was all the Confederacy needed to surmount the neutrality laws.[172] Furthermore, Napoleon was sympathetic with the Confederate cause. He wanted to establish a colonial empire in the region of the Gulf of Mexico,[173] and the United States government was the chief obstacle in the path of this ambition. If the Confederacy should win the Civil War, the United States might be powerless to act against the French plans.

From the outbreak of the war, the Emperor's government manifested an attitude toward the Confederacy more friendly than that manifested by the British. Slidell was able to secure personal interviews with Napoleon, while Russell and Palmerston refused to see Mason. Then too, the French government had gone on record as being willing to follow either England or Spain in extending recognition to the Confederates.[174] In an interview with Slidell in October, 1862, Napoleon, asking why the Confederacy had not built more fighting ships, offered the shipbuilding facilities of France for the construction of Confederate naval vessels.[175] Thereupon Slidell recommended that the Confederates build ships in France; but at that time Bulloch did not consider the advice wise because of the shortage of money and the large-scale operations then in progress in England.[176]

When it became obvious that ships could not be built in British ports for the Confederates, Bulloch looked with more favor upon the idea of building them in France.[177] Since Napoleon had said that ships could be built and armed in French ports, provided their destination be kept secret,[178] Slidell informed Bulloch that the French government would not interfere with Confederate plans. On Slidell's recommendation Bulloch contracted with L. Arman, perhaps the most outstanding ship-

---

171 Bulloch, *Secret Service*, II, 22.
172 Beckles Wilson, *John Slidell and the Confederates in Paris (1862-1865)*, p. 128.
173 J. M. Callahan, *The Diplomatic History of the Southern Confederacy*, pp. 202-203.
174 Callahan, *The Diplomatic History of the Southern Confederacy*, pp. 204-206.
175 Callahan, *The Diplomatic History of the Southern Confederacy*, p. 209; John Bigelow, *France and the Confederate States Navy*, p. 129.
176 Bulloch, *Secret Service*, II, 24; Wilson, *John Slidell*, p. 128.
177 Bulloch, *Secret Service*, II, 24.
178 Callahan, *The Diplomatic History of the Southern Confederacy*, p. 210.

builder in France and a member of the French Chamber of Deputies, to build several vessels. Arman owned excellent shipbuilding facilities at Bordeaux and often built ships for the French Navy.[179]

Confederate operations in France were on an entirely different basis from those in England. In spite of the fact that the French proclamation of neutrality more explicitly prohibited the building of warships for the Confederacy, Bulloch made no effort to keep his operations secret from the French government. It must be remembered that the whole project was undertaken on the invitation of his Imperial Majesty, Napoleon III, who understood that the vessels were to be Confederate warship and who had given assurances that the vessels would be allowed to sail from France armed and under the French flag. From the beginning Bulloch was skeptical over the possibilities of the French government's allowing the ships to sail, and it was only with Napoleon's assurances that they would be permitted to depart that Bulloch consented to risk the venture.

On March 30, 1863, Bulloch notified Mallory that he would arrange for the construction of ships in France as soon as the necessary funds were available.[180] Although Bulloch had been of the opinion that he could start construction without a cash-down payment, Arman would not lay the keels until the money could be made available.[181] Some time later, with funds provided by the Erlanger loan, Bulloch arranged with Arman to build four corvettes. These ships, similar to the *Alabama* in design, were to be longer; greater length would facilitate greater speed.[182] Each of these 1,500 ton vessels was to have a 400-horsepower engine to be built by M. Mazelin of Havre [183] and ten or twelve cannon to be made available by J. Voruz of Nantes.[184]

These corvettes were designed to serve as commerce destroyers and to cooperate with ironclads in breaking the blockade.[185] Since Napoleon had ordered that their destination be kept secret

---

179 Bulloch, *Secret Service*, II, 25.
180 Bulloch to Mallory, March 30, 1863, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 397. Erlanger and Company, a French banking firm, was arranging a loan for the Confederates. When completed this loan provided Bulloch with sufficient funds to start the ships.
181 Bulloch to Mallory, May 16, 1863, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 423.
182 Bulloch to Mallory, May 16, 1863, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 424.
183 Bulloch to Mallory, November 26, 1863, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 524.
184 *Papers Relating to the Treaty of Washington*, I, 108.
185 Callahan, *Diplomatic History of the Southern Confederacy*, p. 213.

from United States officials and the general public, they were built ostensibly as merchant vessels to cruise in the Pacific and Indian oceans.[186] By the middle of June, 1863, construction had begun on the corvettes. Since Bulloch wanted them completed as quickly as possible, Arman sublet the contract of two of the vessels to J. Voruz, a shipbuilder of Nantes.[187] Arman, writing to the French Minister of Marine on June 1, 1863, sought permission to arm four steamships designed for a foreign shipper and to ply the Chinese and Pacific seas between China, Japan, and San Francisco.[188] Arman received this permission on the sixth of June.[189]

At first Bulloch did not have the financial resources to build both corvettes and rams in the French building yards. Since Mallory had asked for more ships like the *Alabama* and since Matthew Fontaine Maury, recently arrived in Europe from the Confederacy, had said that cruising ships were more urgently needed than rams, Bulloch signed the first contract for the building of corvettes only.[190] Meanwhile the Confederate Congress had secretly appropriated £2,000,000 for the building of ironclad fighting vessels in the ports of southern Europe,[191] enough money to equip twenty large rams.[192] On July 16, 1863, Bulloch signed a contract with Arman for the construction of two rams. These rams, not to be as large as those built by the Laird Brothers, were to be more formidable; 171 feet long, 32 feet 8 inches wide, and 17 feet deep, they were to have a draft of 14 feet 4 inches, and their hulls, to be built of wood and iron, were to be covered by iron plating nine to twelve inches thick and backed by teak. The armor of these ships was, therefore, to be much heavier than that of the Laird rams. Rigged as schooners with topsails,[193] these two vessels were each to be motivated by 300-horsepower engines with power to propel

---

186 Callahan, *Diplomatic History of the Southern Confederacy*, p. 210.
187 Bulloch, *Secret Service*, II, 29.
188 Arman to the Minister of Marine and Colonies, June 1, 1863, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 431-432.
189 Chasseloup-Laubat, Minister of Marine and Colonies, to L. Arman, June 6, 1863, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 433.
190 Bulloch to Mallory, June 30, 1863, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 446-447.
191 Bulloch, *Secret Service*, II, 30; Mallory to Bulloch, June 20, 1863, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 416. It should be noted that the mere appropriation of money did not necessarily mean that £2,000,000 was made available for the construction of rams. The money had to be raised.
192 Bulloch to Mallory, June 20, 1863, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 416.
193 Schooner rig calls for two masts with small sails on the foremast and the mainmast nearly amidship.

them on a smooth sea at a minimum speed of twelve knots.[194] The drafts were to be light so that the vessels could be navigated on the Mississippi River.[195]

The banking firm of Erlanger and Company, requiring the builders to pay a five per cent banking fee, handled the payments for the rams.[196] The cost for both was set at 2,000,000 francs; one-fifth of this amount was to be paid in advance, one-fifth while the ships were in frame, one-fifth when the deck beams were laid, one-fifth when the ships were placed in the water, and one-fifth when they were delivered. The contract, specifying that the rams were to be completed and ready for their trial run within ten months, stated that one thousand francs would be deducted from the price for each day's delay.[197] It was also specified that the rams were to be insured against fire while they were in Arman's shipyards.[198]

The Bordeaux rams, each to have one 300-pounder and two 70-pounders, were to be much more heavily armed than those built by the Laird Brothers. The guns were made by the Elswick Works of Sir William Armstrong, an English firm. While Arman was getting ready to start the rams, construction on the corvettes was proceeding favorably but considerably behind schedule. These four ships were far from completion at the beginning of the year 1864, but in March, 1864, Bulloch wrote Mallory that he had hopes of getting them by early summer.[199]

Construction on the rams was started and nearly three-fifths completed by November, 1863. Bulloch feared that there might be some difficulty in getting the armor plating on time, since it was made by a company a good distance from Bordeaux and had to be transported to the ships.[200] The first payments on the rams and corvettes were made with money received from the Erlanger loan, but this money gave out by the end of the year 1863, long before the ships were completed.[201] But by March, 1864, a great deal of cotton had been sent through the blockade to Bulloch; and on the seventeenth he wrote Mallory, " . . . the

194 The contract signed by Arman and Bulloch gives the general specifications of the ship. *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 464-466.
195 Bulloch, *Secret Service*, II, 32.
196 Bulloch to Mallory, July 20, 1863, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 469.
197 Contract between Bulloch and Arman, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 464-466.
198 Contract between Bulloch and Arman, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 466.
199 Bulloch to Mallory, March 17, 1864, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 607.
200 Bulloch to Mallory, November 26, 1863, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 525.
201 Bulloch to Mallory, December 29, 1863, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 568.

receipts from the cotton are now so promising that there is no danger of failure in any of present contracts unless I receive some unexpected drafts upon the funds now steadily accumulating." [202]

The close of the year 1863 found Bulloch optimistic about his activities in France. He was confident that during the coming year he would be able to get the corvettes and rams to sea. But, as it was impossible to hide the ships, a number of persons who had noticed them under construction wondered if they might be for the Confederates. Rumors were spreading in both Europe and America that the vessels being built at Bordeaux and Nantes were for the Confederacy and that the French government had ordered that they be seized; but Bulloch, who understood that Napoleon had promised Slidell that the vessels would be allowed to depart,[203] wrote Mallory that no such orders had been issued and that he was confident none would be.[204]

The prospects of getting the ships to sea were not nearly so bright as Bulloch thought. Slidell had not made it clear to Bulloch that the Emperor's promise to allow the rams to depart was based on the condition that their destination remain secret. Although Bulloch thought that he was keeping the whole affair secret, by the fall of 1863 the United States minister to France not only knew that the rams and corvettes were for the Confederates, but he also had all the documentary evidence necessary to prove that they were being built with the sanction of the Emperor of France.

The secret was broken by the action of J. Voruz's confidential secretary, M. Peterman, who looked after many papers relating to the building of the ships for the Confederates. Peterman was sympathetic to the Union cause. A United States marine told him that with two or three ships the Confederates would be able to blow New York, Boston, and Philadelphia to atoms and that the United States government was willing to pay large sums of money for information concerning Confederate attempts to secure ships abroad.[205]

---

202 Bulloch to Mallory, March 17, 1864, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 606-607.
203 Bulloch to Mallory, August 25, 1864, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 710.
204 Bulloch to Mallory, November 26, 1863, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 525.
205 Wilson, *John Slidell*, p. 134.

Peterman knew that the papers which he handled contained conclusive evidence that the vessels at Bordeaux and Nantes were for the Confederates and were being built with the approval of Napoleon III. Deciding that he would try to sell some of these documents to United States diplomats in France, Peterman made copies of those letters that were in M. Voruz's safe and reproduced from memory others that he had seen. He also composed a few letters himself to make his story more convincing.[206] On September 9, 1863, on the pretext of illness, Peterman asked Voruz for a few days leave; then he headed for Paris, taking the letters with him. Calling upon William Dayton, the American minister to France, Peterman said that he had evidence concerning vessels being built for the Confederates. Dayton referred Peterman to John Bigelow, United States consul general in Paris, who was in the habit of looking after such matters.[207]

On September 10 Peterman, calling on Bigelow, informed him of the nature of the evidence and showed him a few documents. Having convinced Bigelow that the evidence was genuine, Peterman offered to produce, for the modest sum of 20,000 francs, additional evidence to prove that the ships were for the Confederates. Bigelow, refusing to commit himself definitely, told Peterman that he was certainly interested and would be glad to talk further on the matter.[208]

On September 12 Peterman brought additional evidence, which fully convinced Bigelow. Among this evidence were letters written by the builders at Bordeaux and Nantes and containing proof that the vessels were being constructed for the Confederates. There was a copy of application for license to build the ships and a copy of the license granted by the French Minister of Marine and Colonies. This license proved that the operations were going on with the approval of the imperial government. There was also a letter from the Confederate agent showing that the ships were being built under his direction and a letter from Slidell approving the contract made between Bulloch and Arman.[209]

---

[206] Wilson, *John Slidell*, p. 135.
[207] Wilson, *John Slidell*, p. 136.
[208] John Bigelow, *France and the Confederate States Navy*, pp. 1-4.
[209] Bigelow, *France and the Confederate States Navy*, pp. 16-17.

Bigelow agreed to pay Peterman 15,000 francs for the evidence, and Peterman accepted.[210] Accordingly, on October 8 Dayton wrote Seward that he had documentary proof that the rams and corvettes being built at Bordeaux and Nantes were for the Confederates.[211] Dayton called upon Drouyn de Lhuys, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, and gave him the twenty-one documents that Peterman had turned over to Bigelow. Knowing nothing of the matter, the Foreign Minister displayed surprise, because the evidence concerning Napoleon's approval of the affair proved to Drouyn de Lhuys that he had only a limited share of the Emperor's confidence.[212]

The Emperor's government accepted the evidence that Dayton had presented, but as it took no immediate action in the direction of seizing the corvettes and rams, the Federal agents decided to inform the French people of the un-neutral activities of their government and to enlist popular sentiment of the Union side. But this was difficult, since France maintained a strict censorship of the press. Bigelow enlisted the aid of M. Guerlout, editor of the *Opinion National,* who published an article entitled "Les Corsairs du Sud." indirectly charging the French government with conspiracy against the United States.[213]

Bigelow also engaged the services of a certain Berryer, an outstanding French lawyer and a member of the Chamber of Deputies. A clever plan to get the matter before the French people was devised. A resolution had been brought before the Chamber of Deputies asking the Emperor to try to bring about peace between the North and South; to this Arman had offered an amendment, stating that all of Europe wanted to see peace restored in America. Therefore Bigelow, knowing that Arman would soon call the resolution to the floor, arranged that when it came before the Chamber, Berryer would rise and ask Arman if the vessels being built at Bordeaux and Nantes were designed to bring about peace. As it would be difficult for Arman to answer, the question, together with Arman's reaction, would create a great deal of excitement, that would certainly get the matter before the French people.[214] Arman must have sus-

[210] Wilson, *John Slidell,* p. 139.
[211] Dayton to Seward, October 8, 1863, *Executive Documents 1863-'64,* II, 788.
[212] Bigelow, *France and the Confederate States Navy,* p. 17.
[213] Bigelow, *France and the Confederate States Navy,* p. 37.
[214] Bigelow, *France and the Confederate States Navy,* pp. 31-32.

pected Bigelow's plans for he prevented the motion from coming before the Chamber; it was passed *sub silento.*[215]

The Federal agents did everything possible to obtain additional information concerning the activities of the Confederates. Bulloch reported to Mallory on November 26, 1863:

> The extent to which the system of bribery and spying has been and continues to be practiced by the agents of the United States in Europe is scarcely credible. The servants of gentlemen supposed to have Southern sympathies are tampered with, confidential clerks, and even messengers from telegraph offices, are bribed to betray their trust, and I have lately been informed that the English and French post-offices, hitherto considered immaculate, are now scarcely safe modes of communication.[216]

The Union victories at Vicksburg and Gettysburg had what was perhaps the decisive effect upon the actions of the French government. Before July, 1863, the Confederate armies had proven themselves superior in the field to those of the United States, and it had seemed that the Confederacy had a fairly good chance of winning the war, but after Vicksburg and Gettysburg the Confederacy's outlook was considerably darker. Since no foreign country could afford to support a rebellion which would probably be unsuccessful, late in 1863 Napoleon suddenly reversed his policy towards the Confederacy. Maximilian, whom Napoleon had placed on the throne of Mexico, was on the verge of extending recognition to the Confederate government but suddenly decided not to do so.[217]

After the Union victories and Dayton's presentation of the evidence, the Emperor's government had to take some action about the vessels under construction at Bordeaux and Nantes. On October 22, 1863, Drouyn de Lhuys notified Arman that permission for the arming of the corvettes had been withdrawn,[218] and on November 19, 1863, Arman was notified that the rams could sail only as the property of a non-belligerent government.[219] Early in 1864 Drouyn de Lhuys, revising his original instructions, stated that the rams would not be permitted to sail and the corvettes could sail only if they were disguised as

---

[215] Bigelow, *France and the Confederate States Navy*, p. 36.
[216] Bulloch to Mallory, November 26, 1863, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 526.
[217] Callahan, *Diplomatic History of the Southern Confederacy*, p. 214.
[218] Drouyn de Lhuys to Dayton, October 22, 1863, *Executive Documents 1863-'64*, II, 800.
[219] Callahan, *The Diplomatic History of the Southern Confederacy*, p. 212.

merchant vessels, nominally for a foreign concern.[220] Soon after learning of the decision of the French government, Bulloch arranged for a fictitious sale of the corvettes.

When arranging this transfer of ownership, Bulloch was confident that he would be able to get the corvettes to sea. He realized, however, that the rams were lost, and he wrote Mallory that he would have no more built.[221] Arman suggested that a nominal sale of the rams and corvettes made to Danish bankers; but, as it would be a repetition of the unsuccessful attempt to save the Laird rams by transferring them to Bravay and Company,[222] Bulloch did not think that the plan would work.

On February 8, 1864, Bulloch wrote Arman and told him to sell the rams to a bona fide representative of a foreign government.[223] Bulloch, still hoping to save the corvettes, planned to take them out in the same manner in which the *Alabama* had reached sea. The prospects, however, grew darker; furthermore, the corvettes lost value because they were designed to cooperate with ironclads in breaking the blockade. Bulloch did not think that they were needed as commerce destroyers, because, as he claimed, the Union flag had practically been driven from the seas by Confederate cruisers. Therefore, after consulting Samuel Barron, the senior Confederate naval officer in Europe, he decided to sell the corvettes.[224]

Upon hearing of this decision, Mallory wrote Bulloch and expressed regret that it had been necessary to sell the rams but said that he realized that there was no alternative. Mallory advised against selling the corvettes; and, expressing confidence in Bulloch's ability to surmount the obstacles,[225] he instructed to do his best to get them to sea. Accordingly, Bulloch changed his mind about selling the corvettes and began making arrangements to get them afloat. He wrote Mallory as follows: "I am inclined to believe that our corvettes will be allowed to sail without their armaments provided that their departure is managed in such a way as not to compromise the local authorities." [226]

---

220 Bulloch to Mallory, February 18, 1864, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 588.
221 Bulloch to Mallory, February 18, 1864, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 589.
222 Bulloch, *Secret Service*, II, 42.
223 Bulloch to Mallory, February 8, 1864, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 590.
224 Wilson, *John Slidell*, p. 143.
225 Mallory to Bulloch, April 7, 1864, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 621.
226 Bulloch to Mallory, April 16, 1864, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 626.

Neither did Bulloch surrender all hopes of getting the rams to sea, for he instructed Arman to sell them in such a way that they could be reacquired by the Confederates if the Emperor's policy should change.[227]

On May 13 Bulloch wrote Mallory that new developments had given him hope of getting one of the ironclads to sea under the Confederate flag.[228] By a very elaborate plan devised by Bulloch and Arman, the Confederates hoped to obtain one ram by sacrificing the other. Arman had sold one of the rams to the Danish government, which had to make the transaction through Sweden, because Denmark was at war with Austria and Prussia. Arman, who was to deliver the ram to the Swedish port of Gottenburg, received permission from the French government for the ship to sail under the French flag, manned by a crew of his selection.[229] It was planned that both ships should sail from Bordeaux under the French flag. The Swedish minister would assure Dayton that one of the rams was for Sweden; this would remove the suspicions of the Federal agents. Then one ram could sail to Sweden and the other to the Confederates at some secret rendezvous.[230]

Bulloch was getting ready to send the second ram into the Confederate service when suddenly the French government ordered that both rams and the corvettes be sold to northern European governments. Arman was directed to furnish the imperial government with proof that the sales were bona fide, and failure to comply with these orders would result in the seizure of the ships and imprisonment of the builder. Having no alternative, Arman sold the vessels as directed. The builders of the corvettes at Nantes were likewise directed to sell the vessels that they were building for the Confederates.[231] Thus the Confederates had to give up all hopes of getting the ships which had been built in France. Bona fide sales were made of all six vessels. Denmark bought one ram; Prussia bought the other and the corvettes built at Bordeaux. France was not acting as a neutral when she allowed these transactions; for at that time, Prussia

---

227 Bulloch to Mallory, June 10, 1864, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 665-666.
228 Bulloch to Mallory, May 13, 1864, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 655.
229 Bulloch to Mallory, June 10, 1864, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 666.
230 Bulloch to Mallory, June 10, 1864, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 666.
231 Bulloch to Mallory, June 10, 1864, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 667.

was at war with Denmark.[232] The Peruvian government purchased the corvettes built at Nantes.[233]

Bulloch was convinced that the reasons for the reversal of Napoleon III's attitude toward the Confederacy were that it had become obvious that the South could not win the war; and that, together with the unpopularity of the Maximillian regime in Mexico, forecast failure for Napoleon's colonial ambitions. It was, therefore, opportunism, rather than scruples of international law, that motivated the French Emperor to order that the rams and corvettes be sold.

> The French minister accepted the stolen evidence without question, when if he had been more friendly disposed towards the Confederacy he might have said, "These are alleged copies of the private correspondence of two prominent and highly respected French citizens; they could only have come into your possession by means of bribery or treachery. I cannot, therefore, receive them as evidence, and must insist that you produce the originals and explain how you came to be possessed by them.[234]

In October, 1864, the Danish war came to an end. Denmark had hoped to employ the purchased ram against Prussia; but, since Arman was slow in delivering it, the ram was still in Bordeaux when peace arrived. Therefore, having no further use for the ram, the Danish government notified Arman that the sale was cancelled on the ground that the ship had not been delivered on schedule.

Arman, pretending to ignore Denmark's decision not to accept the ram, proceeded to get permission to send it to Denmark under the French flag. Meanwhile, he had notified Bulloch of Denmark's rejection of the ram. Denmark's refusal gave the Confederates a chance to get the ship, so a unique plan to deliver it at sea was devised. The ship was to be sent to Denmark as if nothing had happened. Of course, the Danish government would refuse to accept the ram, and Arman would employ a Danish crew, ostensibly to take it back to Bordeaux, but the ship would be sent instead to some secret rendezvous where Bulloch would have waiting armament, supplies, and Confederate officers and

---

232 Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy*, p. 447.
233 Bulloch, *Secret Service*, II, 55.
234 Bulloch, *Secret Service*, II, 40.

seamen.[235] Thus the Confederates would be able to get the ship, but the Union agents would be unable to place the blame on either the French or Danish government.

Bulloch arranged for H. A. de Rivere to go to Copenhagen as Arman's agent and to recruit a Danish crew to take the ram to the secret rendezvous, Quiebron Bay, Belle Ile, off the French coast.[236] Captain Thomas Jefferson Page of the Confederate Navy, who was selected to command the vessel, and Lieutenant Robert R. Carter, who was to be second in command, were ordered to join the ship at Copenhagen and to accompany her to Belle Ile. Bulloch instructed Page to name the ship *Stonewall,* because such a name would appeal to the feelings and sympathies of the people of the Confederacy.[237]

Bulloch asked William G. Crenshaw for the use of the steamer *City of Richmond* to carry guns, supplies, officers, and seamen to the *Stonewall.* Crenshaw, who had been sent to England from the Confederate States to organize a concern to run the blockade,[238] gladly lent Bulloch the vessel, and all of the supplies, guns, and ammunition needed for the *Stonewall* were loaded on the *City of Richmond.*[239] Also a number of the former officers and seamen of the *Florida,* commanded by Lieutenant George S. Shryock, were placed upon the steamer.[240]

The *City of Richmond,* commanded by Lieutenant Hunter Davidson of the Confederate Navy, sailed from England on January 11, 1865, and proceeded to Belle Ile, where she awaited the *Stonewall.*[241] The latter had left Copenhagen on the seventh but was held up at Elsinore by a snowstorm.[242] At Quiberon, on January 24, the *Stonewall* joined her tender and received her crew, arms, and ammunition.[243]

Since the *Stonewall* was built with a light draft and was designed to hover near the American coast and not make long voyages, she sailed under considerable handicaps. Although Bulloch had hoped to send her to the Confederacy during the sum-

---

235 Bulloch, *Secret Service,* II, 74-75.
236 Agreement between H. A. de Riviere and Bulloch, December 16, 1864, *Official Records,* First Series, III, 722-724.
237 Bulloch to Mallory, January 10, 1865, *Official Records,* First Series, III, 724-725.
238 Bulloch, *Secret Service,* II, 85.
239 Bulloch to Page, January 10, 1865, *Official Records,* First Series, III, 730.
240 Bulloch to George S. Shryock, January 9, 1865, *Official Records,* First Series, III, 727; Bulloch to Shryock, January 10, 1865, *Official Records,* First Series, III, 727.
241 Bulloch to Page, January 10, 1865, *Official Records,* First Series, III, 730.
242 Bulloch to Hunter Davidson, January 10, 1865, *Official Records,* First Series, III,727.
243 Davidson to Bulloch, February 6, 1864, *Official Records,* First Series, III, 732.

mer months when the Atlantic is generally calm, the Confederates did not get the ship until January, 1865, and it was, therefore, necessary to send her across the storm-ridden North Atlantic in mid-winter. The ram had not been completed according to Bulloch's specifications, because the Danish government had suggested alterations, and it had been completed too rapidly. As a consequence, the ill-fated vessel was damaged and had to put into the port of Ferrol, Spain, for repairs.[244]

It was January 28, 1865, before Bigelow heard that the Confederacy had secured the ram from Denmark. Dayton had died in December, and Bigelow had assumed the duties of minister at the first of the year. On January 30 Bigelow, calling upon Chasseloup Laubot, the Minister of Marine, protested against the ship's being armed in French waters, but Laubot replied that the ship was the property of the Danish government and that France was no longer responsible for it. The same day Bigelow, visiting the Danish delegation in Paris, found the Danish minister out, but the secretary of the legation informed Bigelow that the Danish government had never owned the ram and was in no way responsible for it.[245] The following day the Danish minister indorsed the action of his subordinate.[246]

On February 5, 1865, Horatio J. Perry, United States minister to Spain, informed Bigelow that the *Stonewall* had put into the Spanish port of Ferrol. Bigelow, calling upon Drouyn de Lhuys, requested that the French government ask the Spanish to seize the ship.[247] but the French minister said that his government had made sure that the sale of the ram to Denmark was legitimate and could go no further.[248]

For forty-five days Commodore Craven of the U. S. S. *Niagara* watched the *Stonewall* and was joined by the U. S. S. *Sacramento;* but the *Stonewall,* being more easily maneuvered and more heavily armed than either of these ships, was more than a match for both. Nevertheless Craven went out against the *Stonewall* three times. Twice Page refused to give battle and retreated, but the third time the Federal ship retired without

---

244 Bulloch, *Secret Service,* II, 76-81.
245 Bigelow to Seward, January 30, 1865, *Executive Documents 1865-'66,* II, 209-210.
246 Bigelow to Seward, January 31, 1865, *Executive Documents 1865-'66,* II, 211-212.
247 Bigelow to Seward, February 6, 1865, *Executive Documents 1865-'66,* II, 215-216.
248 Drouyn de Lhuys to Bigelow, February 7, 1865, *Executive Documents 1865-'66,* II, 221-222.

fighting.[249] Then the *Stonewall* proceeded to the West Indies. Later Craven was tried before a court martial for refusing to give battle, but was acquitted.[250]

The *Stonewall* made her way successfully across the storm-ridden North Atlantic; but, before she was ready to proceed against the blockade of Southern ports, nearly all of those ports were in enemy hands, and the two main Confederate armies under Lee and Johnston had surrendered. Since the Confederacy had virtually ceased to exist, Bulloch advised Page to lay the vessel up in a West Indian port,[251] and Page, realizing that all was lost, sold the *Stonewall* to the Spanish authorities in Cuba for enough money to pay off the crew.[252]

While the rams and corvettes were being built at Bordeaux and Nantes, Bulloch was spending part of his time in France and part in England. After it became obvious that the British government would never allow the Laird rams to sail, Bulloch made no new contracts for the construction of warships. Although his activities in England during the years 1864 and 1865 were insignificant when compared with those of 1862 and 1863, these last two years were not idle ones for him. In fact, as time went on, his duties and difficulties became increasingly more complicated. Notwithstanding the fact that his building program had come to an end, Bulloch purchased several additional vessels and large quantities of material.

Bulloch continued to send all sorts of equipment and material to the Confederate States. Some of the shipments got through the Federal blockade, while others were either seized or sunk. Confederate agents purchased large quantities of nautical supplies at Nassau and Bermuda; but, since supplies bought in these ports cost from thirty to fifty per cent more than their value, Bulloch advised that all naval purchases be made in Europe by bona fide agents of the Confederate government.[253]

Bulloch received orders for various kinds of supplies. On April 16, 1864, Mallory ordered twelve pairs of small marine engines;[254] and on July 20, 1864, he ordered a 150-pounder

---

[249] Bigelow, *France and the Confederate States Navy*, pp. 82-88.
[250] Bigelow, *France and the Confederate States Navy*, pp. 233-237.
[251] Bulloch to Page, April 8, 1865, *Official Records*, Second Series, III, 745.
[252] Page to Bulloch, May 19, 1865, *Official Records*, Second Series, III, 747.
[253] Bulloch to Mallory, June 3, 1864, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 662.
[254] Mallory to Bulloch, April 16, 1864, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 427.

with 100 projectiles, a quantity of steel, iron, and zinc, twenty-five miles of insulated wire, and 1,000 pounds of gun cotton.[255] On December 17, 1864, Mallory sent Bulloch an order for a large quantity of office supplies. In this order appeared such items as 25 reams of letter paper, 10 reams of foolscap paper, 25,000 official envelopes, 10,000 letter envelopes, 6 gross of the best lead pencils, and 20 gallons of recording ink.[256]

One of the most important phases of the Confederate war effort was blockade running; and, during the early part of the conflict, this was carried on by private enterprise. But, since many shippers preferred to carry the more profitable civilian goods, it was often the case that supplies for the Confederate armies had to wait. Bulloch thought that the Navy should take over the task of running the blockade, and this was done near the end of the war. Thus the Navy needed ships to transport material to the fighting Southerners and to carry cotton back to England.[257] Mallory instructed Bulloch to secure the necessary steamers for the job, but for a while a shortage of funds rendered the fulfillment of these orders impossible.[258] Later General Colin J. McRae of the Confederate Treasury Department bought a steamer, and Bulloch took charge of outfitting the vessel and of getting it to sea.[259]

Later with the financial problem partially solved, Bulloch began to secure vessels to run the blockade. Because Earl Russell had said that he would not allow vessels owned by the Confederate government, engaging in the trade between England and the Confederacy, to enter English ports, the ownership of the ship had to be registered in the name of individuals.[260] Bulloch purchased the 700 ton steamer, *Coquette,* and sent it to Wilmington, North Carolina, under command of Lieutenant Robert R. Carter of the Confederate Navy.[261] When the *Coquette* was forty miles off Wilmington, the engines broke down, and the ships had difficulty in making port.[262] Bulloch sent a new cylinder for the

---

255 Mallory to Bulloch, June 20, 1864, *Official Records,* Second Series, II, 675.
256 Mallory to Bulloch, December 17, 1864, *Official Records,* Second Series, II, 782.
257 Mallory to Bulloch, January 16, 1864, *Official Records,* Second Series, II, 574.
258 Bulloch to Mallory, August 8, 1863, *Official Records,* Second Series, II, 477; Bulloch to Mallory, April 4, 1864, *Official Records,* Second Series, II, 625.
259 Bulloch to Mallory, March 17, 1864, *Official Records,* Second Series, II, 607-608.
260 Bulloch to Mallory, September 15, 1864, *Official Records,* Second Series, II, 721-722.
261 Mallory to Bulloch, December 29, 1863, *Official Records,* Second Series, II, 569.
262 Mallory to Bulloch, January 16, 1864, *Official Records,* Second Series, II, 574.

Coquette by a vessel that left England on January 25, 1864.[263] With the exception of the defective engine, the *Coquette* was an excellent ship. Mallory wrote as follows: "The *Coquette* is believed to be the best vessel employed in the trade, and is said to have made twelve knots at sea. She will, it is supposed, carry twelve hundred bales of cotton." [264]

With the advice and assistance of General McRae, Bulloch secured a number of steamers. He purchased the *Owl,* the *Bat,* the *Stag,* and the *Deer,* paddle steamers all of the same design; they were 230 feet long, 26 feet wide, and weighed 771 tons. Propelled by engines with 180 horsepower, they were able to carry 800 bales of cotton on a draft of seven feet, six inches.[265] Bulloch also had ten steamers built; these vessels were well constructed and could carry large quantities of cotton or supplies.[266] General McRae arranged for a British firm to finance these ships, which were to be paid for by cotton brought from the Confederate States. Until paid for in full, the vessels were to be commanded by British officers. Bulloch recommended that they be placed under the command of Confederate naval officers as soon as they were paid for. These officers were to take leave from the Navy, and the vessels were to remain ostensibly under private ownership.[267]

The exact number of cargo ships secured by Bulloch is unknown.[268] In addition to the *Bahama, Fingal, Coquette,* and the vessels just described, Bulloch had four steamers built in England in the latter part of 1864. Two of these vessels, the *Adventure* and the *Enterprise,* were large; and two, the *Ajax* and the *Hercules,* were small.[269] It is not known whether all these vessels got to sea. Since the war was nearly over when they were contracted for, it is quite possible that the war's end found some of them incomplete. Some of the vessels, however,

---

263 Bulloch to Mallory, January 24, 1864, *Official Records,* Second Series, II, 578.
264 Mallory to Bulloch, March 21, 1864, *Official Records,* Second Series, II, 614.
265 Bulloch to Mallory, September 15, 1864, *Official Records,* Second Series, II, 720.
266 Two 1,391-ton vessels with engines of 300 nominal horsepower were to carry 1,500 bales at a speed of fourteen knots. Two 552-ton, 120-horsepower vessels were to carry 350 bales. Two 1,063-ton. 260-horsepower vessels were to carry 1,000 bales and an additional 150-ton burden. Two 645-ton, 160-horsepower vessels were to carry from 700 to 800 bales. Two 972-ton, 130-horsepower vessels were to carry an undetermined quantity of cotton. Mallory to Bulloch, September 15, 1864, *Official Records,* Second Series, II, 720-725.
267 Bulloch to Mallory, September 15, 1864, *Official Records,* Second Series, II, 723.
268 The available material on this subject is limited.
269 Bulloch to Mallory, November 15, 1864, *Official Records,* Second Series, II, 767. The description of these ships was given in a letter which is missing.

did get to sea. The *Deer*,[270] the *Stag*,[271] and the *Owl*[272] all left England. Bulloch also dispatched from England the steamers *Rumber*,[273] *Whisper*,[274] and *Susan Bierne*,[275] all loaded with supplies; and the *Emilie* sailed from Glasgow.[276] Bulloch also shipped goods from England in the *Madonna* and the *Driving Mists*.[277] In all probability Bulloch sent many more steamers to the Confederacy. The *Rumber*, the *Whisper*, the *Susan Bierne*, the *Emilie*, the *Madonna*, and the *Driving Mists* were probably among the unnamed ships which Bulloch described to Mallory in his letter of September 15, 1864.

The United States diplomatic correspondence contains the names of several vessels fitted out in England to carry supplies to the Confederacy. Some of these, not mentioned in the Confederate correspondence, were the *Georgiana*, the *Hawk*, the *Louisa Ann Fanny*, the *Phantom*, and the *Southern*. Adams and Dudley discovered these vessels in British yards and notified the officials of Her Majesty's government that they were destined for the Confederacy. The available evidence is insufficient to determine the exact nature of these ships, but Bulloch said that neither the *Phantom* nor the *Southern* were for the Confederates. Although Adams and Dudley tried to get the British government to seize these vessels, there is no record of their seizure, and it seems that they were allowed to go to sea.[278]

Although Bulloch's contribution to blockade runnning was much greater than he has been credited for, he is mainly known for the building of cruisers. The Confederate raiders had a disastrous effect upon Union commerce. After the *Florida* and *Alabama* had been at sea for a few months, it was dangerous for United States vessels to appear on the commercial lanes of the high seas. American merchantmen began to sail under neutral flags or to remain in port. But the Confederate officials were

---

270 Bulloch to Mallory, November 19, 1864, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 769
271 Bulloch to Mallory, October 20, 1864, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 735.
272 Bulloch to Mallory, November 15, 1864, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 765-766.
273 Bulloch to Mallory, November 19, 1864, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 769.
274 Bulloch to Mallory, November 19, 1864, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 769.
275 Bulloch to Mallory, November 26, 1864, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 774.
276 Bulloch, *Secret Service*, II, 108.
277 Bulloch to Mallory, December 1, 1864, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 776.
278 Adams wrote Russell on January 16, 1863, that the *Georgiana* was about to sail. *Papers Relating to the Treaty of Washington*, I, 250. Adams wrote Russell on June 18, 1864, that the *Hawk* was about to be turned over to the Confederates. *Executive Documents 1864-'65*, II, 184-185. On May 16, 1863, Adams sent Russell documentary proof that the *Phantom* was for the Confederates. *Executive Documents 1863-'64*, I, 287-299. On June 3, 1863, Adams wrote Russell that the *Southern* was being fitted out as a Confederate privateer. *Papers Relating to the Treaty of Washington*, I, 255-256.

still not satisfied with the work of their raiders. On March 31, 1864, Secretary Mallory wrote Bulloch as follows: "We have, it is true, inflicted a heavy blow and great discouragement upon the Federal foreign commerce, but the coasting trade and fisheries, embracing the California trade, has suffered but little from our cruisers and it can and must be struck." [279]

More cruisers were needed for an attack upon the coasting trade and fisheries. But Bulloch was so pessimistic over the chances of the British government's allowing a Confederate cruiser to go to sea from a British shipyard that he made no effort to build other vessels. Secretary Mallory, taking a more optimistic attitude, asked Bulloch if a couple of vessels could not ". . . be built in the style of the *Alabama* for mercantile purposes with a hoisting screw, and sent to sea on a lawful voyage, with cargo and without outfits or fingerposts to indicate her ultimate character"? Mallory suggested that such ships might be built in Austrian, Sardinian, or Italian ports, ostensibly for the opium trade.[280] Bulloch considered this suggestion carefully but decided against it.

A number of private shipbuilders offered to construct warships for the Confederacy. These dealings were directly between the builders and the Confederate government, and the ships were to be paid for at a later time with cotton. Most of these builders, unable to finance their ships, called upon Bulloch for funds. One British shipbuilder agreed to build six ironclads and to deliver them to the Confederates at sea. Bulloch was to approve the details of construction, and the ships were to be paid for with cotton. As the contractor did not have the money to carry out the plans, a capitalist agreed to back the program if Bulloch would give him bonds " . . . pledging the Confederate government to deliver a quantity of cotton which at eight cents a pound would be equivalent to the cost of the ships." Bulloch could not commit the Confederate government to such a pledge, so the keels of the ships were never laid.[281]

The Navy Department received many offers from shipbuilders; it referred them to Bulloch, who found most of them un-

---

279 Mallory to Bulloch, March 12, 1864, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 613.
280 Mallory to Bulloch, June 20, 1864, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 673-674.
281 Bulloch, *Secret Service*, II, 248-252.

satisfactory. Bulloch said that in general these offers came from two classes of people: first, " . . . speculators, who were merely in search of a commission, and did not shrink from offering any patched up hulk that they could lay hold of, or [second] honest men, really desirous to do the South a service, but with no technical knowledge of ships, and no facility for estimating the essential qualities of a Confederate cruiser." [282]

During the course of the war several ships of foreign navies were offered to the Confederacy, but nearly all of these were either defective or unsuitable in size and type for cruising purposes. Furthermore, those offering the ships never considered the difficulties involved in delivering them to the Confederates.[283] Since there is no record of Bulloch's accepting any of these offers, it can be assumed that they were rejected. Two ships, the *Georgia* and the *Rappahannock,* were purchased by the Confederates in England, but Bulloch had nothing to do with the purchase of either. In March, 1863, the noted scientist Matthew Fontaine Maury purchased the *Japan,* an iron screw-steamer that had just been completed. This ship, armed at sea, became the Confederate cruiser, *Georgia.* Adams had suspected that it would become one and had communicated his suspicions to the British Foreign Office;[284] but he was unable to prevent the ship's departure, and the vessel made its way into the Confederate service. But as the *Georgia* did not prove to be a successful cruiser, its commanding officer turned it over to Flag Officer Samuel Barron,[285] who decided that it would be best to dispose of the ship. Barron instructed Bulloch to sell the vessel, and Bulloch sold it to a resident of Liverpool. Then the British government, questioning the validity of the sale, seized the vessel.[286]

During the latter part of the year 1863 several worn out or unserviceable vessels of the Royal Navy were ordered sold.[287] One of these, a 500-ton screw gunboat, *Victor,* was purchased by Zachary Pearson, the agent of Gordon Coleman and Company, which was acting for Matthew Fontaine Maury of the Con-

---

282 Bulloch, *Secret Service,* II, 252-253.
283 Bulloch, *Secret Service,* II, 254-255.
284 Adams to Russell, January 16, 1863, *Executive Documents 1863-'64,* I, 97.
285 W. E. Evans to S. Barron, April 22, 1864, *Official Records,* Second Series, II, 682.
286 J. R. Soley, *The Blockade and the Cruisers,* p. 597.
287 *Papers Relating to the Treaty of Washington,* I, 118.

federate Navy.[288] The vessel, remaining at Sherness where it had been purchased, was equipped for sea under the direction of one Rumble.[289] Federal agents, suspecting that the *Victor* was to become a Confederate cruiser, tried to get the British government to seize it; but Maury, acting in the nick of time, ordered that the vessel be sent to Calais. On the way to the French port the vessel was rechristened and became the C. S. S. *Rappahannock.*[290] The British officials arrested Rumble and tried him; but, since he was found to be merely the tool of the Confederates, he was set free.[291]

When the vessel arrived at Calais, Flag Officer Barron took charge of it, and he consulted Bulloch on the matter of arming the vessel and getting it to sea.[292] It was decided that Lieutenant North should secure guns and that Barron and Bulloch should arrange to mount them upon the vessel.[293] In December, 1864, Barron was called back to the Confederate States, and the *Rappahannock* was turned over to Bulloch. Although the French government gave permission for the vessel to sail, Bulloch had it laid up at Calais, because, being in need of repairs, it was in no condition for an ocean voyage. After the war was over, Bulloch sold it to an English broker.[294]

The Navy Department was especially desirous of securing cruisers to be sent against the Union whaling ships of the Pacific.[295] For this purpose it acquired the *Sea King*, which had been built in Glasgow in 1863 and had made one trip to the Orient as a merchant vessel. In October, 1864, the *Sea King* was purchased by Richard Wright, one of Bulloch's agents and the son-in-law of Charles K. Prioleau, a native of South Carolina, who was the Liverpool manager of Fraser, Trenholm, and Company.[296] The *Sea King*, well suited for cruising purposes,[297] was a long rakish vessel of 700 tons built by Stevens and Sons, celebrated ship builders on the Clyde; she had an engine of 220 horsepower. On

---

288 Bulloch, *Secret Service*, II, 265-266.
289 Bulloch, *Secret Service*, II, 266. Bulloch does not give Rumble's first name.
290 Bulloch, *Secret Service*, II, 266.
291 London *Times*, February 7, 1865.
292 Barron to Fauntleroy, May 3, 1864, *Official Records*, First Series, III, 691.
293 Barron to Mallory, May 12, 1864, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 652-653.
294 Bulloch, *Secret Service*, II, 269.
295 Mallory to Bulloch, August 10, 1864, *Official Records*, Second Series, II, 701.
296 Dudley to Seward, August 10, 1864, *Correspondence Concerning Claims Against Great Britain*, III, 319.
297 Bulloch to Lieutenant James I. Waddell, October 5, 1864, *Official Records*, First Series, III, 650.

her voyage as a merchantman she proved to be an excellent ship and one of the fastest afloat; at times she made 320 miles in 25 hours.[298]

For some time after Wright had purchased her, the *Sea King* remained at an English port where she was equipped with provisions and coal for a twelve months' cruise. On October 7, 1864, the *Sea King* left her moorings at London, in appearance a merchant ship registered for a voyage not to exceed two years, for Bombay and ports in the East Indies. Commanded by G. H. Cobrett, a Britisher, and manned by a British crew, she sailed unarmed except for two twelve pounders, the normal armament for an East Indiaman of her size.[299]

Plans were made to convert the *Sea King* into a formidable fighting ship. Bulloch purchased the *Laurel* to serve as tender for the *Sea King,* or *Shenandoah,* as this vessel was later called. Lieutenant John F. Ramsey of the Confederate Navy commanded the *Laurel,*[300] and Lieutenant James I. Waddell was selected to command the *Shenandoah.*[301] The *Laurel* carried Waddell and a number of Confederate officers and seamen to the *Sea King.*[302] Many of these seamen had belonged to the crew of the *Alabama,* which had been sunk by the U. S. S. *Kearsarge.*[303] The *Laurel* also carried to the *Sea King* a heavy battery, supplies, and ammunition.[304]

On the same day that the *Sea King* departed from London, the *Laurel* sailed from the port of Liverpool. Both ships headed for the port of Funchal on the Island of Medeira, where they met on October 18, 1864. The two crews set to work transferring the arms and supplies from the *Laurel* to the *Sea King.*[305] Richard Wright, the owner of the *Sea King,* had authorized Captain Waddell to sell the vessel to the Confederates, and this transaction was made in legal fashion.[306] Lieutenant Waddell then took command of the *Sea King.* He tried to get part of the English crew of the *Sea King* to enlist in the Confederate service,

---

298 C. E. Hunt, *The Shenandoah or the Last Confederate Cruiser,* p. 9.
299 Hunt, *The Shenandoah,* pp. 8-10.
300 Bulloch to Mallory, October 20, 1864, *Official Records,* Second Series, II, 736.
301 Bulloch to Waddell, October 5, 1864, *Official Records,* First Series, III, 749-750.
302 Hunt, *The Shenandoah,* pp. 11-13.
303 Bulloch to Waddell, October 5, 1864, *Official Records,* First Series, III, 750.
304 Bulloch to Waddell, October 20, 1864, *Official Records,* First Series, III, 736; *Papers Relating to the Treaty of Washington,* I, 167.
305 Bulloch to Mallory, November 17, 1864, *Official Records,* First Series, III, 757.
306 *Papers Relating to the Treaty of Washington,* I, 160.

but few of the English sailors did so.[307] The ship was then rechristened *Shenandoah,* and the Royal Jack was replaced with the Confederate emblem. Thus another Confederate cruiser was off on a voyage of destruction.

When the *Sea King* was built in 1863, United States agents suspected that it was for the Confederates; but, when the Confederates actually acquired it in 1864, Bulloch managed to get it to sea without arousing the suspicions of the Federal agents in England. When the *Laurel* sailed from Liverpool, Dudley received information that she carried some boxes marked "machinery," really guns, and that she carried more seamen than were necessary. But as he had no additional information about either the *Laurel* or the *Sea King,* he did not communicate his knowledge to British officials.[308]

About a week after the vessels had sailed, Dudley received a somewhat detailed report of how the Confederates had gotten them to sea. Upon receiving this information, he acted immediately and wrote all United States ministers in Europe and United States consuls all over the world telling them about the *Shenandoah* so that they might have it seized when it came into port.[309] But the vessel was not seized. From Funchal the *Shenandoah* proceeded into the South Atlantic, around the Cape of Good Hope, and to Melbourne, where she took on additional supplies and crew. From Melbourne the vessel sailed northward through the Pacific into the Arctic Ocean, where she destroyed many American whaling vessels.[310]

While in the Arctic, the *Shenandoah* met very few ships save the whaling vessels, which she attacked. Since these whalers remained at sea for long periods of time, Waddell was able to obtain very little information about what was going on in the outside world. Although the Civil War had come to an end in all theaters except the Arctic whaling fields, Waddell knew nothing of the surrender of Lee and Johnston in the spring of 1865, and for several months thereafter the *Shenandoah* continued to deal havoc to the vessels she met.

---

307 Bulloch to Mallory, November 17, 1864, *Official Records,* First Series, III, 757.
308 *Papers Relating to the Treaty of Washington,* II, 328.
309 Dudley to Seward, October 18, 1864, *Correspondence Concerning Claims Against Great Britain,* III, 319-320.
310 *Papers Relating to the Treaty of Washington,* I, 177.

On June 19, 1865, Bulloch wrote Waddell of the consecutive surrenders of Lee, Johnston, Taylor, and Smith, and of the imprisonment of Davis, Stephens, and several cabinet members. Bulloch instructed Waddell to attack no more Federal ships, to pay off his crew, and to arrange for the disposal of the *Shenandoah.*[311] Earl Russell arranged to send Bulloch's dispatch to the *Shenandoah,*[312] but that vessel could not be reached until October 2, 1865. On that date Waddell pulled down the Confederate flag from the mast of the *Shenandoah,* and Confederate resistance thus came to an end.[313]

The Confederate commerce destroyers, privateers, and cruisers did much damage to the United States merchant marine. On April 17, 1861, President Jefferson Davis began to issue letters-of-marque, authorizing private vessels to attack enemy merchantmen. Under the authority of these letters-of-marque, vessels of various description, many of them very crude, were armed and sent against United States shipping.

Different from the privateers were the cruisers, commissioned warships of the Confederate States Navy. The navy department had several of these cruisers built in Confederate ports, and a number of merchantmen were converted into cruisers. The most famous of these converted merchantmen, the *Sumter,* commanded by Admiral Raphael Semmes, sailed the Atlantic for nearly a year and destroyed many United States merchant vessels. Early in 1862, however, the *Sumter* was damaged and blockaded in port at Gibraltar. Realizing that there was no hope of getting it back to sea, Semmes turned the *Sumter* over to Bulloch, who sold the vessel.

Although the cruisers outfitted in Confederate ports did much damage to the ocean trade of the United States, those built in England under Bulloch's supervision were more efficient and made more outstanding achievements against Union shipping than those built in the Confederacy. The first of these cruisers built by Bulloch, the *Florida,* after being armed in the West Indies, sailed to Mobile and after leaving that port, January 16, 1863, began her career as a Confederate cruiser. Sailing the

---

311 Bulloch to Waddell, June 19, 1865, *Official Records,* First Series, III, 776-777.
312 *Papers Relating to the Treaty of Washington,* I, 178.
313 Waddell to Russell, November 6, 1865, *Official Records,* First Series, III, 783-784.

Atlantic for nearly two years, the *Florida* destroyed many enemy merchantmen until October 7, 1864, when she was finally destroyed by the U.S.S. *Wachusett.*

The *Alabama,* the most renowned of the Confederate cruisers built through Bulloch's efforts, put to sea under the Confederate flag on August 24, 1862, and during her first two months at sea took twenty prizes. At a prize court established in Semmes's cabin most of these ships were ordered to be burned. As time went on, the *Alabama* inflicted increasingly heavy damage on Union commerce. The United States Navy detailed several men-of-war to search for the *Alabama,* widely known as "the scourge of the seas." A flying squadron of sixteen ships commanded by Captain Charles Wilkes cruised the waters of the West Indies searching for the *Alabama.* After sailing the seas for nearly two years and destroying many enemy vessels, the *Alabama* was sunk by the U. S. S. *Kersarge* on June 19, 1864.

The successes of the *Shenandoah,* although important, were less significant than those of the *Florida* and *Alabama.* Since it sailed in the Pacific and Arctic oceans, the *Shenandoah* did not come into contact with the main vessels of the United States merchant marine. The three ships, *Florida, Alabama,* and *Shenandoah,* sunk or captured more than 250 merchantmen. The United States recognized the importance of these cruisers and estimated the damage done by them at more than $15,000,000. Charles Sumner, exaggerating their importance, claimed that they prolonged the war by two years and cost the United States upwards of $4,000,000,000.

Much credit for the accomplishments of these vessels must be given to Bulloch. The greatest obstacle which the Confederate Navy had to surmount was the lack of ships, and it was Bulloch's diligent and faithful application of his ingenious ability, his thorough knowledge of nautical affairs, and his sound experience that enabled the Confederacy to surmount this hurdle.

Bulloch also made important contributions to blockade running, one of the most important activities of the Civil War. The Confederate Navy tried to break the blockade with ironclads, but the *Virginia* and a few crude ironclads built in Confederate ports did not constitute sufficient force to deal decisive blows. All hope of breaking the blockade was based on the rams that

Bulloch was having built. The original plan called for twenty-six ironclads, but the shortage of money limited the number to five. These five alone might have rendered the blockade ineffective; they might have made disastrous raids on Union ports; and they might have turned the tide of the war. But the United States government, realizing their importance, took a strong stand and demanded of England and France that they prevent the rams from sailing. After the Confederate military disasters of the summer of 1863, England and France could not afford to defy the Union stand, and they seized the rams.

Bulloch cannot be charged with incompetence or lack of diligence simply because he failed to get the Laird rams afloat. The obstacles were so great that they could not be surmounted. Bulloch, like his famous contemporary, Robert E. Lee, displayed skill and ability in making the best of difficult situations, but the United States had vastly superior resources against which the total efforts of the Confederacy could not prevail. Like Lee, Bulloch performed great services for a lost cause.

It is significant to note that no one in treating the subject has minimized Bulloch's ability or questioned his honesty, sincerity, or patriotism. In fact many Confederate leaders praised very highly Bulloch's Confederate service. President Davis, whose views were typical, wrote as follows:

> Captain James D. Bulloch, an officer of the old navy, of high ability as a statesman, and of an integrity which stood the test under which a less stern character might have given way, was our naval agent at Liverpool. In his office he disbursed millions, and, when there was no one to whom he could be required to render account, paid out the last shilling in his hand, and confronted poverty with no prospect of other reward than that which he might find in a clear conscience.[314]

Historians have failed to realize the significance of Bulloch's contributions to the Confederate cause, and have given very little attention to his activities. If Bulloch had been successful in achieving his full goal, he would have been listed among the greatest heroes of the War for Southern Independence. As it is, one can only say that he made one of the most significant and noble contributions to the "Lost Cause."

---

314 Jefferson Davis, *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, II, 248.

ALFRED MORDECAI'S OBSERVATIONS OF EUROPEAN LIFE ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO*

Edited by JAMES A. PADGETT

July 18th– Helsingfors (in Finland)– I left your letter hastily, my dear wife, in Stockholm or rather at Daunemora, for I believe I had not bro't my narrative down to our return from that place however I have so little to say about it, as we returned from the mine in the evening by the same road that we went, stopping at Upsala[1] only long enough to dine & to look at the statues of Linneus[2] & Gustavus Vasa[3] of that place where there is little else, at present, worth seeing– Regardless of his usual persuasions & much grumbling from the present courier he took us into Stockholm by 10 o'clk, & so ends our travels in Sweden.

The next morning was devoted to preparation for departure from Stockholm. Invitation to the Crown prince's dinner hour almost surprised us unprepared– We reached the palace, however, in good time. The company assembled consisted, besides ourselves, of half doz. medical officers, most of the Prince's household, the Danish minister at [illegible] & 2 ladies of honor one of whom I had met before at Count Sherweld's– A short time after we entered the Prince & Princess came in, by a side door, & after a little conversation with the several guests they led the way to the dining room. The suite of rooms is quite plain but the dinner table was decorated, being ornamented with a rich silver plate on the decorations of which are very creditable to the swedish silver smiths– The royal pair were served chiefly on old (i. e. silver gilt,) the rest of the company on silver for several courses after which beautiful french porcelain painted with designs appropriate for the place with decorations & views of Sweden, costumes &c– The dinner was not distinguished from a good dinner in the french style at any wealthy gentleman's home, except the first course which consisted of raw salmon filet stewed sausage in com-

* This is A continuation of the letters printed in the October, 1946, issue of the *Review*.

1 Upsala or Uppsala, a laen in eastern Sweden as well as the capital of the laen, is noted for its fine university, founded by Sten Sture in 1477. It contains more than a quarter of a million books besides priceless manuscripts, and since 1707 it has the right of receiving a copy of every book printed in Sweden. The city is situated on the Fyris River and the northward arm of Lake Malar and has water communication with Stockholm. In the old Botanical garden Linnaeus had his residence, but a new botanical garden was given by Gustavus III in 1787. Its collection of coins and minerals, botanical garden and museum, observatory, etc. are fine, but the most outstanding building of the city is the Gothic cathedral, founded in 1260. Among the radiating choir-chapels is that of Gustavus Vasa, adorned with historic frescos, and containing the king's tomb with sculptured figures of himself and his first two wives. The dimensions of the building are 359 by 103 feet, with a transcept length of 136 feet, and the height of vaulting 90 feet. The two west towers have reached only about half their projected height of 388 feet. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 1021; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, XXII (1941), 884-885.

2 Carolus Linnaeus (May 13, 1707-January 10, 1778) one of the world's most famous botanists and naturalists, made the town famous by being born there. He founded the Linnean system of botany, was a noted traveller, outstanding professor, and interesting scientific writer. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 614.

3 Gustavus I or Vasa (May 12, 1496-September 29, 1560) was given a careful education, chiefly by the court of his kinsman; was an outstanding leader in bringing the Reformation into Sweden; and was a powerful figure in developing Sweden. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia* IX, 469.

plement to the Swedish ladies, & as a substitute for the soupe which usually precedes the Swedish dinner. For the Desert, we had cherries & very good peaches, [illegible] made a sketch (for his wife's benefit) for the princess's page who had on a fringed garment which reached to his thighs & on his head was adorned with an embroidered skull cap, on the front of which was stuck a plume of three tall ostrich feathers of different colors; However the servants were in plain light blue livery– Our dinner occupied not more than an hour, a considerable part of which I was obliged to devote to my fair neighbour countess Mörnea, young but not handsome– after dinner we consumed only one hour in the ordinary room, talking & looking at paintings– The prince & princess very affable & no unpleasant stiffness about the party– The princess is not handsome but her graces & affibility &c have gained her great affection from the Swedes, & I always heard her well spoken of– You may not know, perhaps, that she is a daughter of Eugene Beauharnais[4]– When it was time to go they each said something to the principal members of the party, & we "backed out"– then again an account & without long adieu of a prince's dinner party– unfortunately it has not happened to me even to lay eyes on the King;[5] I have been so little in Stockholm that I have not encountered him in his evening drives– for same reason I have said little about the city to you, for I see it but rarely– its appearance from a distance is always fine owing to the picturesque situation & the gayiety imparted by the whiteness of the houses within & out. it has many striking points of view, especially the palace towards the northern (& the west) end of the city– the principal squares & open spaces– are ornamented with statues in bronze Gustavus Wasa, Genl. Adolph, Gustavus III[6] & Charles 13th[7] altogether, but were not for the goddess of the weather, I should imagine myself in a southern city, the appearance of things is so much gayer that I expected in this

---

[4] Eugène de Beauharnais, Duke of Leuchtenberg and Prince of Eichstadt, was born in Paris on September 3, 1781, and died in Munich on February 21, 1824. He was the son of Alexander de Beauharnais and Josephine, later Empress of France. He was with Napoleon in Egypt in 1798; became Viceroy of Italy in 1805; married a Bavarian Princess in 1806; was adopted by Napoleon and made heir apparent to the crown of Italy in 1806; won the battle of Raab in 1809; commanded an army corps in Russian campaign in 1812; decided the victory of Lutzen in 1813; and retired to Bavaria in 1814 as Duke of Leuchtenberg in possession of the principality of Eichstadt. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 134.

[5] John Charles XIV, or Jean Baptiste Jules Bernadotte, was born in France on January 26, 1764, and died in Stockholm, Sweden, on March 8, 1844. He was a French general in France from 1794 to 1809; was French Minister of War in 1799; became a Marshal of France in 1804; served with distinction in Austerlitz in 1805; was elected Crown Prince of Sweden in 1810 by the pressure of Napoleon; commanded the "army of the North" against Napoleon in 1813; and served as King of Norway and Sweden from 1818 to 1844. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 237.

[6] Gustavus III was born at Stockholm on January 24, 1746, and died in the same city on March 29, 1792. He served as King of Sweden from 1771 to 1792. He was the son of Adolphus Frederick; crushed the power of the royal council by a coup d'etat in 1772, which reduced it from the position of co-regent to that of advisory council; fought Russia from 1788 to 1790; and was murdered as a result of a conspiracy among the nobles. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 470.

[7] Charles XIII (October 7, 1748-February 5, 1818), the second son of Adolphus Frederick, was King of Sweden from 1809 to 1818 and of Norway. He took part in the revolution of 1772; was regent from 1792 to 1796; and became King of Norway in 1814. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 237.

northern climate– The same thing may be said of other towns I have seen especially Abo [8] & Helsingfors,[9] which have both a lot of distinction quite incompatible with their real insignificance & poverty– the most singular & characteristic objects about & the Dalmatia men & women is their peculiar costumes of which a description can give but a very inadequate idea– the women are almost universally employed to man the boats which ply about the town, & which they move either by rowing or by means of a crank which turns paddles like a steamer– in general the women are employed in all sorts of work, & in the inns & common houses it is easy to find a man servant: I have even seen them making up mortar & carrying loads of brick for the masons or working at a smith forge.

On Wednesday the 15th, in the midst of a tremendous thunderstorm, that is a right American storm of rain, we betook ourselves to the little steamer Kliaborg & departed for Petersburg in hopes of arriving there sometimes the following week, for we could get no correct information on the subject. Our poor valet took leave of us with tears in his eyes, not knowing where he could get as good job again– in the cold & wet we found ourselves uncomfortable enough in our contracted cabin, where we had to pass the night before reaching Abo, & to add to our discomfort the steamer temporarily employed in the place of stage boat was very much crowded–

We read in our guide book a great deal about the heat of the northern summers, but we have hardly had the good fortune to see the thermometer yet above 65° unless for a very short time during the day & generally we suffer from the cold, even with our great coats on– the navigation of the Baltic in this part has the same climate as that which I before described in going from the outlet of the canal to Stockholm, hemmed in on all sides by rocky islands which in some places hardly leave passage wide enough for our little craft, it would be impossible to go up, but for the occasional opening into the sea, that we were not [ ] on a side on a lake– It is possible for a while, but plies by its oars.

In about 24 hours we reached Abo where we had to remain until the next morning, thus giving ample time to see this ancient capital of Finland– Having been recently burned & in great measure rebuilt, it has the appearance of a large handsome town, but its broad streets nearly deserted & we saw I believe but one vessel at the long quays which border the river– its once famous & bugermastic bell stands beautifully situated on a rocky hill, but it is now dismantled & the

[8] Abo is a seaport and capital of Abo-Njörnéborg, Finland, and was the capital of Finland before 1819. It was founded by Eric the Saint in the twelfth century; it is the see of an archbishop; and was the seat of a university which was removed to Helsingfors in 1827. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 5.

[9] Helsingfors or Helsinki is a seaport and capital of Finland and situated on the Gulf of Finland. It is the largest and chief commercial city of the country; the seat of a university since 1827; was founded by Gustavus Vasa in the sixteenth century; became the capital in 1819; and is an important naval station which is strongly fortified. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 492.

observer remained, with the university, to Helsingfors the Russian capital of Finland– the latter place we reached about night & we have taken up our lodgings at a hotel, with agreeable prospect of remaining ten days, the steamer for Petersburg being delayed here in consequence of the festivities of a grand celebration, centennial, I believe of the university, which is now enlivening the place & crowding the hotels with visitors, somewhat to our annoyance as its causes us to take up with very poor accommodations. At Abo in latitude 60° 35′ I have found I hope my limit of travel this year–

July 20th5 Helsingfors– In consequence of the festival of the University this town is just now very gay, & we see it to great advantage, I suppose, but infinately to our annoyance at the useless detention– The town being forced by the Government, like a hot house plant, is really a remarkable one– it has been built within a few years, & the principal edifices are on a large scale, & of very ornamental style of architecture– such be the town house, the University, the Library, Hospitals, Barracks, the Observatory & a beautiful church in the centre of the city– The private houses too are on a large scale, exteriorly & very imposing in appearance– all the buildings are stuccoed & colored either white or yellow,– the roofs being generally pea green– The harbor is an excellent one & defended by very extensive fortifications built by the Swedes– altogether I have been surprised to find as distinguished– looking place in one of which I knew only the. . . . Things are very much changed in appearance from what we saw in Sweden– Crowds of soldiers everywhere in the streets– uniforms of all kinds, civil & military, in great variety– droschkaes with their enormous equipments, & their heads their bearded drivers with . . . . hats indicate the vicinity of Russia– Last evening (Sunday, i.e. when the sun was about two hours high we attended a public ball given at the Hotel of a new bathing establishment adjoining the town– for one Ruble (23 cents) we gained admission & found such an assemblage as you would not have suspected at such a place– A large room crowded with well dressed & very good looking women & respectable men, a great portion of them evidently belonging to the better (if not the best) classes of people– Crowds of officers in uniform & priests in their canonicals– all enjoyed themselves with propriety & decency– Except the predominance of uniforms the assemblage of such a one as you might see in a respectable place in any civilized country– a side room was devoted to refreshments of which excellent tea formed a great part, & another room, of course, to something which there is no getting rid of in this country–

To-day we went for a little while into the new church to see the ceremony of conferring degrees, which closes the festival– The church was filled with women & men, all in full dress, & the professors & candidates, mounted on the central platform intended for the

prelate's desk, being in laced coats, added to the brilliant appearance of the crowd– Scarcely a person of any respectability, I may say, who is not decorated with the insignia of some form or other of half a dozen orders of merit, so that the mark could almost be a distinction– a great part of the morning was passed to little purpose, at the fortress of Sweaborg,[10] at the entrance of the harbor, & now we are with great satisfaction, about to send our baggage on board the French Menachikoff for Revel[11] & Petersburg. It has been a tedious time for us here, rendered so by the abominable inn we were obliged to stay in– I had heard & read most of Russian filth let us trust that in my first experience at the Steamer's Hotel. I have had the worst specimen of it which I am destined to meet with as my travels will not extend beyond St. Petersburg.

July 24th St. Petersburg– Here you see me comfortably established in the great northern capital the most magnificanet city that I have ever seen as I have always imagined it to be nothing in the first cursory view yesterday has disappointed me– but I must reserve my account of first impression for more leisure, as I am just preparing this miserable sheet to go by to-morrow's mail in order to give you the earliest notice of my safe arrival–

We left Helsingfors on a beautiful, bright day, at 9 o'clk, but we had not long been clear of the harbor before the weather came & by the time we reached Revel (for we were going backwards) it was raining furiously, so that during the few hours of detention there we had the satisfaction of remaining in the cabin of the steamer taking a peep out at the extensive batteries which surrounded [it]– here we saw a little specimen of the Russian custom house operation; the ladies who had gone over to the fete & ball at H. had all their nice things overhawled on deck, in the rain & by dirty officers, & the deck was not a normal one by any means– The various ceremonies being completed we set sail in the midst of the storm. I soon turned in, & to my great surprise I escaped without any annoyance from sea sickness, but the scene on deck that evening as described to me by some of the others, & that which I saw the next morning beggar description– men, women & children, (the women in their best dresses) all lying pell mell on the deck, in the midst of the rain, too sick to take care of each other; I know how to pity them– fortunately, however the next day proved fine & early in the afternoon we came to

---

[10] Sveaborg or Sweaborg, the fortress in the harbor of Helsingfors, Finland, was constructed in 1749; was betrayed to the Russians on May 3, 1808; and was bombarded by the Anglo-French fleet on August 9-10, 1855. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 968.

[11] Reval or Revel is a seaport and capital of Esthonia, and is situated on the Bay of Finland. The town has a large and increasing commerce and is a famous watering-place. Its most famous buildings are the Olai and Nikolai churches. It was founded by the Danes in 1219; became a Hanseatic town; joined the Livonian order of knights in 1346; and was annexed to Sweden in 1561, and to Russia in 1710. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 851.

anchor off Crownstadt; [12] an hour or two sufficed for the custom house officers & examination of passports, but from some mismanagement or stupidity, we were detained until nearly dark for want of the necessary papers to allow us to proceed to Petersburg; which we did not reach therefore until midnight– another hour's detention on board to get our passports; or leave to go on shore did not improve our good humour & I, for one, landed with a full determination to be pleased with nothing in Russia, but I had scarcely entered Mrs Wilson's clean & comfortable house (where lodgings had been bespoken for us) before my displeasure vanished, & the pleasure of lying once more on a [bed] will have completely restored my equanimity–

I will tell you nothing of Petersburg, tho' we have improved our time as well as possible, while waiting for the official people to move– We are aiming to leave here in ten days for Berlin, where I shall have the satisfaction of meeting your letters with all the good news which I hope they will contain– My back once turned on the north I shall begin to feel like getting home again & to hope for the complete reestablishment of my health; at present I suffer nothing but the inconvenience of some stiffness in my joints & of not being able to bear much fatigue, but my general health seems to be very good & I take no more medicine– I trust that I shall hear as good accounts from you as I am able to send you. I write to no one else at present & my time here will be too much occupied that it is doubtful whether I shall be able to write to any one else from here– Send this letter to Richmond therefore, shabby as it is– My love to your mother– I wish you could have been with me today in a pleasant drive through the grounds of the Elaghin Palace, after visiting the magnificant gallery of paintings in the Hermitage–[13] Farewell! & a thousand kisses to you & the children from your loving husband [14]

A. Mordecai.

Mrs Alfred Mordecai
Care of Henry Hays Esqr
Philadelphia
% England.

---

[12] Kronstadt or Cronstadt is a seaport in the government of Russia, situated on the Island of Kotlin-Ostroff, near the head of the Gulf of Finland. It is the port of St. Petersburg or Leningrad and the chief seaport of Russia; has regular communication by steamer with Stockholm, Stettin, Lubeck, Havre, etc.; and was founded by Peter the Great in 1710. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 579.

[13] The Hermitage, built by Catherine II, reconstructed in 1840-1850, is a classical edifice and contains one of the richest artistic and archaeological collections in the world, including sculpture and masterpieces from all the famous schools of painters. It measures 375 by 512 feet, and has two interior courts. The entrance porch is supported by ten colossal human figures and the roof of the grand hall rests on sixteen fine monolithic columns. Although large this palace does not compare with the Winter Palace, nearby, which is the largest palace in the world. When formerly occupied by the imperial family, it could accommodate 6,000 people. Its fine halls are also rich in statuary, paintings, and gems of art. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 498; *Encyclopaedia Americana* (1938), XXI, 679.

[14] Much of this letter is almost illegible, for it was written on both sides of very thin paper and the ink ran through. Consequently, there may be quite a number of minor errors in the transcription and in the spelling and punctuation.

July $25/13$– St Petersburg–[15] You see, my dear Laura, that I have already fallen into the ways of Russia, at least with regard to the Calendar, in which they are 12 days, you know, behind the rest of the civilized world– I have just sealed up a shabby sheet for you to go by this morning's mail & having still a little time left before we can go out & bring up my narrative to the present time.

The interval is but two days, yet it would require many many hours writing to give you an account of what I have seen. How many accounts, by the bye, you & every one else have read of these very things, & yet how incomplete is the notion formed of them by such reading: it always seems to me that this should discourage letter writers abroad from attempting any *detail* of sights so often described, & therefore I endeavor to confine myself to noting the impression they make on me–

In seeking my banker's Huger & I took our *first walk* in Petersburg, under the guidance of a valet de place. Passing along the magnificent granite quays of the Nova our course lay through the great centre of wonders, the "admiralty square," the like of which no other city in Europe can boast: almost the first object that presented itself, in turning from the quay, is the noble statue of Peter: [16] it is impossible to convey an idea of the excellence of this splendid monument– Nothing that I had before seen, (& I have seen many fine equestrian statues,) bears any comparison with it– The spirit which actually seems to animate the fiery charger & to breathe from his nostrils, the ease & majesty of the monarch's figure, almost cheat the beholder into a belief that the kings are "instinct with life"– You are never tired with gazing at it– On whatever side you turn in this vast square, objects of stupendous magnificence meet your view– the immense admiralty palace,[17] (the front of which is about equal to the space from 8th to 12th street in Phila^{a}, perhaps greater,) The

---

[15] St. Petersburg or Leningrad, standing on islands and the shore, at the mouth of the Neva River, at the head of the Gulf of Finland, dates from 1703, but the Neva outlet was used long before this time. It was chosen by Peter the Great on account of its proximity to Europe and outlet to the Baltic. It is noted for its architecture, educational institutions, industries, and shipping. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 885-886.

[16] Peter (Alexeievitch) called Peter the Great was born in Moscow on May 30, 1672, and died on January 28, 1725. At an early age he began to build boats which led to the creation of the Russian Navy. After failing completely in his war against Turkey he determined to prepare his nation for war and peace. He imported workmen to build ships; made [his] trip to the West for educational purposes; and took back with him many western ideas. All his life he remained a barbarian genius. While in England on his trip to the West, a house belonging to Evelyn was rented for him and his party. They all tried to crowd into one room and to sleep in one bed until they broke down the furniture. They also filled the house with lice. Each year Evelyn sent a bill to the government for delousing his house. William refused to pay it, but Anne, in order to get rid of him, finally had it paid. As soon as he returned he began to westernize his people and country. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, XVII (1941), 643-645; *Evelyn's Diary, passim.*

[17] The Admiralty Palace or building faces the Admiralty Square. From this building and square radiate the wide prospects or streets. With few exceptions the streets in this section are wide and conspicuous. The most important part of the city is south of the Admiralty. The sidewalks are narrow and most of the streets are roughly paved. The Prospects were the finest streets, the next were the Ulitza or cross streets, and the Pereulok or third class thoroughfares. The most famous prospect is the Nevska Prospect, which with Prince Street in Edinburgh, Scotland, are the two finest streets in the world. In front of the Admiralty Building stands the immense Column of Alexander pointing skyward. *Encyclopaedia Americana* (1938), XXI, 278-280.

great winter palace,[18] with its varied, tho' fantastic ornaments; the lofty & graceful column of Alexander,[19] formed of one block of red granite 90 ft high; the beautiful circus front of the Hotel of the Etat Major; the stupendous Isaac church,[20] the numerous granite columns of which are visible through the forest of Leaffolding that surrounds the unfinished building; the palace of the senate– all these, any one of which might be the wonder & embraced almost at one view– such is the character of the whole city; a succession of palaces bordering the wide streets, without the intervention of any meaner buildings, give the idea, (& a just one too) of a city built, not according to the means & caprices of private individuals, but by the hand of unbounded wealth guided by the will & taste of one magnificent passion–

Whilst waiting for Mr Sasser to come in from his country seat, we extended our walk to the Nevskoi Prospect,[21] the great street of St. Petersbg, where the quick succession of novel equipages varied costumes furnishes constant amusement to the spectator– among the equipages perhaps the most striking is that of the private droschka, with its curious appendage of a beautiful horse harnessed not for use, but for superfluity, being instructed merely to display his figure & graces in prancing along the street, whilst his plebian neighbor in the shafts, with his neck under a lofty yoke, *performs* all the drudgery.

It is already some days since I have been able to continue my narrative, (this being the 30th) & in that time I have seen many fine things as you will discover presently, if I am not too soon interrupted again–

I was going on to give you an account of our first day in St. Petersburg– after arranging business with the banker we took a carriage, (for nothing is to be done on foot in this great city) & drove round

---

[18] The Winter Palace in St. Petersburg is 455 by 350 feet. It is built in Renaissance exteriorily, and is three stories and attic above the basement. The interior is remarkable for its series of Russian historical paintings and portraits as well as for the splendid state apartments. Here also are kept the crown jewels. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 1067.

[19] Alexander I (December 23, 1777-December 1, 1825) succeeded his father Paul as Emperor of Russia in 1801. He favored education and science for Russia as well as westernization of Russia; promoted trade and manufacture; abolished serfdom in Baltic provinces; joined several coalitions against Napoleon; entered Paris in 1814; was at the Congress of Vienna in 1815; formed the Holy Alliance and helped formulate the Quadruple Alliance, both to prevent future wars; and was a leading reformer. The Alexander column was erected in St. Petersburg in 1832. It is a polished shaft of red granite 84 feet high and 14 feet in diameter. It is the greatest modern monolith. It supports a Roman-Doric capital of bronze on which is a die bearing a figure of an angel with the cross. The pedestal is adorned with reliefs in bronze. The total height is 154¾ feet. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 35, 36.

[20] St. Isaac's Cathedral is a building of Renaissance style, imposing from its size (364 by 315 feet) and the magnificence of its materials. The plan is a Greek cross crowned by a fine dome 336 feet high. It was not completed until after the middle of the nineteenth century. From each face projects an octastyle Corinthian portico with columns 60 feet high, the shafts monoliths of polished granite, and the capitals of bronze. The pediments are filled with sculpture in bronze. The huge doors are of bronze covered with reliefs. In the interior the iconostasis is adorned with remarkable columns of malachite, over 30 feet high, and its royal doors are flanked by great pillars of lapis lazuli. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 885.

[21] Navsky or Navskii Próspect shares with Princess Street in Edinburgh, Scotland, the distinction of being one of the two finest streets in the world, but many travelers award the palm to Navsky Próspect. *Encyclopedia Americana* (1938), XXI, 678-679.

to deliver the letters we had for some of the principal people here, from the Russian Minister at Stockholm– the drive took us over a great part of the city, showing us yet more of its exterior splendor, in palaces, gardens,[22] &c– We then made the most of our time– by commencing at once the business of *lionizing*, for which purpose we drove just to the church of our Lady of Kazan[23] at present the cathedral of the city. The interior is very magnificent with immense red granite columns, each composed of a single block of stone, supporting the arches of the roof, whilst the altar & all the parts adjoining are covered with silver & gold, & pictures of saints set in a profusion of jewels, diamonds, pearls &c– The whole reminded me more of Rome than any thing I have seen since I was in that capitol of the Catholic church, & indeed this Greek religion seems to differ very little, in its *exterior forms* from the Roman Catholic, except that the churches of the latter are covered with *graven* images, which are not allowed here, but for which *pictures* highly ornamented are substituted– The same appearance of devotion distinguishes the manner of those who enter a church, & the lower classes scarcely ever pass by the door of one, without stopping to bow their heads & make numerous crossings of their hearts– But the Greek churches in this city are distinguished from any places of devotion in Rome by the crowds of banners taken from conquered people, & the keys of captured fortresses, with which every pillar & corner are decorated. Although most of these are standards & trophies from the less civilized nations bordering on the southern & eastern parts of the empire, Turks, circassian, Persians, &c, yet the intermixture of French eagles in the exhibition of the very keys of Paris, give one a lively idea of the immense military power of this vast empire, whose double headed eagle grasps, as it were, with one talon the trophies of the wild but warlike nations of Asia, & with the other, those of one of the most civilized & most war like people of western Europe– The same, or rather a greater, profusion of mily trophies, were found in the next church we visited, that of

---

22 Great forests extend to the very confines of the city in one direction, while marshy bogs are characteristic everywhere. Some 200 canals have been constructed to care for the overflow of the Neva and the melting ice and snow in the spring. These canals are spanned by granite and iron bridges, with draws in the middle. Bridges are also constructed to connect the many islands. Many of these structures are merely pontoon bridges and are removed periodically, especially when the ice descends from Lake Ladoga. *Encyclopaedia Americana*, XXI (1938), 678.

23 The Church of Lady Kazan or the Kazan Cathedral is in the form of a plain Latin cross with hexastyle porticoes before the nave and transepts, and an aspidal chevet. Though one third smaller than St. Isaac's, it is still an imposing structure. The chief entrance, which is the northern transept, is preceded by curved porticos of admirable effect, in imitation of those of St. Peter's at Rome. The dome rests on four piers from which extend four double ranges of columns with granite shafts and bronze capitals and bases. The iconostasis is of silver, from the spoils of Napoleon I. The cathedral contains many other martial trophies. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 885.

Peter & Paul,[24] which is distinguished as being the burial place of the Czars since Peter the Great– The lofty tapering spire of this church is one of the remarkable objects in Petersburg: being all gilded over it forms a conspicuous point from the distance of many miles, in this flat country, especially when the rays of a bright evening sun fall on it– This church is situated on the island where Peter first commenced the city & not far from it is the first house built here, viz: Peter's own house,[25] a log cabin with two rooms & a sleeping closet; it has been consecrated as a chapel & is now protected by another house of brick & mortar built around it, & inside are preserved many specimens of Peter's handiwork, & furniture, &c, made & used by him– such things are also to be found in every museum or place of curiosity in the city & there is no danger of the founder's name sinking into oblivion here–

On the 24th we continued our sight seeing by going to Palace "Hermitage," as Catherine's palace is called. This building adjoins the "Winter Palace," (the present Imperial residence, of which it may be said to form a part, but it is now merely a museum & gallery of pictures & a magnificent one it is– After having seen the first collections in France & Italy I must say that I have never seen one so entirely pleasing, & I may say faultless, as this of the Hermitage– There are no doubt some pictures in other collections superior to any here, but whilst they are generally half disgraced by contact with inferior works, you here pass from one room to another of a magnificent suit of apartments without meeting with a single painting which offends or which has not some interest to recommend it– Other beautiful things too, tables, vases & other objects of malachite, violet coloured porphyry, lapis lazuli & precious stones recommend themselves to your notice– An immense collection of riches of this kind is kept in apartments which are not generally exhibited & to which we did not gain access–

After being dazzled with these works of art our eyes were refreshed by a drive among the woods & green fields in the country a few miles north of the city, & about the neat grounds of the Emperors palace, or rather country house, on the Yelaghen island– a place arranged not for show, but for comfort & enjoyment– in the vicinity are also many country places of the nobility & wealthy merchants; the houses built generally of wood, but prettily decorated

---

[24] The fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul stands on an island connected with the mainland by the Trotsky Bridge. The Cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul stands within the fortress and has since the foundation of St. Petersburg been the mausoleum of the Russian sovereigns. In plan it is rectangular, three aisled, 98 by 210 feet; it is rococo in style and crowned by a slender pyramidal spire of Dutch design, 302 feet high, covered with gilded copper. The imperial tombs are interesting and the icons and other church ornaments of extreme richness. The interior contains a great number of warlike trophies. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 885; *Encyclopaedia Americana* (1938), XXI, 678.

[25] The cottage of Peter the Great, built by the czar in 1703 and inhabited by him during the building of St. Petersburg, is preserved as a memorial and contains many relics of that famous man. It is built of wood, twenty by fifty-five feet, with two rooms and a kitchen. The Czar's bedroom has been arranged as a chapel. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 885-886.

& ornamented with profusion of flowers, among which the hydrangeas are particularly remarkable– In calling on Mr Chew [26] in the evening we found that he had already received an answer to his note to Count Nesslerode requesting for us a presentation to the Emperor, & that for that purpose we were desired to be in camp at Kiosnoe Lelo on Sunday Evening, & we were also invited to be present at the reviews & manoeuvres which were to take place in the next week– Having yet one day before us in Petersburg, we devoted it to seeing some more of the establishments, in which Mr Chew accompanied– We went first, (as being most in our line) to an extensive foundry & machine factory belonging to Mr Baird, a Scotchman, & we were very politely conducted over the works by one of the principals– The details would not interest you as much as they did me & I therefore spare you an account of them, but you would have been astonished in going through the sugar refinery which forms one part of the concern, to see the great labour which is expended in the preapration of the beautiful loaf sugar used in this country– I don't know if you are aware of the great quantity of tea used in this country– it is of an excellent quality too, better, they pretend, than what is obtained by the other nations who trade at the sea ports, theirs being brought over land, & perhaps from a different district of country from ours– All the people use it in great quantities & a nycete instead of asking for drink money, (as in other countries,) asks for *tea money,* but I fancy he spends it no less in strong drink, or in their miserable quass a sort of bitter beer– ?

From the sugar refinery we went to the School of Mines, a grand establishment, which contains the most beautiful & valuable Cabinet of Minerals which is known, with a fine collection of Models of Machinery &c, & even of mines on a large scale, large enough to allow you to walk through the extensive subterranean galleries & to see the representation of the various strata of minerals as they really exist in the earth– The academy of arts, a large & handsome building possesses little of real interest & did not detain us long– The great picture of the collection is the "Destruction of Pompeii," by a Russian artist– [27]

In the evening whilst we were taking a glass of wine with Mr

---

[26] William White Chew was born on August 12, 1803, the son of Benjamin and Katherine (Banning) Chew and grandson of Chief Justice Benjamin and Elizabeth (Oswald) Chew. He was commissioned as secretary to George A. Dallas, U. S. Minister to Russia, on March 7, 1837, and after the latter's return to the United States on July 29, 1839, Chew acted as *charge d'affaires ad interim* until August 24, 1840. He died on November 12, 1851. *National Encyclopaedia of American Biography,* V, 531.

[27] St. Petersburg was at this time a center of learning and education. The Imperial Library contained more than a million volumes. It had an Academy of Sciences with rich collections, an Academy of Arts, various museums, military, mining, naval, medical, and other schools, and a university founded in 1819 with a well rounded faculty in the various branches of learning. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia,* IX, 886.

Chew, there came a note from Count Nesselrode [28] saying that the Emperor would receive us not on Monday, but on Sunday morning at 8 o'clk– We were obliged therefore to make immediate arrangements, which we fortunately effected, for being off the next day betimes, having 16 miles to travel before reaching the camp–

July 26th. Sunday – We accordingly set off at 4½ in the morning & driving very fast as they always do in this country, we reached the village of Kiosnoe Lelo before 7– here we found rooms assigned to us in one of the pavillions, (as they are called,) belonging to the Emperor & kept for the reception of the persons invited to the reviews– our valet who knew the ways of the place, soon brought us in a nice breakfast, served up handsomely in silver & china; & about 8 we were informed by Col. Leontiff, the aide de camp of the Emperor's principal aide de camp Count Beukendorff, that we should be presented at 10, so that we had hurried ourselves to no purpose– For Count B. we had brought a letter from Count Matusewiez which was probably of great use to us, for we were received by him in the kindest manner & he continued to treat us, during our stay at camp, with marked attention– We found indeed that one mark of attention was our being called thus sudden to camp, for we had by that means an opportunity of seeing a very interesting sunday spectacle– Our presentation to the Emperor was done in the most military manner– as it was not a field day none were mounted except the Emp. & his immediate suite– We three (for Major Wade did not go down on the first day,) were drawn up by the road side, at the place where the Emp. was to take horse; Genl Beukendorff being on horseback in front of us– The Emp. arrived in a carriage, walked up rapidly to where we stood, asked us a question or two, & said he should be delighted if we found any thing to interest us during our visit; he then hurried off & was on his horse in a moment, galloping to camp. The rest followed in carriages, of which there were always as many as the visitors required, & arriving at the camp of the advanced guard we found the whole division of the army, 12,000 men, assembled around a large pavillion which was fitted up for a chapel– The imperial family & their visitors & suite occupied the tent, & we had thus a very good opportunity of seeing them at leisure– The Emp. is one of the handsomest & the most graceful men I ever saw: In every situation in public he remembers, without seeming to tire of it, that he is the *first* man & the observed of all observers & it is hardly an exaggeration to say that, in every attitude, either on foot or horseback, he might serve as a model for the painter or the statuary– The same impression is made, I find, on all those who

[28] Count Karl Robert Nesselrode was born in St. Petersburg on December 14, 1780, and died in St. Petersburg on March 23, 1862. He directed the foreign policy of Russia (nearly all the time as Minister of Foreign Affairs) from 1813 to 1856. He signed the Peace of Paris in 1814; was present at the Congress of Vienna, 1814-1815, at Aix-La-Chapelle in 1818, at Laibach in 1821, and at other international gatherings. He became Chancellor in 1844, and concluded the Peace of Paris in 1856 at the close of the Crimean War. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 729.

see him– When the religious service of the day was finished & the men dismissed, the Emperor himself taking the command for that purpose, we all followed to the main camp where a most picturesque exhibition took place– Some officers from each regt in the camp came up to report to the Emp.– The number of officers of cavalry was about 100, nearly all in different uniforms– Cuirassiers, lancers, hussars, circassian musal mans & cossacks, (The three last in their national costume) with these the Emp. amused himself & us by putting them through various evolutions– Making them sometimes advance at a slow pace, then dash off at a charge & halt suddenly when in full career,– The irregular cavalry i. e. the cuirassiers &c, would put their horses to the top of their speed, & in the midst of a course fire, with unerring precision, at pieces of paper placed on the ground as marks for them– with their tough little horses, their peculiar manner of riding & their wild cries, they often reminded me of the representations of the mounted Pawnee Indians– The whole scene is difficult to describe, but it was a beautiful spectacle– Another exceedingly picturesque & imposing scene we witnessed was unexpectedly on returning from a drive after dinner– The evening parade, a "retreat," as it is called in Mily phrase– We passed the camp just as the men were drawn out in the sheets of their several lines of tents They were all in undress, i. e. in long [ ] which covered their persons completely, & standing motionless as so many statues– The music of each regt beating the retreat at the same time, & this finished, at a given signal, every head is uncovered & the whole of the music plays a solemn air, a hylm, during which the men are occupied with their prayers– perfect silence pervades the whole camp, except when broken by the solemn music, & in the stillness of a calm evening, you can imagine nothing more *sublime* than this scene– We saw it every evening during our stay in camp, but it could not, with a thousand repetitions, I think, lose anything of its grandeur– 50,000 worshipers, in a temple of which the walls were the visible horizon, & the roof the canopy of blue sky.–

The three following days will be perhaps always distinguished in our Mily lives, as having exhibited such a spectacle as it may not happen to us to see again–

Monday was the artillery day, when 136 pieces of cannon were in the field completely equipped, the carriages all drawn by the finest horses in the world (considering the great number of them,) & all manouevring with great rapidity, & firing with great accuracy at targets– the Emperor commanding the field, as he always did, in person– The pains in my shoulder prevented me from forming one, that day, of his splendid cortege consisting perhaps of 200 officers of all grades & of many nations– I therefore took a station with some Russian officers on foot, near one of the batteries, where I had an excellent opportunity of seeing them– After

the firing we went up to examine the targets & whilst I was standing there Emp. in galloping by, reined up a moment to ask "if I was gratified"– This little mark of attention, (I should say of condescension,) must have raised me immensely in the estimation of my Russian friends, & some of them insisted on sticking by me all the way to the village, tho' I often begged them to save themselves the trouble of a long walk back to camp– However I ought hardly to say such an ill-natured sort of thing, for nothing can exceed the kindness & attention with which we were always & every where treated by the officers, who appeared to be gratified to have it in their power to oblige us in every way–

In the evening we drove over to the camp to hear the retreat– in the band, of the Regt next to the Emperor's tent there were 120 musicians all playing at once!–

The second day was devoted to manoeuvres of Cavalry, & was therefore a more brilliant exhibition than the other– I found myself so fatigued on foot, the day before, & that I should lose so much of this more active day by not mounting that I determined to try the experiment to-day, & found that, notwithstanding some difficulty in getting on my horse, I could do very well when mounted, which enabled me to enjoy this & the following day much more than I could otherwise have done– There were 12,000 cavalry on the field, manoeuvring in a space of about 3 miles square, the different corps acting as they might be supposed to do on the field of battle– The light irregular troops of Cossacks &c, scouring the ground in advance, the dragoons & others following up to the attack of a village or a strong position, & lastly the reserve of splendid cuirassiers being called in to complete the victory– but I forget you do not perhaps derive from this exhibition any distinct idea of the nature of the spectacle– After the manoeuvres the whole body of cavalry passed slowly in review before the Emperor & his suite, each regt as it passed responding to the Emp.'s expression of approbation by a shout denoting that they would "try to do better still"–

But the great show was reserved for the third day, when the whole body of 50,000 troops, of all arms, were drawn up together & manoeuvred in representation of a battle; it was not what is called a sham fight, as there were no troops to represent an enemy, but the operations were conducted as if the villages & hills around were occupied by such a force– The closing scene was most magnificent; the whole body formed on the distant heights & returned to camp in a sort of triumphal march, the men shouting forth their national song– a bright sun shone on their arms, giving the whole mass the appearance of a silver stream glittering in the sunshine, as if agitated by a light breeze– During the four days we were favored by uninterrupted fine weather, & all the circumstances were the most favorable to the enjoyment of this rare opportunity of witnessing a grand mily. dis-

play– These troops all belong to the Imperial Guard, they are therefore picked men, disciplined to manoeuvre with the most admirable precision; their horses are perfectly instructed, & all their appointments are of the best kind & kept in beautiful order– To us, unaccustomed to seeing troops in such numbers embodied, it was like being all the time at an exciting spectacle on a great theatre– The last day we were 7 hours on horseback; on returning from the field we found every one hastening to desert the place, & in a few hours we were again at our boarding house in town. After dinner we made our first & only visit to the theatre in St. Petersburg; for the purpose of hearing a Russian opera, but to see the house, which like every thing else of the kind is on a large scale & very beautiful– after such a day it was unanimously voted that I had no right to say anything more about *rheumatism,* but nevertheless I cannot avoid being sensible of the changes that occur in the weather, in this variable climate–

During our visit to camp the Emp sent us an invitation to attend him to see the manoeuvres of the camp of Neovgorod,[29] in the course of a couple of weeks, but our engagements would not allow us to spend so much time in Russia, & we determined to make only a visit to the arsenal, before our departure– Orders had been given to show us all its artillery establishments in detail, & the morning after our return to town we were waited on by Col. of Arty. (Prince Galitzen)[30] with a letter to that effect from Prince Dolgoroncki,[31] the chief of staff of the Grand duke Michael[32] & we appointed the following day for the purpose– In our visits to these great establishments we were therefore received with every attention, but our time allowed us to make only a very cursory examination of them– Our visit to St Petersbg, has been very gratifying to us, but as far as the immediate & principal objects of our mission are concerned, it has been too short to be satisfactory, & knowing that this could not be remedied without the sacrifice of time which would perhaps be more valuable elsewhere, I took leave with little regret, of the magnificent capital of the Czars,[33] & felt with pleasure that the future steps in my journey would soon be homewards–

---

29 Novgorod is situated on the Volkhoff, near Lake Ilmen, 100 miles southeast of St. Petersburg. The Cathedral of St. Sophia was built in the middle of the eleventh century. It has always been an important city and trading place in Russia. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia,* IX, 746.

30 Prince Nicolas Borissovitch Galitzen died in the province of Kursk, Russia, in 1865. He was a Russian prince and musical amateur. He was a friend of Beethoven, who dedicated to him three quartets (Op. 127, 130, 132) and an overture (Op. 124), but Beethoven was able to get from the prince only a small part of the money promised for these and other works. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia,* IX, 421.

31 Peter Vladimirovitch Dolgoruki was born at Moscow in 1807, and died in Berne, Switzerland, on August 17, 1868. He was a Russian writer and was exiled on account of his work "La Vèrité sur la Russie" (1860). *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia,* IX, 331.

32 Michael was born on October 25, 1832, and was Grand Duke of Russia and the fourth son of Czar Nicholas. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia,* IX, 683.

33 Truly Mordecai could speak of St. Petersburg as the "magnificent city of the Czars." Its manufacturing and shipping alone would make it noted. Its cathedrals were among the finest and most interesting in the world; its various collections of relics and coins are unsurpassed; its art is among the finest in Europe; and its public and many of its private buildings are unsurpassed. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia,* IX, 885-886.

On returning at 1 o'clk we embanked in a steamer from Cronstadt, & were there transferred to the Lubeck boat, on board of which we had the satisfaction of remaining, in a storm of rain, for 12 hours without being able to see the fortifications of Cronstadt– At last however, on Sunday morning, we bade adieu to the Russian police & custom house & got under way for our voyage down the Gotha–

So this desultory letter, commenced I hardly know where, is continued on board of the Steamer Alexander, in the Gulf of Finland, making a slow but I hope sure progress towards Germany– Written these by snatches, interrupted by calls for sight seeing, travelling & sea sickness (of which I had my share yesterday) my account of our "Russian campaign" partakes I fear, of the hasty & rather confused manner in which it was conducted, but I shall have at least some memoranda to serve for more minute details by our own fireside–

August 7th. Hamburg–[34] I feel already as if I were half way home, by coming within so near a communication with England–

After a favorable though not very quick voyage down the Baltic we landed at Travemunde yesterday morning, & lost no time in transferring our goods & chattels to a wagon, a very comfortable sort of one, but still a wagon, the body of which was formed of a large wicker basket & mounted on four wheels– in this way we soon reached Lubeck [35] travelling on one of the best &, prettiest roads I ever saw– smooth, & overshadowed a great part of the way by spreading lime trees: the country extremely well cultivated, with its rich crops of grain already yielding to the mower's scythe, exhibited a very different appearance from any th[ing] we have seen since leaving England, & afforded us a great deal [o]f pleasure, in contrasting the thrifty & comfortable dwellings & cheerful looks of a *free people*, with the artificial luxury of a few & the constrained humility of the many in the city of the autocrat– We stopped in the curious looking old Dutch town of Lubeck only long enough to engage carriages for our further progress, & after a tedious drive of 36 miles, we reached Hamburg & the Hotel De Rupie about 10 o'clk last night– Here we shall be obliged to remain until to-morrow evening, there being no conveyance earlier to Berlin– Meantime, as this is post day for England, I shall commit these sheets to Messrs G. & M.. to forward by the best opportunity that may occur– Very probably however my letters from Berlin which will be forwarded by the steamer of Sept 1st may reach you as soon– On Monday then I shall have the happi-

---

[34] Hamburg is the most important seaport in Germany and the chief commercial place in Europe after London, Liverpool, and Glasgow. It has extensive harbors and quays. The noted St. Nicholas church stands here. It also has museums, a picture gallery, and a zoological garden. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 476.

[35] For centuries Lubeck was a free city of Germany, and enjoyed a republican government for the city state. It has an extensive trade with neighboring nations and ports; its noted cathedral has spires 394 feet high, constructed between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. It is famed for its democratic rule as a free city after it became free imperial city in 1226. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 627.

ness of seeing your letters at Berlin– May they bring me good tidings– farewell, my dear wife & darling little ones, whom I so much long to see again– but now happily almost every step brings me near to you–

Forward these sheets to Richmond with my love, for I write to none there–

Yr affte husband. A. M

To Mrs. Alfred Mordecai
Care of Henry Hays Esqr
Philadelphia
Quebec

August 8th. Hamburg– I mailed yesterday a few sheets to you, my dear wife, giving some account of our expedition to St Petersburg– Our stay here has been longer than we wished on account of yesterday's not being post day for Berlin; but we have been pretty well amused in walking about Hamburg & strolling on the fine promenade which borders the "Alster," [36] a sheet of water just in front of our Hotel– The appearance of the town differs a good deal from any I have before seen, partaking, no doubt, of the Dutch character, except in neatness– Narrow streets winding about in a very disorderly manner, & bounded by tall houses whose fantastic are so filled with windows, up to the very ridge, that one wonders how they are supported– In the streets you meet with more peculiarities of costume & habits than would be expected in this age of steam, when free intercourse between all parts of the world seems to assimulate men in all things– The "Vierlanders," inhabitants of a small district near Hamburg, who furnish the town apparently with fruits & vegetables, present quite a strange & picturesque appearance as you may see by some dolls which I have bought for the children– A very odd custom is that of the servant girls, of carrying always in the street, a basket under the arm covered with a large shawl generally a red one; if a black it looks a good deal like a child's coffin– This basket seems to form a part of their street costume, (whether they have any thing to put in it or not,) just as much as the *lace cap & kid gloves,* with which the women of this class are generally adorned–

We have been quite pleased with the throng & bustle in the streets, the appearance of healthy, active life & freedom in the population, after the constrained air which the gaiety St. Petersburg wears– Hamburg enjoys the uncommon felicity of having nothing *"to be seen"*– No palaces, museums or galleries, not even a church worth going to– Nothing but odd looking old houses & queerly dressed people– The *town mourners,* for instance, with their black gowns & small clothes, & full bottomed wigs, looking like so many English counsellors turned

[36] The Alster is a small tributary of the Elbe, which traverses Hamburg, forming two basins, one (the larger) outside the town (Aussen Alster) and one within it (Binnen Alster). The latter is surrounded with fine buildings and is a favorite pleasure resort. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia,* IX, 44.

out of doors in full dress– They form the whole procession at funerals–

Berlin– August 10th– My hopes and anticipations of pleasure on arriving at Berlin have been fully realized, my dearest wife, by the intelligence conveyed in your mother's appendix to your letter of the 30th June, informing me of your safety & of the happy birth of *our son*– How long it seems, in prospect before, I shall have the happiness to thank you, in person for this present, & to greet the little fellow with a father's kiss– Is he as beautiful as his sisters? The sweet little prattlers! according to your account I shall hardly realize they are the same that I left– Give many thanks for me to your good mother– for writing so promptly–

I have been quite amused at your distress & anxiety about me, when I think of what I have gone through since the date of your letter, & of the life I am now leading: I hear Baker & Huger laughing in the next room over similar obsolete things in their letters–

We reached here this morning at 6 o'clk, after two nights & a day passed in the post coach– but the vehicle is a very comfortable one & the mode of travelling scarcely liable to any objection except that of going only 5 miles an hour over an admirable road– The country between this & Hamburg is all a plain, cultivated, as far as the eye can reach, in grain– Although the soil is light & sandy incessant labor & husbandry seem to have effected a great deal in making it productive–

The entrance to Berlin through an extensive & thickly wooded park, which terminates at the beautiful Brandenburg gate, is very fine, & the view of the city– that part highly imposing– a very broad street, planted in the centre with 4 rows of Linden trees which form a shady foot walk, whilst the carriage road on each side is bordered by palace like houses– This street leads to a large open space or Square about which are assembled most of the fine buildings of the capital– The palaces, the museum, the arsenal, theatres, churches, the University– it is surpassed by few scenes of the kind–

We found that Mr Wheaton,[37] the minister, went away from town this morning, but Mr Fay,[38] the Secy of Legation, promises to do

---

[37] Henry Wheaton was born in Rhode Island on November 27, 1785, and died in Massachusetts on March 11, 1848. He graduated from Brown University in 1802; was admitted to the bar in 1805; and studied in Poictiers and London. He was editor of the *National Advocate* from 1812 to 1815; lawyer judge advocate of the United States Army; reporter of the Supreme Court in Washington; and outstanding editor. He was chargé to Denmark from 1827 to 1935; became Minister to Prussia in 1835; was elevated to the rank of Minister Plenipotentiary in 1837; and was removed by President Polk in 1846. Upon his return to the United States he was greatly honored as shown by the many honors and honorary degrees showered upon him, and was recognized as one of America's foremost legal commentators. *Appletons' Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, VI, 450-451.

[38] Theodore Sedgwick Fay was born in New York City on February 10, 1807, received a liberal education, and studied law, but never practiced. In 1828 he became associate editor of the New York *Mirror* under the joint control of himself, George P. Morris, and Nathaniel P. Willis. Soon thereafter Fay travelled in Europe and wrote an extended series of letters of travel which were published in his paper. For years he continued as co-editor of this paper, but eventually went to Europe as secretary of the American legation in Berlin, Germany, which position he held from 1837 to 1853. From 1853 to 1861 he was minister resident in Bern, Switzerland, and then retired to Berlin. In addition to a series of papers on Shakespeare and other pamphlets he published *Dreams and Reveries of a Quiet Man, The Minute-Book, Norman Leslie, Sydney Clifton, Countess Ida, Hoboken, a Romance, Robert Rueful,*

every thing for us– In strolling under the Lindens this afternoon we met, oddly enough, with Lt. Eustis [39] of the army, just arrived from Paris, on a visit here– he is a son of Genl. E.[40] & appears to be intelligent & to have travelled to some purpose–

Aug. 11th– We avail ourselves of the interval afforded by the delays of official correspondence to see some of the objects of greatest interest to the traveller– To-day we gave an hour or two to the King's palace, & were paraded through the usual suits of gilded & painted apartments & galleries, possessing not much of peculiar interest– a magnificent service of old plate; a curiously contrived cabinet, a charming musical clock, & beautiful inlaid floors, were I think the most remarkable objects we saw– After dinner we were interested by visiting the iron foundry where the beautiful ornaments of Berlin iron are made, & we passed some time there– In returning to our hotel we took a delightful drive through the park, where on two afternoons of the week (of which this was one) a band of music plays for the amusement of the crowd assembled about the houses of refreshment; all looking very gay, & happy in the enjoyment of fine weather among the trees & flowers–

Aug. 12th. This morning we made an official visit with Mr Fay, to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, which we hope will hasten our admission into the Mily. Establishments– Mean time we looked in at the Museum & walked through the gallery of Statues, containing but few remarkable pieces– among the modern ones is Canova's [41] Hebe, which is very pretty airy looking figure– After dinner we went out to

---

Ulric, of the Voices, Poems, *Views of Christianity, History of Switzerland, Great Outlines of Geography, First Steps in Geography, A History of Germany, and Forty Dollars and his Boots, or Shall we not abolish our Apostles' Creed*, in the order listed above between 1832 and 1897. *Appletons' Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, II, 423.

[39] William Eustis of Rhode Island and Massachusetts became a cadet at West Point on July 1, 1826; was brevetted second lieutenant on July 1, 1830; was transferred to the first dragoons on August 14, 1833; was promoted to the rank of second lieutenant on March 17, 1834; to the rank of first lieutenant on June 15, 1836; to the rank of captain on March 17, 1845; resigned on August 4, 1849; and died on July 4, 1889. Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary and Dictionary of the United States Army from its Organization*, September 29, 1789, to March 3, 1903, I, 409.

[40] Abraham Eustis was born in Petersburg, Virginia, on March 28, 1786, and died in Portland, Maine, on June 27, 1843. He graduated from Harvard in 1804; after studying law was admitted to the bar in 1807; and began practicing in Boston. In 1808 he entered the army as captain of artillery; became major in 1810; served with distinction in the War of 1812; and commanded a regiment into Canada resulting in the capture of York, Upper Canada, in 1813. He was brevetted lieutenant-colonel for meritorious services in 1813; became lieutenant-colonel of the 4th artillery in 1822; brigadier-general in 1834; and a few months later colonel of the 1st artillery. *Appletons' Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, II, 379.

[41] Antonio Canova was born in Italy on November 1, 1757, and died in Venice on October 13, 1822. By the time he was seventeen years of age he had made himself noted by his sculpture. In 1779 he was given a pension by Venice and moved to Rome where he remained the remainder of his life, but often made visits to various parts of Europe, three times visiting Paris, twice executing commissions for Napoleon, and once, on a mission for the Pope, after the Battle of Waterloo, to recover the works of art taken from Italy by Napoleon. At this time he made a visit to London. By inventing a process for reproducing his models mechanically he was able to produce a vast amount of work. Among his most celebrated productions are the Perseus of the Belvedere, made to replace the Apollo Belvedere while the latter was in Paris. Few sculptors have been able to produce as rapidly as he did for a great many years. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 211.

Charlottenburg [42] & visited the palace, which is very large & contains some fine apartments– Near it is a very snug & prettily furnished house which the late king built *to live in*– but the object of chief interest is the exquisite monument of the late queen Louisa,[43] in a neat temple in the gardens– it stands at the end of a walk shaded with fir trees, where she herself expressed a wish to lie– The monument represents the queen as in a soft sleep– a graceful, modest & accurate representation of a beautiful woman– her husband, the king who has just died, appears to have had the most sincere affection for her– in her private apartments at Charlottenburg every thing remains just as she left it, & by the King's [44] desire his body has been placed in the same temple with hers, instead of being deposited in the usual burial place of the kings–

After seeing this place we had still time to take a view of a very beautiful monument, in another direction, to the officers & soldiers of the late wars with the French– it is a gothic structure, of cast iron, situated on the only high ground near the city, & the design & execution appear to me well worthy of the subject– I will show you a drawing of it– The place is called Krentzberg– The Hill of the Cross–

Aug. 14th– Still without news from the War office– yesterday we occupied ourselves in shopping, wishing to make some purchases of iron work &c; but I have little satisfaction in this occupation, because I have so little confidence in my own taste & judgment in these matters– We also visited three of the manufactories (private) where these iron trinkets are made, of a more minute kind that those of the Royal Foundry, & we were very politely shown the whole process of moulding &c– The porcelain factory also occupied a part of our time, but it was not of great interest to me, after having seen that of Livres–

To-day, we gave first to completing a review of the Museum, of which we had visited the statue gallery before– The gallery of paintings is exceedingly well arranged & possesses many fine works; & the antiquarium museum of coins, cameos & roman relics & vases, is quite extensive & no doubt very valuable *in its way*–

---

[42] Charlottenburg is a city in Brandenburg, three miles west of Berlin, named for Sophia Charlotte, the wife of Frederick I. It is a municipality, but in reality a part of Berlin. It contains a royal palace, the mausoleum of the recent Hohenzollerns, a technical high school, and a royal porcelain factory. The total length of the royal palace buildings amounts to 1,650 feet. It is decorated interiorly in the style of Louis XV, and is distinguished by its central dome. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*, IX, 237.

[43] He here refers to Louisa, the daughter of Duke Charles of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. Her husband was Frederick William III of Prussia. She was born at Hanover on March 10, 1776, and died in Hohenzieritz, Mecklenburg-Stelitz, on July 19, 1810. She was a celebrated queen of Prussia, and perhaps the most outstanding queen the country ever had. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 624.

[44] Frederick William III was born on August 3, 1770, and died on June 7, 1840. He was King of Prussia from 1797 to 1840, the son of Frederick William II. He refused to join the third coalition against France in 1805; declared war against France in 1806; signed the Treaty of Tilsit in 1807; joined France against Russia in 1812; joined in the War of Liberation in 1813; was present at the Congress of Vienna in 1815; and joined the Holy Alliance. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 411.

In order to be doing *something* in our line, we went this afternoon, as visitors are usually allowed to go, to the arsenal which is also a sort of museum of Mily. weapons, &c– The building itself is a beautiful one, perhaps the finest specimen of architecture in Berlin, & it is also well adapted to its object, well arranged & kept in excellent order: but without a well informed conductor it was of little use (for our particular purpose) to visit it– We appear to be doing very little here, & we certainly make but small progress as yet; still the days glide away rapidly, in a strange place, where one is always moving about & occupied with something or other; & when night comes I am surprised to find myself fatigued to so little purpose– Though Berlin is a beautiful city, there is not much amusement in walking about it, because the people are very much like ourselves in appearance & costume; & once familiar with the principal buildings, which a stranger is always sure to pass by whenever he goes out, there is therefore little to attract attention in the streets–

August 16th. Yesterday was a day almost lost– in the morning I made a visit to the "Gewerbe-Institut" or Trades' School; a very valuable & interesting establishment for the practical education of trades' people in the higher branches of their business– The rest of the day was passed in a fruitless attempt to see some Military Manoeuvres which, we were *mis*informed, were to take place at a little distance from the city– To-day– Sunday– has been turned to some purpose by a visit to Potsdam, & a tour of the palaces [45] filled with reminiscences *of the Great* Frederick– [46] The afternoon was fine, & the terraces & gardens of Sans Souci [47] presented a gay & beautiful scene, being enlivened by the presence of a great number of people to whom the rail road affords the means of an easy journey from Berlin, although the distance is about 18 miles– If one could visit such places leisurely & be allowed time to stroll about & indulge the reflections to which they give rise, it would be much more satisfactory, but you know my aversion to being "shown" about them, & hurried along by a regular cicerone, with his well conned

---

[45] The Sans-Souci Palace at Potsdam, most especially the ornaments, walks, and shubbery in front of it, is outstanding, but the Palace of Frederick William I, standing to the right of the monument, dates back to 1834-1836, and was erected by K. F. Langham. The University of Berlin occupies the former palace of Prince Henry the Great, and was built by J. J. Baumann the elder, 1748-1764, and was opened as a university in 1810. Baumann the younger erected the old Royal Library, facing Kaiser-Franz. *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1941), III, 444-445; *Encyclopaedia Americana*, III (1938), 562-564.

[46] Frederick II (The Great) was born in Berlin on January 24, 1712, and died at Sans Souci, near Potsdam, on August 17, 1786. He was King of Prussia from 1740 to 1786. He is usually credited with being Germany's greatest ruler. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 410.

[47] Sans Souci (free from care) is a palace at Potsdam erected by Frederick the Great (1745-1747). It was enlarged and adorned by Frederick William IV. It is of a single story, with a projecting semi circular pavilion, and large arched windows opening between coupled pilasters terminating above in caryatids and atlantes. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 895.

lesson repeated to every visitor– & yet one does not seem satisfied not to have seen these things; & so the meditations must be made afterwards at quiet moments.

So far every thing has seemed to go against the accomplishment of our object in coming here, but we still hope every day to hear from the authorities–

17th– I ought not to have forgotten to tell you what will interest you exceedingly: That we have written to engage places in the British Queen for the 1st Novr, or failing that, in the Great Western of the 7th Nov– To-day we have at last heard from the War office, & an officer will wait on us to-morrow to conduct us to the Arty. Establishments–

18th. To-day accordingly we were called on by Capt Otto of the Artillery, with whom we passed the greater part of the day in visiting the establishments– The evening was given, for the first time in Berlin, to the Opera, where, as our luck would have it, we had an opportunity of comparing the German *Norma* [48] with the Russian, a comparison certainly much in favor of the former in this case, both with regard to the getting up & the performance– instead of a few stragglers as at St Petersburg, the house was well filled, & every one perfectly attentive as if they went to the opera really to enjoy the music–

I close this to send by the English courier, for the steamer of Sept 1st– We shall probably leave the day after to-morrow, & proceed without delay to Frankfort whence we shall make a descent on France, to better purpose, I hope, that the foolish Louis Bonaparte did at Boulogne– [49]

Farewell, & believe me ever your affectionate

Alfred

---

[48] Norma is an opera by Bellini, first produced at Milan in 1831, and at Paris in 1835. The libretto was taken by Romani from the tragedy of Belmontet and Soumet, produced at Paris about 1830. The main situation is copied from the Medea, though passion prevails over the fire of jealousy, and the children's lives are spared. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 742.

[49] Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte was born on April 20, 1808, and died on January 9, 1873. By the law of 1816 he with the family of Napoleon I was banished from France. About 1830 he began to conspire for the position of Emperor of France. He worked up a conspiracy with some men in Strassbourg, including some army men. The uprising was to take place on October 30, 1836. The conspiracy was a failure and Louis Philippe, fearing that he might gain popularity if a trial was given him, had him put on a ship bound for America. He remained in the United States for some time, but by means of a false passport he soon returned to Switzerland, but partly due to the pressure of the French government he soon left for England. He then planned an uprising with 56 followers among the 42nd regiment stationed at Boulogne. After some of his men fell on August 6, 1840, his boat capsized and he was fished out of the water. He was tried before the Court of Peers and was condemned to life imprisonment in a fortress of Ham. On May 25, 1846, he escaped to London. He landed in France when the Revolution of 1848 was ripe and was elected to the chamber of deputies from four departments. On December 10, 1848, he was overwhelmingly elected President of the Republic. He built up a dictatorship. Constitutionally he could not be elected for a second four-year term. By a *coup d'etat* on December 2, 1851, he paved the way for his election for ten years to the presidency with greatly enlarged powers. By another *coup d'etat* on December 2, 1852, he became Emperor in reality. He did much for France, but his war with Germany in 1870-1871, resulted in his capture and overthrow and exile to England. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1941), XVI, 96-99.

Mrs Alfred Mordecai
Care of Henry Hays Esqr
Philadelphia
% British Queen

Frankfort on Mayn
August 24th 1840.

I wrote to you, my dear Laura, from Berlin, & having still time to send a line to London for the British Queen, I can inform you of my safe arrival here– The day after I wrote from Berlin we completed our business there, & on Thursday evening set off in the diligence for Leipsig [50] where we arrived the next day about 2, o'clk,– passed over a level & poor but laboriously cultivated country, admirably fitted for the purpose to which it has been so often applied: The theatre of great military operations– no hills, few streams of any magnitude, & fields not even obstructed by hedges or ditches, to impede the movements of large armies– at almost every stage the guide book reminds you that you are passing the scene of some great battle– It is quite detrimental to the romance of fighting to see the monument of Powiatowski standing by the side of a dirty looking *ditch* (rather than a river,) in which he was drowned–

In Leipsig we stopped a few hours, long enough to walk about the town, which possesses but few objects of interest, & is chiefly remarkable, you know, as the great book mart of Germany– In leaving the town we soon pass the great battle fields of Lutzen, memorable for the sake of Gustavus Adolphus [51] & Napoleon. The monument of the former, who was killed here, stands by the road side– an iron canopy covering a rough block of granite– Travelling all night we found ourselves the next morning in a more fertile & pictureseque country than we had before seen in Germany: Our road lay through Weimer [52] & Gotha,[53] places well known for their literary associations, but offering nothing of sufficient interest to detain us; another night (3d) brought us near to Frankfort [54] which we reached at about

[50] Leipzig has incorporated many villages until it is an immense place. It is the greatest book market in the world with 200 print shops, a corresponding number of type foundaries, binding shops, and kindred industries, and many other manufacturing plants. Here on October 16, 18, 19, 1813, Napoleon met his first great defeat in the Battle of the Nations. Many French soldiers swam the river Elster, while many others like Poniatowski were drowned. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1941), XIII, 894-896.

[51] Gustavus Adolphus (December 19, 1594-November 16, 1632), the son of Charles IX, ruled Sweden from 1611 to 1632. He made peace with Russia, Poland, and Denmark. It looked as if the Catholics had won the Thirty Years War. But he turned the tide. He invaded Saxony, landed in Pomerania on July 4, 1630, made an alliance with France in January, 1631, defeated Tilly at Leipsic on September 17, 1631, and gained a victory at Lutzen over Wallenstein on November 16, 1632, but he fell in the battle. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 469.

[52] Weimar became famous as the German Athens as the center of German literature in 1757-1825, when Goethe, Schiller, Herder, Wieland, under the patronage of Grand Duke Charles Augustus, flourished. Goethe's house, given to him by the Grand Duke, has been restored and has become a shrine and museum to its owner. There are also many other places of interest in that community. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 1054.

[53] Gotha, a city in Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, alternated with Coburg as the home of the dukes. It is one of the chief commercial places in Thuringia. At the Friedenstein Palace is a famous library and cabinet of coins, museum of antiquities, picture gallery, etc. Its geographical institute of Justus Perthes is also interesting. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 450.

[54] Frankfort on the Main was originally a Roman military station, but it has become noted for its horse and leather fairs, book trade, cathedral, monuments of Gutenberg and Goethe, and other places of interest. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 408.

10 o'clk on Sunday morning, pretty well fatigued with our journey– A comfortable bath, however, soon refreshed me, & after dinner we made a circuit of the town, by the fine promenade which occupies very judiciously, (as in many of the older fortresses,) the places of the former ramparts– These public walks in Germany are very pleasant, especially, on a Sunday evening– Crowds of common people, & indeed people of all classes, cheerfully & innocently occupied in amusing themselves & listening to music in the open air; so much better than the dram drinking in taverns, or the prayer meetings of those who are too decent for such a practice– We had one curiosity in the way of a travelling companion; curiosity that is, to us Americans– this was a colored woman, a pretty dark mulatto, travelling as a *fine lady*, on very familiar terms with her companion, a decent, well educated & rather pretty, white woman– They seemed to be governess or something of that sort in a good family, but we could not make them out exactly– I confess that my southern blood revolted a little at hearing the "nigger" address the other as "my dear" &c, & contradict her very flatly– To make it worse, we found she was from one of the southern states; but I must confess that the most singular part of the business was to hear her talk german & french & discuss literature & the fine arts with a learned Professor who sat opposite to her–

To-day, Monday, we have been making our arrangements to separate into two parties, to meet again in Paris– Wade & Huger go to Strasburg & Metz,[55] & Baker & I, by Cologne, Brussels, &c– A visit to the old Hotel de Ville, where the Emperors of Germany formerly received the oath of allegiance of their subjects after the coronation; to Dannecker's [56] statue of Ariadue, & a stroll in the beautiful grounds of Baron Rothchilds [57] Villa, near the town, completed our day in Frankfort–

---

[55] Strassburg and Metz are noted places in European history. The former, in addition to being a railway center and manufacturing place, has been the center of many a bloody contest in European history. The latter is the capital of Lorraine, and contains a wonderful fort, museum, cathedral, and other places of interest. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 681, 961.

[56] Johann Heinrich von Dannecker was born near Stuttgart on October 15, 1758, and died there on December 8, 1841. In 1771 he entered the Karlsschule Stuttgart, where he was associated with Schiller. At an early age he designed some statues of children and caryatides, which still adorne the chateau of Stuttgart and Hohenheim. He went to Paris to study with Pajon, to Rome in 1785, and on his return to Stuttgart in 1790 he was made a professor in the academy. His most famous statue is Ariadne on a panther, but many others were very good. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 307.

[57] Rothschild was a celebrated banking house in Frankfort-on-the-Main, founded in the latter half of the 18th century by Mayer Anselm Rothschild. He died in 1812, leaving five sons, all of whom were created barons of the Austrian Empire in 1822. The oldest, Anselm Mayer (1773-1855), succeeded as head of the firm; Solomon (1774-1855) established a branch in Vienna; Nathan Mayer (1777-1836), a branch in London; Charles Mayer (1788-1855), a branch in Naples; and Jakob (James) (1792-1868), a branch in Paris. Nathan Mayer was succeeded by his son Lionel Nathan (1808-1879) as head of the London branch. His son, the great grandson of the founder, Nathaniel Mayer (born in 1840), took it over before the close of the nineteenth century. He was made Baron Rothschild in 1885. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 869.

25th. August– Coblenz– [58] How I wish you could have been with me to-day my dear wife– A voyage down the Rhine in its most picturesque part! without affection, I cannot tell you how it has filled my heart– its beauties seemed even much more striking than when I first saw them; & then I had to-day a companion who could enjoy them with me– Having struck again on my old "stamping ground" as the western hunters say, I shall be brief in my notices, referring you to my old journal in the letters to my dear, dear sister– how many reflections & recollections crowded upon me when I looked again this evening, at sunset, from the lofty batterments of Ehrenbreitstein,[59] (no longer "shattered walls,") on the unrivalled view stretched out beneath me!– When I last looked from them how many loved ones, now no more, I could conjure up to place beside me.–

Major Bak[er] & I left Frankfort early this morning by the railway & took the steamer at Mayance [60] for our beautiful voyage– every thing was favorable to us & Baker, who has been our provert for *ruins* ever since we landed in England, enjoyed the scene to his heart's content– if you wish to *feel* it, read over again the description of it in Childe Harold– [61] Nothing can be more heart felt– I had forgotten to obtain in Berlin permission to see the Prussian fortresses here, but on calling on the Governor, old Genl. Muffling, & explaining the circumstances, he very kindly gave us the permission, of which we shall avail ourselves to-morrow for the works on this side– Ehrenbreitstein is shown to all strangers with pass ports–

I am so sorry that I did not order my letters by the Br. Queen to Frankfort, for I might have acknowledged & answered them now, as we had news of her arrival in the Frankfort paper– as it is I shall not see them until I reach Paris–

Cologne– [62] *August 26th*– Finding that I had still time to send my letter to London I have brought it here to inform you of my progress to the latest moment– We finished our visit to the forts near Coblenz this morning, in time to take the steamer at noon, & after another pleasant day among the "glories of the Rhine" we reached here about

---

58 Coblenz (Koblenz, Coblentz) is at the juncture of the Rhine and Moselle, the capital of the Rhine Province, Prussia, situated on the west bank of the Rhine. It has an important trade in wine, manufactures, and champagne. It has a strong fortress and contains the church of St. Castor, a palace, and several fine promenades and bridges. It was a Roman station and later a fort and suffered much in the great European wars of modern times. It became a rendezvous for the French refugees in 1792, and was granted to Prussia in 1815. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 262.

59 Ehrenbreitstein is a town in the Rhine Province, Prussia, situated on the Rhine, opposite Coblenz. It is noted for its fortress, situated on an almost inaccessible rock 385 feet above the river. It was taken by the French in 1631, by the Imperialists in 1637, and by the French in 1799. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 355.

60 Mainz or Mayence is an important strategic point and one of the strongest fortresses in Germany. In addition to having noted cathedrals and monuments, it is a manufacturing and commercial center. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 644.

61 *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage & Poems* of Lord Byron were much sought after. The first and second cantos were published in 1811, the third in 1816, and the fourth in 1817. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 245.

62 One of the most interesting places in Europe is Cologne. Here is found the noted suspension bridge, the wonderful cathedral which defies all attempts at description, the Ringstrasse, the municipal and Archiepiscopal museums, the Museum of Industrial Art, the Rathaus, the monument of Frederick William III, and the noted churches. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 268.

6 o'clk– To-morow morning if the weather permits, we shall go to Solingen,[63] about 20 miles from here, to see some sword manufacturers–

I shall have my letters sent to meet me in Brussels, whence I shall write to you by the Great Western of the 12th Septr.– God bless you & our dear little ones! I feel now as if I were quite near you again– Do not neglect to send my letters immediately, or to write for me, to mother, for I have not time to write to all, nor does it seem necessary to repeat– farewell– Yr affte husband A. M

Mrs Alfred Mordecai
Care Henry Hays Esqr
Philadelphia
Via Portsmouth % British Queen

Liege–[64] *August 31st– 1840–* I wrote to you, my dear wife, from Cologne, giving an account of my journeyings as far as that ancient city– We rested there at first but one night & proceeded early the next morning to Colingen, a small town inhabited by workers in iron & steel– an active, industrious population, not working like our people in large factories, but carrying on their operations at their own houses, rather than in the village or in the adjoining country– Thus under one roof you will often find a smith's shop, his dwelling & his cow stable & hay loft– he works at his own times, cultivates his little garden or field, & teaches his boys his own trade, after they have reached the age (12 years) when he is no longer obliged by the law to send them to school– The girls are employed also, in going to the store in town for the iron or steel, & in carrying back the finished work; they may be seen at any time, along the road or on the street, with a basket of scissors or knife blades balanced on their heads, or a bundle of sword blades on their shoulders– It is a curious, & one may say almost a romantic system of manufacturing on account of the secluded situation of the workshops in by paths & dells; by means of it the manufacturers are enabled to furnish cutlery at prices which appear to be ridiculously low– We were very well received by the gentlemen of the house with whom we wished to deal, (Messrs Schnitzler & Kirschbaum, if you please,) & we found them very intelligent, well educated men, & we passed two days quite pleasantly & satisfactorily with them–.

Returning to Cologne we devoted a few hours to seeing the ridiculous, but magnificent shrine of the 3 Kings, the more absurd collection of the bones of the 10,000 Virgins & other curiosities of the place, & early the next day we were again on the road, for Liege

---

[63] Solingen, a town in the Rhine province of Prussia, is noted for its manufacture of iron and steel especially of sword-blades, knives, scissors, files, bayonets, and revolvers. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 943.

[64] Liege is the center of an important mining region of coal, iron, etc., a center for the manufacture of fire arms, and of steam machinery. The cathedral is the most noted building in the city, but the modern university there is also an outstanding institution. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 610.

which we reached the same evening; (Yesterday) stopping at Aix la chappelle [65] only long enough to dine– if there is any thing to be said about the journey you must look at my former account of it– To-day we have given to cannon foundry & armory, & shall make the same use of to-morrow– At the foundry we met a Turkish general of artillery, Emin Pacha on the same errand as ourselves– a very young man for a general & quite a cultivated looking animal, having passed some years in France & England–

Brussels– [66] Septr 3^{d}.– I was just on the point of expressing my disappointment in not receiving my letters which I ordered from Paris, when the messenger, whom I had sent a second time to the postoffice, returned with your letters up to the 30th July, the perusal of which has given me the greatest pleasure– arrived here, with the information received also to-day, that our places are reserved for the 1st Nov in the B^{ri}. Queen, I felt almost at home, but your account of our dear children, by increasing my anxiety to behold them again, makes me feel that I am still far distant from you all– however, the time of returning home does at last draw near, & we must submit patiently to a little longer separation– I shall add our little boy's beautiful hair to those already in my locket, with many thanks to you for sending it– I have received no letters from America except yours & a few lines from Col. Talcott; consequently I learnt only from you of Mr Mears's death– when I took leave of him I never expected to see him again, therefore I am not surprised at the news–

To continue my narrative– Having finished our business in Liege yesterday morning, we left there in the afternoon, by the rail road & reached here about 10 o'clk; fortunate enough to find lodgings in a good hotel, tho' the city is crowded with strangers, brought out by the good summer weather we have lately had, in place of the cold & unseasonable weather which seems to have pervaded the whole continent this year– We have continued our researches into the Belgian ordnance concerns here under very favorable circumstances through the kindness of the Director of the foundry at Liege, to whom we are the more indebted as we presented ourselves to him without any introduction whatever; but among the artillery officers every where we have experienced great attention & been afforded every facility in their power, so that it will be our own fault or the consequence of being too much hurried on our extensive journey if we do not affect all that is expected of us–

---

[65] Aix-La-Chapelle, named for the mineral springs in that vicinity, was known as early as the time of Charlemagne. In addition to being a commercial, railway, and manufacturing center, the city is renowned for its cathedral, museum, and many relics of the middle ages. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 25.

[66] Brussels, the capital of Belgium, is not only a center of education, art, and literature, but a manufacturing center as well. The Hotel de Ville, or city hall, is one of the most beautiful buildings in Europe, even after more than four centuries of continuous use. In 1877 La Maison du Roi was completed facing the Hotel de Ville, the Church of Ste. Gudule, and many other famous old and modern buildings. The Grande Place is one of the finest in Europe, with the Hotel de Ville's 360 feet highly decorative tower on one side and the Maison du Roi on the other Kings' Palace, Palais de la Nations, and other buildings in the environs. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1941), IV, 294-296.

Sunday– Septr 6th– Since I last wrote we have made a journey to Antwerp & back, for which the rail road offers facility–

We returned last evening, after overrunning the arsenal & the fortifications, &c, & taking a few hours to renew & extend our acquaintance with Rubens's [67] celebrated paintings, & to see the beautiful cathedral.

To-day we have given to the field of Waterloo.[68] which I did not visit on my former journey here– nor can I say that I made the pilgrimage now with a very good will, for in fact I do not disguise that it is a melancholy one to me: I am willing to admit that the result on that occasion was in all probability, the best for the peace of the nations, but it is not the less sad to contemplate the scene where so great a man was overthrown; & conquered, it may be said, by untoward circumstances or by treachery, & not by any fault of his as a commander– But the field is no doubt a fine one for such an occasion, & I am plad that I have seen it, & fixed the positions of the two armies in my memory–

Septr 7th. We made our arrangements to leave Brussels to-morrow morning for Douan,[69] so that I close this letter to send it by the Great Western on the 12th– The letters she has brought for me I shall find in Paris were we expec[t to] be about the 15th– This is probably the last of mine of which I can receive an acknowledment before sailing; which seems to be bringing the time of departure quite near though it will be still more than two months before I can have the pleasure of greeting you in person–

Once more farewell– I am glad that you are not tired of reading my letters, but they will probably be much more brief hereafter, as I come on more hackneyed ground, about which if you want any information you have but to ask your next neighbor at any dinner or tea party– Every your aff^{te} Alfred–

M^{rs}.. Alfred Mordecai
Care of Henry Hays Esqr
Philadelphia
Via Bristol
% Great Western

Septr 13th. 1840. To be again in *Paris* seems so much like approaching the end of my journey that I will not sleep without announcing to you, my dear wife, the happy prosecution of it thus far– fortunately

---

[67] Peter Paul Rubens was born in Siegen, Westphalia, on June 29, 1577, and died in Antwerp on May 30, 1640. He was educated in a Jesuit school, later studied in Venice and Rome, painted in Madrid, London, Paris, and many other places. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 871.

[68] Waterloo is a village just nine and a half miles south of Brussels. Its fame comes from the fact that here Wellington and Blucher defeated Napoleon on June 18, 1815. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 1052.

[69] Rouen, France, is a fine port with extensive quays, center of trade and steamship shipping, noted for its manufacture of woolens and machinery as well as cotton goods. The cathedral here is one of the finest in the world. There are few other places in the world where so much history has been made over a period of fifteen hundred years. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 869-870.

too I am just in time to write for the Boston steamer of the 19th inst– I sent you a letter from Brussels for the steamer which was to sail yesterday– Since then I have been pretty busy but without doing or seeing any thing which it would much interest you to hear of– On the day after I wrote from Brussels we set out for France: stopping the first night at Tournay [70] we arrived early the next day at Douai– [71] at that place we passed four days in examining the arsenal, foundry &c, & last night we took our departure for Paris where we arrived this evening about 6 o'clk– being a good deal fagged with so long a ride on a paved road, we lost no time in seeking the refreshment of a delightful Parisian bath, & on our return to our lodgings the first news was that Wade & Huger had also just arrived– In parting at Frankfurt we had planned our invasion of France so as to concentrate in the Capitol about the 15th & it so happened that, after a very successful campaign both parties anticipated the time just two days, & we are again all comfortably settled in very good apartments, & have just returned from enjoying a delightful *dinner– supper* at the Cafè de Paris– [72] To complete my satisfaction it only remains for me to have good news of you & the children & all the dear ones at home, by the letters which I shall receive to-morrow– mean time, good night to you, my dear–

Septr 14th– I have not been disappointed in finding your letter by the Western, but I must confess that the tone of it does disappoint me a little– Whilst I am only anxious to get through my business here & to return as speedily as possible, enjoying, very modestly at least, the pleasures of which you seem to think so much, & not really putting them in comparison with that which I shall have in enjoying you & seeing our children again, I do not like that you should come to me with so many excuses & fears that I should not be able again to put up with the quiet life at home– but I will not scold you– & attribute your apparent ill humour, if I may call it so, to the inconvenience you were suffering at the time, the cause of which is no doubt long ago removed– In two or three days I hope to hear from you again by the President, & that your letter will be in better spirits– I expect no news from you except such as you give me about yourself & the children & our friends; for you are mistaken in supposing I

[70] Tournai or Tournay, a town in the province of Hainault, Belgium, on the Scheldt, was the site of an old Roman town. It is important now for the manufacture of carpets, stockings, etc. Its cathedral is one of the most noted Flemish buildings with a group of five picturesque towers. The nave is Romanesque, the transcept French, and the beautiful choir is later. The facade has a pointed porch and abundant and excellent sculptures. The glass is excellent and some of the pictures are good. Its dimensions are 408 by 78 feet with a transept of 220 feet in length. Its nave is 78 feet in height while the choir is 107 feet high. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 1004.

[71] Douai or Douay, a town in the department of Nord, France, eighteen miles south of Lille, France, is an important fortress and has an arsenal. In the middle ages it belonged to the counts of Flanders and after 1384 to the dukes of Burgundy. It formed part of the Spanish Netherlands and was conquered by the French in 1667. It is now a manufacturing town of cotton, linen, lace, paper, leather, embroideries, glass, salt, malt, and whiskey. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 335.

[72] Even in 1938 the *Café de Paris* had its reputation for ale and good foods among *bon vivants* along with Maison Dorée, Paillard, the Ritz, Voisin Ciro, Marguery, Foyot, *Tour d'Argent*. *Encyclopaedia Americana* (1938), XXI, 317.

hear from other quarters– Except a letter from Emma & one from sister Ellen & a few times from Col. Talcott, I have no letters but yours– however it is of no use to say any more about it now as you will write to me no more after receiving this letter–

Give my love to your mother & thank her, in my name, for her kindness in consenting to take charge of my poor sister Julia,[73] tho' I hope she will not be long burthened with such a care, as it will probably be as well for Julia to return home if she should have found no benefit from the visit to the Donaldsons–

Farewell, & believe that I am fully as anxious to return home as you can be to have me there– Let my mother know that you have heard from me here, & remember me kindly to all your family, especially to Sally who is so kind in her messages– and do not imagine that the pleasures & excitement of travelling and seeing new things can make me forgetful of so good & affectionate wife as you are, just be sure of seeing me still

Your Alfred–

Mrs Alfred Mordecai
Care of Henry Hays Esqr
Philadelphia

Paris– Septr 16th 1840– I sent you yesterday a few lines, My dear Sara, to let you know that I have arrived in this metropolis of the gay world– I shall have little new to tell you about Paris except that I find it a much more tolerable place than I did formerly; tho' in fact I was always willing to acknowledge that I could readily imagine Paris to be a delightful place– Now that I have companions & that I come to this city as a sort of *resting* place, much less strange to me than the countries I have lately traversed, I find that I can appreciate its attractions– My lodgings are within a minute's walk of the gayest part of the city; the Boulevard[74] des Italiens & the street which leads from it to the garden of the Tuilleries;[75] & I cannot go out without encountering throngs of people apparently intent on nothing but amusing themselves; the attractions of the brilliant & tasteful shops were never so great to me as they are now, & I am constantly

[73] Julia Mordecai was the fourth child of Jacob Mordecai by his second wife, Rebecca Myers Mordecai, the sister of his first wife. She was the full sister of Alfred Mordecai and not the half sister. *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XXXI (1923), 187.

[74] The Line of the Grands Boulevards to the Bastille, by the way of the *place de l'opera*, the porte St. Denis and the porte St. Martin (two triumphal arches erected in the latter half of the 17th century in honor of Louis XIV), and the *place de la Republique*, stretches for nearly three miles. It contains most of the large cafes and several of the chief theatres. Though its gayety and animation are concentrated at the western end—in the boulevards *des Italians, des Coperciens*, and *de la Madeleine*—it is as a whole one of the most celebrated avenues of the world. The *Avenue de l'Opera* and the *place de l'Opera*, and the other avenues in that vicinity are noted for their fancy dress-making shops, as well as other shops. The state-owned *Jardin des Plantes* (founded in the first half of the seventeenth century), about fifty-eight acres in extent, contains the museum of natural history (1793), with the zoological gardens, hot houses and green houses, nursery and naturalization gardens. Its collection of living plants is one of the finest in the world and is very beautiful in the spring. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1941), XVII, 286-288.

[75] The Tuileries, a royal palace in Paris, was begun under Catherine de Medici in 1564, enlarged under Henry IV and Louis XIV, and later connected by wings with the Louvre. It was famous as the scene of Revolutionary incidents in the early parts of the French Revolution, and was burned by the Commune in 1871. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 1012.

regretting my inability to indulge my wishes in buying a thousand pretty things with which you would be delighted– We have passed over two days in preliminary arrangement, &c– To-morrow we make a beginning on business:

17th– Called on Mr Cass,[76] & passed the greater part of the day at the bureau Central d'Artillerie, & in other business matters– In the evening called to see Maj Irving & Prof Bartlett!– [77] No President yet–

21st. The President has arrived & brought me your letter, but instead of affording me all the satisfaction & pleasure I anticipated, it has *worried* me a good deal– I am grieved to find that you were not relieved as soon as I had hoped you would be, from your sufferings as a nurse; & it makes me uncomfortable to see you dwell so much on the inconveniences & privations consequent on your being a mother: loving your husband & your children as you do, you should have more firmness to bear with the evils attendant on your condition. I do not pretend to deny that in the confinement to which you are doomed & in the limited range of your pleasures, you are less fortunate, in some aspects, than I am at this moment, in the means of forgetting your privations, but I may truly say that there has scarcely been a time during my journey, when I would not have willingly cut short the pleasures with which you suppose I am so much engrossed, for the sake of being once more comfortably settled at home.

You ask me if our house will be again in Washington. I have every reason to suppose that it will be, but it is impossible for me to authorize you now to make arrangements for taking Mrs Graham's or any other house, tho' I should be delighted indeed to have a house to go into, & still more to oblige you by taking the one you so much wish for– There is nothing to be done but to have patience & do the best we can– I have been doing but little here as yet, collecting books & getting information how to proceed in our affairs, &c– We dined yesterday with Genl. Cass who is living now at Versailles, & we went down there early to improve the opportunity of seeing the palace which is now converted into a *magnificent* gallery of very indifferent paintings, illustrating the "Glories of France"–

---

[76] Lewis Cass was born in New Hampshire on October 9, 1782, and died in Detroit, Michigan, on June 17, 1866. He attended the academy in Exeter, New Hampshire; taught school; migrated to Delaware and then to the West, settling first in Ohio. He was admitted to the bar in 1813; became marshal of Ohio in 1807; and served in the War of 1812, rising to the rank of brigadier-general. He was appointed governor of Michigan; took a leading part in developing the West and making Indian treaties; became Secretary of War in 1831 but resigned in 1836 when he was made minister to France. He returned to the United States in 1842; was sent to the Senate in January, 1945; resigned in May, 1848, to run on the Democratic ticket for the presidency in 1848; and was then elected to the Senate to fill out his unexpired term. He was Secretary of State under Buchanan, but he resigned when the President refused to re-enforce Fort Sumter, thus ending a fifty-six year term of public service. He was a strong Union man with many abilities. He was a prudent, cautious legislator, a scholar of fine attainments, a man of the purest integrity, temperate in all his habits, popular throughout the United States, and an interesting writer. *Appletons' Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, I, 551-553.

[77] William Holmes Chambers Bartlett of Pennsylvania and Missouri became a cadet in the West Point Military Academy on July 1, 1822. He was brevetted second lieutenant and became second lieutenant of engineers on July 1, 1826. He became professor of mathematics at West Point on April 20, 1836, and retired with the pay of a colonel on February 14, 1871. He died on February 11, 1893. Heitman, *Army Register*, I, 196.

Septr 27th– Being obliged to close my letter to-night, for the President, I come to say good bye to you, my dear, & to send kisses to our sweet little ones– My impatience to be at home increases because I am doing very little here, tho' I seem to be occupied all day about something– in fact it takes a long time in one of these *great* cities for a stranger to do even the simplest business, on account of the time lost in learning the proper places to apply to– We have as yet no answer to our application for permission to see the remaining establishments which we wish to visit– To-morrow evening we are to go to St. Cloud to be presented to the King,[78] but I am afraid that will not expedite the movements of the official people– however it is pretty certain that we shall not be prevented from sailing in the British Queen, if no accident happens– Our places are taken & will be secured by paying for them to-morrow– About the 15th we expect to leave here for England, & *15 days* ought not to be hard to get through with in Paris– To-day (Sunday) we took a carriage & made a tour of the city to show our strangers some of the [ ], Pere lachaise &, the Jardin des plantes–, with other places much frequented on Sunday– In almost every part of Paris there are great improvements, even since I was here before, & the new buildings, both public & private, but especially the latter, are magnificent in their style & finish– a little too gaudy sometimes for our tastes, but still superb, & suitable for this [g]ay place–

Fare[we]ll, my dear wife– I am happy to think that I can probably write to you but once more from this side of the Atlantic, for truly I am most anxious to be again near you & to try & comfort you in your troubles, if I cannot divide them with you–

Your affte Alfred–

Mrs Alfred Mordecai
Care of Henry Hays Esqr
Philadelphia

Paris– September 29th– 1840– I sent you yesterday a short letter (for the President) & one which I fear will not give you much pleasure, but could not help scolding you a little, tho' I dare say you do not complain without cause– I told you we were to go to Court last evening; accordingly we left here about 7 for St Cloud where the King is now staying, & at 8½ we met Mr Cass at the gate & followed him into the royal presence– We found the Queen with her daughters & maids of honour seated at a round table, working, as you might have been at the same hour, at worsted work– The Duke

---

[78] Louis Philippe was born in Paris on October 6, 1773, and died in Claremont, England, on August 26, 1850. He was king of France from 1830 to 1848. He went in as king due to a revolution and went out in the same way. He was the son of Philippe Egalité, duc d'Orleans. He favored the Revolution and served under Dumouriez against the Austrians, but became involved in the conspiracy of his chief against the republic, and found himself compelled to join the emigres. He returned to France on the restoration of the Bourbons in 1814, and was restored to his hereditary estates. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 624.

of Orleans [79] & some ladies playing cards in a corner, & a few aides de camp & strangers in attendance– We were walked round the table & introduced to some of the ladies, after which we had the privilege of standing by & talking with the aides, until the King entered– He came up to us & asked the usual questions about which corps we belonged to, where we were from. "Connecticut! New Haven? Hartford?– ah. I've been there– beautiful place, New Haven!" &c– a little refreshment was brought in & the King went to visit M[r] Cass, whilst we staid with the aids, looking at the beautiful tapestry which adorned the apartments– The Duke of O. having finished his game came up & spoke to us for some time– both the King & he speak English very well, & the ladies tolerably– The King at length entered & dismissed us very civilly, "hoping to have the pleasure to see us again," & desiring the a.d.c. to show us the gallery of pictures, all the apartments of the palace on that side being lighted up– If it had been Napoleon, in this his favorite palace, there would have been something to remember– We staid about an hour I suppose, & got home by 11–

October 11[th]– It is a long time since I wrote because I have been doing little or seeing little to interest you particularly– running about Paris to book stores, shops, &c– Baker & I went a few days ago to the powder mills nearest to Paris, & finding ourselves not far from Fountainbleau [80] we went there to see the chateau, so rich in historical associations– It is an immense pile of buildings, very irregular, but containing many fine apartments & galleries, which have been lately very well & richly restored from the state of neglect in which they were suffered to life since the fall of Napoleon– We returned last evening & we shall have not many days now to pack up & make our arrangements for going over to England–

October 15[th]– I must close this sheet to send it to England for the Boston steamer, finding that I am not likely to be there in time myself– Wade & Huger have gone to the south to visit some of the establishments in that quarter & they write us that they will not be back until Sunday: We shall then go over immediately to England– I am

---

[79] Louis Philippe's son was Ferdinand Philip Louis Charles Henry Orleans, and the Duke of Orleans from 1810 to 1842. He was born on September 3, 1810. His mother was Marie Amelie, princess of the two Sicilies. Under the Restoration he bore the title of Duke of Chartres. He was colonel in a regiment of Hussars and sent to Lyons in 1831 to put down a revolution there and in 1832 to the siege of Antwerp. He rose to the rank of lieutenant-general and was sent three times to Algeria, 1835, 1839, 1840. He died as a result of an accident at Neuilly, near Paris, on July 13, 1842. On May 30, 1837, he married Helene Louise Elisabeth of Mecklenburg-Schwerin and had by her two sons, the Count of Paris and the Duke of Chartres. The Duchess, on February 14, 1848, after the fall of Louis Philippe, went before the Chamber of Deputies to try to have her elder son made king and her the regent, but she had to flee to England, where she died in Richmond on May 18, 1858. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1941), XVI, 908-909.

[80] Fontainbleau is about thirty-seven miles east of Paris. It is a well built town partly of brick and partly of stone with spacious and regular streets. It has a military college and a commercial college, as well as a school of design and engineering. It has fine barracks. The castle lies in the southeastern part of town and is one of the most magnificent in France and one of the world's most famous monuments. Many of the sovereigns made it their most favored residence and vied with each other in lavishing upon it embelishments in all kinds of art without any limitation as to expense. *Encyclopaedia Americana* (1938), XI, 426.

doing nothing here & am heartily tired of Paris & this land of liars & cheats, & more than ever anxious to get back to you & the children– It is a long time since I have heard from you, & I shall get no letters until those by the Br. Queen, in London; I am happy to think that my next letter to you will be mailed at *New York,* & I warn you beforehand that you must be prepared for my detention a day or even *two* in New York, where we shall have to collect & arrange the things we have shipped from Stockholm, Hamburg & Antwerp, &c– but after nearly 8 months patience you can extend it, without much pain, for 2 days more– Farewell & God bless you all–

Yr Affte Alfred,

Mrs Alfred Mordecai
Care Hendy Hays Esqr
Philadelphia
Via Liverpool % Brittannia

Octr 22d 1840. From *London,* once more I have the pleasure to date, my dear wife, & in an hour I shall have the much greater pleasure to receive your letters by the Br. Queen which are waiting here for me– Whilst we are making our arrangements to go out this morning; I take a moment to tell you that we got away from Paris, on Monday evening (19th), spent the next day in Havre & sailed in the evening for Southampton, where I arrived *without* sea-sickness, the next morning & after a little delay we reached London last evening, by rail way, & took up our old quarters near St. James's palace.

23d.– I had the pleasure to find at Messrs Gowan & Marx your two letters, of the 18. & 29th Septr; but my pleasure was much alloyed by the intelligence that you were still suffering, & I reproached myself for having before said anything that you might consider unkind: I had no idea that your indisposition was so serious, but I trust I shall find you quite recovered– How much I am obliged to our good friend Mrs Ingraham for the kindness to you & our little boy; it grieves me to hear that her husband has been so unsuccessful, & that she is obliged to exert herself for a maintenance; she deserves a better lot.

26th– Received to-day your last letter, by the Gr. Western, & delighted to think that it is the last I shall have to receive before reaching N. Y. where I expect to find a few lines from you– I cannot tell you how sorry I am for having said anything to cause your tears to flow in reading my letter, & how much I am pained to find that your illness has been of so obstinate a kind & so painful: I trust I shall yet find you quite well– As for me, You must not think of me as thin & pale: Bartlett, who returned last night from Dublin, says they will certainly make me an *alderman* when I get to N York– Pains in my joints still admonish me however to be careful of exposure to this

unfortunate climate– Sunday was a fine day & I went out to Dulwich [81] to dine at Mr Gowen's; at other times I have been doing nothing but attending to business preparatory to sailing–

Octr 31st. My last day in London– to-morrow morning we go down to Southampton to embark at 4 P. M. in the Queen where goods & chattels are on board & the vessel already at Portsmouth–

I received this morning a note from Mr Maury declining to send any letters by me, as they could write quicker by the Boston Steamer of the *4th* from Liverpool– as a sort of joke therefore I send them this letter to forward by the same means, but I shall hope to see you very nearly as soon as you do my letter– The steamer of the 19th is however announced to-day after a passage of 11 days & a half–

I must be off to close my arrangements–
farewell for a short time–
Yr afft Alfred.

Mrs Alfred Mordecai
care of Henry Hays Esqr
Philadelphia
% Caledonia

New York Novr 21st/40

My dearest wife

I am too happy to inform you of my arrival here safely this morning– I had thought of taking you by surprise to-night, but Col Talcott is here & wants us on business a few hours which will prevent my coming to you to-day– I fear you will have some uneasiness on account of the report by the Caledonia, that we had to put back– the report was unfounded; we had a very tempestious & to me disagreeable voyage, but there was never any thought of *danger*, I believe, in the minds of any of our passengers, nor did we stop or turn out of our course– Our voyage has indeed been a very remarkable one & impresses me more than ever with the great importance & success of ocean steam navigation–

Col. T. tells me he heard of your being well a few days since–

I cannot tell you when to expect me exactly, and you must rest satisfied a day or two with the assurance of my safety & health– I suffered excessively from sea sickness & am really hardly sorry to have a day or two to recruit before shewing myself to you, tho I am happy to say that my *rheumatism* seems quite to have vanished– I write at the first moment of getting into a house (at Cozzens's) [82] &

---

[81] Dulwich is a suburb of London, situated in Surrey, five miles south of St. Paul's. It is the seat of Dulwich College, founded by Edwin Alleyne and opened in 1619. The college contains a noted picture gallery. This celebrated actor began the construction of this plant in 1613 and personally managed its affairs after its completion. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 41, 343.

[82] Frederick Swartwout Cozzens was born in New York City on March 5, 1818, and died in Brooklyn on December 23, 1869. Although he was a miscellaneous American writer, he was an outstanding wine merchant in New York City. For years he published "The Wine Press" in connection with his business. He also wrote "Sparrowgrass Papers," which were published in 1856. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 288.

have not yet asked for the letter I hope to find at Mr Maury's–
My friends are well – Bartlett came out with us– God bless you
Yr Loving husband
A. Mordecai

Mrs Alfred Mordecai
care of Henry Hays Esqr
Philadelphia

The New World. The First Pictures of America. . . . By Stefan Lorant. (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce. 1946. Pp. 292. $20.00.)

In this volume Mr. Lorant has attempted "to recreate—through contemporary narratives and pictures—the story of the first abortive French and English settlements on the eastern shores of North America." His efforts have been eminently successful. The narratives and pictures that he has reproduced, his own illuminating notes, and the mechanical execution of the book all combine to make it a notable contribution to American historiography.

The settlements described were, of course, the French colonies sent to Florida under the auspices of Admiral Coligny in 1564 and 1565, and the English colonies sent by Sir Walter Raleigh to "Virginia" in 1585 and 1587.

The first of the French colonies was under the immediate command of René de Laudonnière, the other of Jean Ribaut. Their thrilling story and tragic fate are told in the narratives of Jacques le Moyne de Morgues, an artist, who accompanied Laudonnière, and of Nicolas Le Challeux, a carpenter, who was with Ribaut. Le Moyne's narrative, written in London "about twenty years" after his return from Florida, was illustrated with his sketches of Florida scenes painted from memory. Challeux was "an eyewitness of the events at Fort Caroline" and "describes what he saw there," but he also incorporated in his narrative the story of a sailor who escaped the massacre. It was published in Dieppe early in 1566 and in May following was translated into English and published at London.

Raleigh's efforts at colonization, undertaken twenty years later, were more carefully planned and more persistently pursued than those of his great French counterpart. Their fate, however, was equally tragic. The story is told in six contemporary documents reproduced in Mr. Lorant's volume. They are: Arthur Barlowe's report to Sir Walter Raleigh of the exploratory expedition which he and Philip Amadas made in 1584; Ralph Lane's report, also addressed to Raleigh, concerning the colony, of which Lane was governor, that Sir Richard

Grenville left on Roanoke Island, August 17, 1585, where it remained till June 18, 1586; an anonymous report of Grenville's second voyage to Roanoke, 1586, undertaken "to supply and relieve" Lane's colony; John White's journal of Raleigh's second colony, of which White was governor, but which he left in August, 1587, to its mysterious fate; White's report of his last voyage to Roanoke, made in 1590 to ascertain whether the colony had survived, together with his letter dated February 4, 1593, transmitting the report to Richard Hakluyt; and, finally, Hariot's *A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*: " . . . Directed to the Adventurers, Favourers, and Welwishers of the action, for inhabiting and planting there," imprinted at London in 1588. This list includes, so far as is known, all of the extant contemporary documents that relate to the Raleigh colonies.

Both the French and English narratives are profusely and beautifully illustrated with contemporary pictures. In recreating the story of the settlements they are scarcely less important than the narratives. Thirteen of the illustrations are contemporary portraits of leading actors in the drama. The others are pictures of the people, flora, and fauna of the New World.

The artist of the French settlement was Jacques Le Moyne. "His job was to map the seacoast and harbors, indicate the position of towns, plot the depth and course of the rivers, and portray the dwellings of the natives and anything else worthy of observation." This he did in a series of forty-two pictures, "performed," as he said in his narrative, "to the best of my ability." Unfortunately, all but one of the original paintings have been lost; the others have been preserved through the engravings of Theodore de Bry which De Bry published in 1592. They are reproduced in Mr. Lorant's book, but since Le Moyne's pictures were made after he left Florida they are of less historical interest than those painted by John White during his sojourn on Roanoke Island.

White was a member of Lane's colony of 1585 and was governor of the colony of 1587. His pictures, therefore, are, as Mr. Lorant points out, not only "exquisite watercolors," but are also "the earliest authentic pictures of aboriginal life in North America." They, too, were engraved by De Bry, who published

his engravings in 1590, and thus have long been familiar to scholars; but, as Henry Stevens, a competent authority, says, they seem tame in the presence of the original drawings, which, after numerous peregrinations have at last found a resting place in the British Museum. They have now, for the first time, been "published in their entirety, and in their original colors." This is Mr. Lorant's chief contribution to the history of the Raleigh colonies.

A reviewer fails of his duty unless he calls attention to the *errata* that inevitably creep into such a publication, however trivial they may be. South Carolina will undoubtedly consider it a serious error to place the landing of Jean Ribaut's expedition of 1562 "on the shores of St. John's River of North Carolina" (notes on this book, 1, 10); the author, with a gallantry that rivals that of Sir Walter himself, dates the birth year of "The Great Weroanca of England" (p. 120) ten years later than it actually was; many Englishmen, perhaps, would feel that Mary Stuart lived too long without the extra ten years allotted to her on page 121; and let us hope that the Scotch in Archie MacLeish will not rise to the boiling point when he notes (p. 184) that the "a" has been dropped from the "Mac" in his name.

These slips might easily escape the eyes of the most meticulous proofreader. A more serious matter, as it appears to this reviewer, is that because "the English narratives, with one exception, were not written by literary men, but by seacaptains and soldiers," the editor "thought it permissible to modernize their language, put their sometimes confused sentences into plainer English and regularize the diversities of the Elizabethan spelling." In spite of his assurance that "nothing has been omitted nor the meaning [of the original text] anywhere altered," one can but feel that in their modernized version the narratives fail to recapture in full the daring and vision of those "seacaptains and soldiers" who made glorious the age of Elizabeth. To "recreate" their story their narratives should have been reproduced as they wrote them.

R. D. W. Connor.

The University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill, N. C.

A Romance of Education. By Samuel Bryant Turrentine. (Greensboro, N. C.: The Piedmont Press. 1946. Pp. 1-314.)

This work is a miscellany of historical materials and pen pictures of Greensboro College assembled by its president emeritus. It can scarcely be called a history of the college. Rather, the volume is a source book which students of higher education in North Carolina might wish to consult.

The author has taken great pains to locate biographical data about Rev. Peter Doub, the founder of Greensboro Female College, and about the presidents and certain of the more prominent professors of the institution. There are copious excerpts from catalogues and from the letters, diaries, and speeches of those who were intimately connected with "G. F. C.," as the college was long and familiarly called.

Anecdotes of college life in the nineteenth century will no doubt induce qualms of nostalgia in the older alumnae and evoke laughter from their more sophisticated granddaughters. The daring young miss of the gay nineties who dared sneak beyond the confines of the campus to post her love letter in a hollow stump to be picked up by an accomplice definitely belongs to another age. Education for women has progressed in many ways.

Of most value is Dr. Turrentine's account of his own administration of the college from 1913 until 1935. Again, he does not limit himself to a narrative account. This chapter is as sketchily written as the others. But the author here gives more first-hand information about the trials and triumphs of the college during almost a quarter century of its life.

Dr. Turrentine was succeeded as president of Greensboro College by Dr. Luther L. Gobbel in 1935. The last chapter is devoted to this recent period during which, as president emeritus, the author has kept a lively interest in the affairs of the college.

A Romance of Education is well illustrated, indexed, and contains, in an appendix, faculty lists, enrollment figures, and other significant data taken mainly from the college catalogues. The reviewer, while noting the rambling character of the book and its lack of objectivity, is reminded that the author is not a professional historian. He is a minister and educator who has

performed a "labor of love" mainly intended for the alumnae and friends of Greensboro College.

William Alexander Mabry.

Randolph-Macon College,
Lynchburg, Va.

Memories of an Old-Time Tar Heel. By Kemp Plummer Battle. Edited by William J. Battle. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1945. Pp. 296. $3.00.)

The author of *Memories of an Old-Time Tar Heel* was a typical southern aristocrat. His book is valuable for two major reasons: first, it is a frank and sincere revelation of the man himself, his relatives and friends; and second, it contains valuable history of his time.

Battle was born in 1831 of strict and conservative parents, and his childhood at Louisburg was confined largely to the home place where he played with the children of his parents' slaves, protected from the young crowd with gambling and drinking propensities. His mother taught him so well as a pre-school-age child that he was two years beyond pupils his own age when he entered school at seven. He had a pleasant and successful college life at the University of North Carolina, graduating in the class of 1849 and serving as a tutor for some years after graduation. Happily married to a distant cousin, he became a devoted husband and father. With a quiet and dignified home life, this modest and democratic son of Carolina was able, idealistic, and very human. He had a rare appreciation of wholesome wit and humor, as is revealed in this volume.

His heart was wrapped up in his *alma mater*. Active alumnus, trustee, and finally president for a decade and a half, he was the main force behind the re-opening of the University in 1876. As professor of history from 1891 to 1907 he endeared himself to the college community and the townspeople alike.

Since Dr. Battle began writing his *Memories* on his eighty-first birthday, one can forgive his tendency to ramble. The absence of any kind of index, however, is unforgivable on the part of his editor son.

The chief value of the book for the general reader is its wealth of social, political, and economic history of North Carolina for

about three-fourths of the nineteenth century. His descriptions of weddings, church life, slavery, recreation from the horse-racing and fox-hunting of the upper class to the cornshuckings of happy but half-clad Negroes, crime and punishment, the condition of the insane, and white-hot secessionism in South Carolina all help to reveal the South just as it was in social life. Transportation and travel, crops and markets, wild life in field and stream, small industries and big business of his day are shown in his sketches of economic history. Politics was a major interest of Dr. Battle and his relatives. Practicing lawyer, judge, city commissioner, state treasurer, friend of governors and legislators of both parties, he was quite successful in the forensic battles of his time.

In reading these reminiscences, whether pertaining to the author's quiet, scholarly home life in his beloved Chapel Hill or describing the nervous but restrained anxiety of helpless nights in a Raleigh filled with angry and threatening northern soldiers, one feels he is in intimate conversation with one of the South's most charming personalities and finest citizens.

M. L. Skaggs.

Greensboro College,
Greensboro, N. C.

The Wilson Era: Years of War and After, 1917-1923. By Josephus Daniels. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1946. Pp. xviii, 645. $4.00.)

Perhaps one cannot be a good southerner unless he is possessed of an unstinted admiration for Woodrow Wilson. Mr. Daniels, in this his latest addition to what is the longest autobiography in southern annals, fulfills this qualification to an overwhelming degree. He successfully identifies Wilson with his beloved section and thereby advances a compelling reason for making the Virginia-born President into a beloved hero. The two men shared in the gentlemanly puritanism which is as near the heart of southernism as is its opposite of moral liberalism. They aso shared in the traditional southern belief that politics is the most important of human activities; they had no more interest in the fine arts than the average southerner who listened to their addresses. Their blind devotion to the Democratic party

and their dislike of Republicans gave solid justification for the caricaturist's conception of the Solid South. The limit of Mr. Daniels's concession to Republicanism is that individual Republicans may be virtuous in their private lives. Their public conduct is almost always represented as devious and sometimes as treasonable. Because of the implied belief that Democrats are always right, the author justifies Wilson's most extreme acts of partisanship, including the President's refusal to appoint Republican leaders to the Paris Peace Conference and his appeal for a partisan Congress in the League of Nations crisis.

Like all good southerners since the Civil War, Mr. Daniels joins Wilson in devotion to the American creed of freedom and equality stemming from Thomas Jefferson and the English liberals; accusations of inconsistency is not applying this creed to the Negro are brushed aside. A southern lack of self-criticism does not make it necessary to admit contradiction between professions of pacificism and the waging of an aggressive war overseas. Wilson's admiration of things English is qualified in Mr. Daniels' case by sharp accusations against individual Britishers. But the North Carolinian is too strong an Anglo-Saxon for his aversion for the English to be general. His unflattering remarks about Englishmen are merely a manifestation of a provincial patriotism. With the aid of Woodrow Wilson, young Franklin D. Roosevelt, and other good Democrats and Americans he devised means through which Anglo-Saxon principles triumphed over Prussianism. He was too uncritical in his patriotism to imagine that weapons used for evil by others might be used for the same purpose by his own countrymen. He joined Wilson in believing that American force was the means of achieving lasting peace. Inconsistencies in this sort of southernism are drowned by a mystical devotion. The North Carolinian quotes the Virginian as saying: "The only place in the country, the only place in the world, where nothing has to be explained is the South . . . with all the old memories I know the region to which naturally I belong."

Inevitaby some reviewers find this double dose of Wilsonism and southernism too much to accept. They feel that Mr. Daniels's book is too long, containing not only what the author did and said but also what he read in books. The reader is treated

to historical information which he learned in the sixth grade. The lapse of twenty-six years has in no measure modified the author's conviction that the Kaiser and his militarists were so wrong that they require no refutation. There are no quotations from the revisionist views of scholars who have written about the First World War. Mr. Daniels's scholarly standards are illustrated by the manner in which he and other politicians went about browbeating the *Encyclopedia Brittannica* for accusing a member of the Wilson Cabinet of being a politician. The author is often trite, giving us, among other things, the republican who saw that kings won their "high estate" by accident of birth rather than by merit. A final chapter designed to give the quintessense of Woodrow Wilson is a collection of anecdotes as pointless as they are harmless.

Yet there is much to admire in the North Carolinian's successful identification of Wilson with the South. His worshipful attitude toward his hero strikes a responsive chord among a generation of Americans who have suffered much because at an earlier date they abandoned Wilsonian internationalism. Mr. Daniels makes use of a long and intimate acquaintance with this war leader to help create the Wilson legend which after the Second World War is taking on epic proportions. As a southerner who inherited the agrarian cult of the Common Man, he fortified Wilson's faith in the Average Man. In the peculiar but not unreal terms of the South, Mr. Daniels stands forth as a great democrat. As Secretary of the Navy he proved as successful as any of the long line of southerners who from George Washington to James F. Byrnes discharged with eminent distinction important administrative trusts. He managed with outstanding success the United States Navy in its titanic assignment of helping win a great war. He lacked the New Englander's experience with the sea, but the southern habit of command and the southern talent for political manipulation were in his case adequate substitutes. His unique achievement as naval chief grew out of his and Wilson's devotion to the southern concept of the Christian home. For the protection of thousands of boys serving their country at sea he ordered the closing of centers of drinking and licentious fun. This assault on the traditional habits of

sailors provoked ridicule, but it also gave comfort to many mothers and fathers of absent sons.

This book is neither humorless nor innocuous. With a twinkle in his eye the North Carolina provincial went abroad to have experiences worthy of Mark Twain. Read how shocked he was at the Paris opera and how baffled he was by the strange bathroom of Prince Murat. What he says about many of his associates in the Wilson administration is unpleasant and may be born of the courtier's conviction that only the king's ministers can do no wrong. Yet his strictures are almost as revealing as those of the Duc de Saint-Simon about another official circle. Wilson's chief weakness may not have been a misplaced confidence in men like Lansing, House, Lane, and Sims; but Daniels thinks so, and the historian when he passes judgment on the Wison era must take the Secretary of the Navy's word into account. He reveals the faults of his colleagues with ruthless frankness.

Francis B. Simkins.

State Teachers College,
Farmville, Virginia.

The Slave States in the Presidential Election of 1860. By Ollinger Crenshaw. The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Politcal Science, series LXIII, no 3. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1945. Pp. 332, xiv. $3.00.)

This scholarly work, which gives evidence of an enormous amount of research, is an analysis of campaign propaganda rather than a story of the maneuvers of the parties and their leaders. Much space is given to the opinions of editors and leaders of the respective candidates in the several states and even in the different sections of each state. At times the author's evidence is overwhelming, sometimes to the point of being superfluous. Happily, at the end of each chapter and at the close of the book excellent summaries are included.

Beginning with a brief, possibly too brief, account of the nominating conventions in 1860, Professor Crenshaw analyzes at some length the characteristics and tenets of the presidential and vice-presidential nominees of the several parties. Some of this space might have been used to greater advantage in a

review of the maneuvers of the Democratic leaders in the several states between the Charleston and Baltimore conventions.

This introductory chapter is followed by a valuable discussion of the poitical significance of the congressional guarantee of slavery in the territories. The author shows that the Bell-Douglas followers were united in their opposition to an endorsement of this principle on the grounds that natural laws would prevent slavery moving into the territories. The Breckinridge forces, on the other hand, were not united on the issue. Neither were they agreed on their objectiveness in the campaign. Some expected the election to be thrown into the House of Representatives where they expected to defeat Lincoln. Others had no hope of defeating Lincoln either in the electorial college or in the House.

The author gives much emphasis to the emotional factor in the campaign. Bell and Douglas played up the idea of the disunion sentiment among the followers of Breckinridge. At the same time the Breckinridge leaders gave much prominence to the stories of slave insurrections and of rumored abolition plots. In other words, "fear and hate had taken charge" in the South (p. 111).

Following these general chapters on the parties' strategy within the South, the author, in considerable detail, surveys the positions taken in the several southern states, first in the border states and then in the lower South. In Maryland, Virginia, Missouri, and Kentucky, he holds, there was a strong opposition party which, until secession made its efforts futile, was favorably disposed toward cooperation with Republicans. This, I believe, was true in Virginia until the Brown raid but after that scare few dared mention their desire to work with "Black Republicans." The Bell-Douglas forces emphasized the dangerous geographic position in which the border states would be placed should secession develop. Mr. Crenshaw also accepts the theory that in the upper South party loyalty rather than a leaning toward secession accounted for the large Breckinridge vote. He might have added that the same was true of many who voted for Douglas, especially in the Valley of Virginia.

In the lower South extremists such as Rhett and Yancey desired Lincoln's election in order to force secession. Others hoped

the election would be thrown into the House of Representatives where Lincoln would be defeated. They felt that the election of the Republican candidate would result in the immediate growth of abolition in the border states and eventually, by the use of patronage, in the subservience of the lower South.

In his excellent summary at the end of the book, Professor Crenshaw concludes that before and during the campaign the great purpose of the Breckinridge forces was the unity of the South. They tried to obtain this by a southern conference as a result of the Brown raid and as a result of the threatened election of Sherman as speaker of the House. Virginia's refusal to cooperate in such a conference caused its failure and led to the endorsement by Democrats of a fundamental southern principle such as that proposed in the Alabama platform or in Davis's resolutions in the Senate. It was held that if the South failed to stand together on the issue of slavery in the territories, the North would grow bolder and destroy the more fundamental rights of the South. The census and Republican patronage, they insisted, were on the North's side. Unity or secession, therefore, were the alternatives. The Bell-Douglas forces, on the other hand, argued that greater protection to Southern rights could be obtained within than out of the Union and more through the cooperation with than opposition to the North.

Henry T. Shanks.

Birmingham-Southern College,
Birmingham, Alabama.

An Essay Upon the Government of the English Plantations on the Continent of America, 1701. Edited by Louis B. Wright. (San Marino, California: Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery. 1945. Pp. xxiv, 66. $2.50.)

The efforts of the English government to achieve maximum results from its mercantilist policies as applied to the American colonies naturally led to the printing of many essays dealing with the problems of colonial relationship. The rare tract reprinted by the Huntington Library differs from the bulk of such publications in that it presents an authentic American view of issues current at the end of the seventeenth century. The editor, Louis B. Wright, confirms L. C. Wroth's conjecture that the author is

almost certainly the Virginia historian, Robert Beverly, but suggests further that William Byrd I, Beverly's father-in-law, may have had a hand in the essay. In addition Mr. Wright includes in the volume the drafts of two memorials to the Board of Trade written by William Byrd II and now preserved in his manuscript notebook in the Huntington Library.

The Essay was written as an answer to Charles Devenant's *Discourses on the Public Revenues, and on the Trade of England,* one of the better mercantilist productions. The American author is at his best when he pleads for better government for the colonies, and at his worst when he disparages Pennsylvania, Virginia's chief and successful rival for colonists. On the whole, the *Essay* shows better than anything else available the considered opinion of an intelligent colonial on the vital question of what England would have to do to give adequate and just government to her colonies. What is most important, however, is not that the author of the *Essay* had some interesting observations on government but rather that he approached the problem from so loyal and reasonable a point of view. Had attitudes such as his been appreciated and cultivated and met halfway throughout the century, the course of American colonial history would have been radically different.

The reprint is attractive in form, with a helpful introduction by the editor. The reviewer wonders, however, why the title page of the original edition was not followed line by line in what is obviously an attempt to reproduce it exactly.

Robert E. Moody.

Boston University,
Boston, Mass.

A Guide to Manuscripts Relating to American History in British Depositories Reproduced for the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress, by Grace Gardner Griffiin. (Washington, D. C.: The Library of Congress. 1946. Pp. xvi, 313. For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, United States Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. $1.25.)

"The *Guide* which is now presented to the public represents the consummation of a desire, cherished for many years, to fill a long standing need," writes Dr. St. George L. Sioussat, chief of the Library of Congress Division of Manuscripts, in his introduction to the volume. For almost half a century the Library of

Congress has been acquiring reproductions of official archives and private and unofficial manuscripts, relating to American history, in foreign depositories, but until now no comprehensive guide to the materials has been available. The present work provides a guide to copies of such items in England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, and Canada.

The real beginning of the collection was made in 1898 when the Library of Congress purchased from Benjamin Franklin Stevens of London a large collection of facsimiles of documents relating to American history, 1773-1783, in British and other depositories. Once begun, the work of acquiring copies of such items was continued, and in 1925 a gift from Mr. James B. Wilbur of Vermont made possible the expansion of the program. In 1927 a grant from Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Junior, provided funds for prosecution of the work on a scale until then hardly dreamed of. Today the total number of pages copied runs into the millions, of which the present *Guide* covers more than one million.

The first depository covered is the British Public Record Office and comprises series familiar to students of American colonial history such as those listed under Admiralty Office, Audit Office, and Colonial Office. Other English official depositories included are the British Museum, General Post Office, House of Lords, Royal Courts of Justice, Tower of London, and Guildhall of London. Various English libraries, societies, institutions, and personal collections, both inside and outside London, are covered. In Scotland the list includes collections in the National Library of Scotland (Edinburgh), the University of Edinburgh, and the University of Glasgow; in Wales, the National Library of Wales (Aberystwyth); in Ireland, Archbishop Marsh's Library (Dublin) and Trinity College (Dublin); and in Canada, the Public Archives of Canada (Ottawa), the Public Archives of Nova Scotia (Halifax), the College of St. Mary (Montreal), and the Toronto Public Library.

The present *Guide* leans heavily on guides to materials on American history in British depositories previously prepared by Charles M. Andrews, Charles A. Paullin, Frederic L. Paxson, and others. In order to avoid duplication, where bodies of official records and collections of private manuscripts have already been described in these earlier guides, the present work merely

makes the necessary citations and lists the relevant holdings of the Library of Congress.

One who wished to quibble might point out that the title is a little ambiguous (since the context does not make entirely clear whether the *Guide* or the *Manuscripts* have been reproduced), might question whether depositories in Canada should be classified as British, and might haggle over other small items. Such matters are minor, however, and detract little from the value of the volume which, with its carefully prepared index, will prove a useful research tool to scholars.

Christopher Crittenden.

State Department of Archives and History,
Raleigh, N. C.

HISTORICAL NEWS

Dr. Christopher Crittenden, director of the State Department of Archives and History who has been on leave of absence since September 15, 1946, will return to his position July 1. He has been serving as assistant director of the World War II Records Project of the National Archives.

Mr. Henry Howard Eddy, who has been acting director of the State Department of Archives and History during Dr. Crittenden's absence, will return on July 1 to his former position as head of the division of archives and manuscripts of the Department.

Mr. William F. Burton, Jr., a candidate for the degree of doctor of philosophy in history at the University of North Carolina, will join the staff of the State Department of Archives and History on August 1, and will do the research in connection with the highway marker program.

The State Department of Archives and History, the North Carolina Highway and Public Works Commission, and the Department of Conservation and Development are cooperating in renewing the historical highway marker program which was suspended during the war. Several markers are ready for erection and many others are under consideration. The committee welcomes suggestions of the names of persons, events, and places which should be marked.

Miss Dorothy Reynolds, a graduate of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina with a major in history, will join the staff of the State Department of Archives and History on September 1. Miss Reynolds will be connected with the Hall of History.

Miss Annie Maude Hire, who during the summer will be a temporary member of the staff of the State Department of Archives and History serving in the Hall of History, will return in September to her position in the public schools in High Point. This is the second summer that Miss Hire has worked in the Hall of History.

Mr. D. L. Corbitt, head of division of publication of the State Department of Archives and History, is compiling for publication the public papers and letters of J. Melville Broughton, governor of North Carolina, 1941-1945. Previously Mr. Corbitt has compiled and edited the public papers and letters of Cameron Morrison, governor 1925-1929; O. Max Gardner, governor, 1929-1933; John C. B. Ehringhaus, governor, 1933-1937; and Clyde R. Hoey, governor, 1937-1941. The papers and letters of each governor have been published by the Council of State except those of John C. B. Ehringhaus. Mrs. Hilda Pate Harris is assisting Mr. Corbitt in compiling and typing the material for Governor Broughton's book. It will be between one and two years before this book will be ready for distribution.

Dr. Francis B. Simkins of the State Teachers' College, Farmville, Virginia, will teach during the summer at North Carolina State College, Raleigh. Dr. Simkins's *The South Old and New; A History 1820-1947*, a text book for college students, is scheduled for publication in September by Alfred A. Knopf, New York.

Dr. James W. Patton, head of the history department of North Carolina State College, will teach during the summer at Duke University.

Dr. Stuart Noblin, formerly a member of the history department of Davis and Elkins College, Elkins, West Virginia, in September will become assistant professor of history at North Carolina State College, Raleigh.

Dr. Nannie May Tilley, director of the manuscripts division in the library at Duke University, has resigned effective September 1 and will become professor of history at East Texas State Teachers College, Commerce, Texas.

Miss Sarah Lemmon of Marietta, Georgia, will become in September assistant professor of history at Meredith College. Miss Lemmon has a master of arts degree from Columbia University and has done graduate work at George Peabody University. For the past four years she has been associate professor of history at LaGrange College, LaGrange, Georgia.

A portrait of General Matt W. Ransom, legislator, Civil War soldier, United States Senator, and ambassador to Mexico, will be unveiled in the Northampton County courthouse, Jackson, on August 5. Senator William B. Umstead will make the principal address and Judge W. H. S. Burgwyn will accept the portrait on behalf of Northampton County.

"The Lost Colony," the symphonic drama by Paul Green, will be produced at Fort Raleigh, Roanoke Island, through Labor Day. The drama was suspended during the war, but was resumed last year.

Dr. M. L. Skaggs of Greensboro College will teach in the summer term of Wake Forest College.

The Julius Rosenwald fund has awarded fellowships to two North Carolinians as follows: Mrs. Margaret Caldwell James of Chapel Hill for a study of the communication media available to Negroes in a North Carolina community, at the University of North Carolina; and Solomon Sutker of Chapel Hill for graduate study in sociology at the University of North Carolina.

In June Alexander County held a centennial celebration with a three day program. Among other things a pageant was presented which covered the history of the county from the Indian days through the end of World War II. Four hundred persons participated in the pageant.

Fort Macon on Beaufort Inlet has been opened again for the reception of tourists. Its construction was begun in 1824 and completed in 1836. It played a part in the War for Southern Independence, the Spanish-American War, World War I, and World War II.

The Colonial Inn in Hillsboro has been restored by Paul Henderson of Chapel Hill. The Inn was built in the 1780's and during its early history many leaders of public life in North Carolina stopped there.

Bethel Church, located near Albemarle, will celebrate on August 10 its one hundred and fifty-seventh anniversary. Dr. Gilbert T. Rowe of the Duke University Divinity School will deliver the sermon. The first building was constructed of logs but through the years its growth has necessitated enlargement and now there is a spacious brick building.

On July 24 Dr. Archibald Henderson of the University of North Carolina will deliver before the Duke Bar Association, Duke University, an address entitled "Some Famous North Carolina Lawsuits—From the Layman's Point of View." Dr. Henderson is also writing a series of articles for publication in the *Filson Club Historical Quarterly*. The series is entitled "The Transylvania Company: A Study in Personnel." The first article deals with James Hogg and the second article with Thomas Hart.

The Fourth General Assembly of the Pan-American Institute of Geography and History which met in the city of Caracas, Venezuela, from August 22 to September 21, 1946, passed a resolution requesting each of the American Republics, as a member of the Institute, to designate one representative on the Commission of History. The Mexican Republic is sponsoring the Commission and the Pan-American Institute has designated Dr. Silvio Zavala as president. The Commission of History will hold its first meeting in Mexico City during the last week of October. At this first meeting the work and duties of the Commission will be designated.

Dr. Alice B. Keith of Meredith College, who is editing the papers of John Gray Blount for publication by the State Department of Archives and History, will work during most of the summer in the offices of the Department. It is expected that her first volume will cover the period from 1783-1800.

Dr. Henry T. Shanks of Birmingham Southern College, who is editing the Willie P. Mangum papers, will work during the summer in the library of the University of North Carolina. Dr. Shanks expects to have the first volume ready for the printer early next summer. These papers will be published by the State Department of Archives and History.

Dr. Frontis W. Johnston of Davidson College, who is editing the Zebulon B. Vance papers, will work during the summer and fall at the library of the University of North Carolina and the State Department of Archives and History and it is expected that there will be several volumes.

Dr. Gilbert L. Lycan of the John B. Stetson University will do research work during the summer on Alexander Hamilton at the library of the University of North Carolina, the State Department of Archives and History, and the Library of Congress.

"Organ Church and the Broken Key," by Carl Hammer, Jr., is an article on the Organ Lutheran Church in Rowan County, North Carolina. It is published in *The American-German Review*, XIII (June-August, 1947), 5-6.

Recent accessions to the Hall of History include a covered wagon given by Dr. Karl L. Fussler of Chapel Hill, and a set of surgical instruments used during the War for Southern Independence by Dr. E. Burke Haywood of Raleigh. This set of instruments was given by Mr. B. H. Bridges of Wilmington, a grandson of Dr. Haywood.

The Abraham Lincoln Association, First National Bank Building, Springfield, Illinois, solicits information concerning the present private ownership and location of any document composed by Abraham Lincoln, whether or not it has been published hitherto. Documents in public institutions are readily accessible, but many of those held by individuals have not been located to date. The preparation of a complete edition of Lincoln's writings from original sources will be greatly facilitated by information leading to procurement of photostatic copies of documents held by private individuals. Acknowledgment of assistance will be fully made upon publication.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

Dr. Ruth Ketring Nuermburger, formerly with the library at Duke University, Durham, lives at apartment B-215, 2713—29th Street, S. E., Washington 20, D. C.

Mr. William P. Roberts is an instructor in history at the University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.

Dr. James A. Padgett is an archivist, United States Department of Commerce, Division of Liquidation, Washington, D. C.

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOLUME XXIV October, 1947 NUMBER 4

THE TOE RIVER VALLEY TO 1865

By JASON BASIL DEYTON

The history of the more isolated sections of the mountains of North Carolina has not received the attention from historians that it justly deserves. Such accounts as have been written are inadequate and in many cases totally misleading. The field has been a rich one for the feature writer, who has loved to paint lurid pictures of crime, laziness, and ignorance; but such writers have refused, or at least have failed, to see the progress that has been made in these regions, and most of all they have failed to understand that an intelligent planning and leadership have been present quite as much as in the better known regions. The notion has been spread abroad that the pockets in the Carolina mountains were infested with an inferior people who were incapable of self-direction, who were unambitious, shiftless, reckless.

The truth of the matter is that these regions have been greatly handicapped by geographical conditions but that, despite this handicap, steady progress has been made. The people have worked; they have lived; they have prospered. In addition, they have always shown a keen interest in state and national affairs and have directed quite intelligently their own local affairs. If they lagged somewhat behind other sections, it was not because they were apathetic but because they had more difficult problems to solve. This study of the development of the Toe River Valley before 1865 attempts to show that progress was made in that section under great handicaps; that it was populated by a respectable class of people, alert, hard-working, intelligent, and ambitious; that this community was quite as capable of directing itself as other communities; and that it was possessed of high principles of democracy and nationalism.

GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES

The Toe River Valley lies in that part of the southern Appalachian Mountains which is in the western part of North Carolina.[1] It contains an area of approximately 687 square miles, entirely surrounded by high mountain peaks and connecting ridges. It has an average width of twenty miles and an average length of thirty-five miles. It extends from southwest to northeast, parallel to and west of the Blue Ridge and east of the Smokies. It forms the central-western pocket of North Carolina, bounded on the south by the Black Mountains, on the north by the divide connecting the Blue Ridge with the Smokies, and on the west by those segments of the Smokies known as the Bald Mountains, the Unaka Mountains, and the Iron Mountains.

The valley contains the whole of Yancey and Mitchell counties, and a part of Avery County. A segment of Avery County lies east of the Blue Ridge, and hence only about three-fourths of this county lies within the Toe River Valley. Mitchell County comprises 213 square miles in the central part of the valley; Yancey County with its 298 square miles occupies the southern and western portion; while approximately three-fourths of the 235 square miles of Avery County, or 175 square miles, lie in the northeastern part.[2]

The name of the valley is taken from the river Toe, an abbreviation of the Indian word Estatoe.[3] This river with its tributary streams drains the entire valley. It breaks through the Unaka Mountains on the west and becomes the Nolichucky after it passes into the state of Tennessee. The course of its waters is then by way of the French Broad, the Holston, and the Tennessee rivers to the Mississippi. Hence, the valley slopes westward and the drainage is eventually into the Gulf of Mexico. In piercing the Unakas, the river flows through a deep gorge, a fact which suggests that at one time this may have been a lake country.

---

1 The account of the geography of the Toe River Valley is written largely from the personal knowledge of the writer and from the United States Geological Survey maps of the Department of the Interior. The Roan Mountain, Cranberry, Morganton, and Mount Mitchell quadrangles give data for elevations, streams, topography, and the like for the entire valley.

2 *Fourteenth Census, State Compendium for North Carolina* (Washington, 1925), pp. 11-13.

3 Shepherd M. Dugger, *The Balsam Groves of the Grandfather Mountain* (Philadelphia, 1892), p. 121.

The Toe River has a northern and a southern branch and the junction of these is near the center of the valley. The northern branch has its source in the slopes of the northeastern section of the valley. The southern branch flows from the southeastern side of the Black Mountains. The waters from the southwestern side of these mountains flow into Caney River, which joins Toe River at Huntdale, a station on the Carolina, Clinchfield, and Ohio Railroad, located in the western part of the valley.

In addition to these rivers, Poplar Creek, Pigeon Roost Creek, Brummett's Creek, Rock Creek, Cane Creek, Snow Creek, and Bear Creek join the Toe River from the north; and Jack's Creek, Brush Creek, and Crabtree Creek flow in from the southern side. Bald Creek is an important tributary of the Caney River, while Little Crabtree Creek flows east into the South Toe. The North Toe has many important tributaries such as Henson's Creek, Roaring Creek, Squirrel Creek, and Grassy Creek.

A description of these streams indicates in general the topography of the Toe River Valley. There is a central valley forking into a southern and northern branch. The central valley is broken into on either side by numerous smaller valleys, many of which broaden out into extensive areas of comparatively even uplands. These upper valleys are separated by highland ridges and in some cases by mountain peaks. Along the valley of the Caney River there are extensive bottom lands which are excellent for general agricultural purposes. A somewhat more extensive valley is that of the South Toe, while possibly the largest of all is that of the North Toe. As a rule there are swelling, rising coves at the heads of the creeks.

The average elevation is well above 2,000 feet. At the Tennessee line where Toe River breaks through the Unaka Mountains the elevation is 1,729 feet. The highest point in the vicinity (though only partially in the valley itself) is Mt. Mitchell, which lies to the south in the Black Mountains. This peak rises to an elevation of 6,684 feet and is famous both because of its situation among a large group of peaks more than 6,000 feet high and also bcause it is the highest peak east of the Mississippi River. In this same group are the Black Brothers, Clingman's Peak, Balsam Cone, Cattail, Potato Hill, and Blackstock Knob. In the north and

on the Tennessee line the Roan High Knob rises to a height of 6,362 feet. Just east of this mountain is the Big Yellow which is 5,600 feet high. The average elevation of the Blue Ridge is 4,000 feet, but there are two gaps, the Gillespie and the McKinney, which sink as low as 2,800 feet. The northwestern rim of the valley follows the divide in the Smoky Mountains, whose average elevation is also about 4,000 feet.

Within the rim of the valley there are groups of mountains rising up between the smaller valleys, and some of these mountains are important enough to have names. For example, the Caney River Mountains in the southwest separate the valley of Caney River from the valley of Jack's Creek; just east of these, the Green Mountains separate the valley of Pig Pen Creek from the valley of Brush Creek; and in the north central part the Cane Creek Mountains, with their extension in the Spear Tops and in the Little Yellow, separate the valley of the North Toe from the valleys to the west.

The mineral resources of this region are important. Large amounts of kaolin clay, feldspar, and mica are produced, and tests are now being made for the production of kyanite. This is the chief clay-producing area in the United States, and the center of feldspar and mica production.[4] Asbestos is found in large deposits near Ledger, Bakersville, and Minneapolis. Dolimitic marble occurs on the north bank of Toe River near Sink Hole Creek. Magnetic iron is found in large quantities near Buladean. The total mineral production of Mitchell County alone is worth more than $1,000,000 annually.[5]

The Toe River Valley is a paradise for the botanist. He finds a wider variety of plants in this section and adjoining ones than in any other temperate region on earth except Japan.[6] The valley is a special home for the azalea, the kalmia, and the rhododendron. These plants flourish in great number and with most luxuriant growth. Sixty-three per cent of the total area of the valley is covered with forests, seventy per cent of which is farm

---

[4] *North Carolina Resources and Industries* (Raleigh, 1929), p. 208. Also Holmes Bryson, *Mining Industry in North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1930), pp. 74-75.

[5] *North Carolina Resources*, p. 208.

[6] Asa Gray, as quoted in an unnamed folder issued by the management of the Cloudland Hotel, 1888.

woodland.[7] The annual stumpage value of timber in Mitchell County is $20,000 and in Yancey County $70,000. The total quantity of standing board feet is estimated at 350,000,000, all of which is now fairly accessible.[8]

The soil and climate of the Toe River Valley are such that any of the cereal crops may be grown profitably. Corn is the chief crop, but excellent wheat is grown on the lower levels. Grasses grow abundantly and require little attention. Hence livestock raising is important. Seventy-five years ago it was predicted that this region would be a leader in the growing of livestock,[9] but the uncertainty of marketing and the development of mining have discouraged this industry. The region is well adapted to fruit growing. There is seldom a complete failure in the apple crop. The problem of marketing, however, has discouraged fruit growing also. Tobacco, which at one time was a leading staple, is now being grown in Yancey County and in some parts of Mitchell.

The wealth of the Toe River Valley, however, cannot be adequately measured by the products of its mines, forests, and fields. There are other resources which cannot be evaluated in terms of dollars and cents. It has climate; it has altitude; it has sparkling waters and landscape attraction. Such points as Little Switzerland, Sunny Brook Farm, Burnsville, and Spruce Pine are becoming well-known health resorts, and in summer they cater to an ever-growing tourist trade.

The physical features and location of the Toe River Valley have affected its history. The Blue Ridge, seen from the east, "presents the aspect of a steep and rugged escarpment springing suddenly from the Piedmont Plateau to an altitude of 2,000 to 3,000 feet above it."[10] It was indeed the great barrier to settlement. The two entrances from the east, the McKinney Gap and the Gillespie Gap, are reached only after long and toilsome climbing. Those who dared to enter these passes found themselves pocketed in the Toe River Valley with little opportunity

---

[7] *North Carolina Resources*, pp. 124, 226.

[8] *North Carolina Resources*, pp. 124, 226.

[9] T. L. Clingman, *Speeches and Writings* (Raleigh, 1877), p. 115.

[10] R. D. W. Connor, *North Carolina, Rebuilding an Ancient Commonwealth* (Chicago, 1929), I, 22.

for close association with the older settlements. Hence they chose the less difficult course of action, living unto themselves and becoming largely self-sufficient. The habits, customs, and manners which they brought with them remained little changed for practically a century. There was nothing to do but live on the fat of the land, retaining their speech and blood in greatest purity. There was little incentive to progress. In the course of time conservatism became the keynote of their character. Consequently the development of schools, the construction of roads, and the enjoyment of all except the most simple luxuries were delayed in this region.

EARLY EXPLORATION AND SETTLEMENT

It is not known who were the first white men to explore the Toe River Valley, nor can it be definitely stated who were the first to explore the mountain region outside the valley. There are evidences of pre-historic mining throughout western North Carolina,[11] and the Sink Hole mines and the Clarissa mines in Mitchell County are notable evidences of this early mining.[12] It is believed by many that the Spaniards, dating from the time of De Soto, who in 1540 entered what is now North Carolina, did extensive mining in the mountain region. The late Dr. F. A. Sondley, lawyer and historical writer of Asheville, was of the opinion that the Spaniards lived and mined in this region for 150 years or more, from 1540 to 1690, and possibly later.[13] If Dr. Sondley was correct in this conclusion, then undoubtedly the Spaniards were the first white explorers in the Toe River Valley. They were seeking gold and it is reasonable to conclude that they would search out the valleys and mountain sides in their quest for this precious metal.

In 1867 General T. L. Clingman, member of Congress and United States Senator from North Carolina for many years, observed timber standing in the wastes of the Sink Hole mines, which he stated had been growing there for three hundred

---

[11] John Preston Arthur, *Western North Carolina, A History (From 1730 to 1913)* (Raleigh, 1914), p. 11.

[12] C. D. Smith, *Ancient Mica Mines in North Carolina*, Smithsonian Institution *Report*, 1876, p. 441.

[13] F. A. Sondley, *Asheville and Buncombe County* (Asheville, 1922), p. 51.

years. He also saw a slab of stone near one of these workings that had evidently been marked by blows of a metallic tool. The Indians of course had no metallic tools. He speaks of a tradition among the Indians that long ago white men came from the south and carried off white metal with them.[14] This tradition and these observations are in line with Dr. Sondley's conclusions.

If the Spaniards were interested in gold in the region of western North Carolina, it appears that the English were no less interested in building up and maintaining a lucrative trade with the Indians. In 1670 Governor William Berkeley of Virginia sent the famous John Lederer to explore the interior of the Carolinas.[15] While the journeys of Lederer cannot be traced with any assurance, it may be that he even touched upon the foothills of western North Carolina and that he came in contact with the Indians living there.[16] In 1673 James Needham and Gabriel Arthur were sent out from Virginia to explore the region of the Cherokee Indians. These men entered the mountains and on their journey southward passed six rivers running to the west.[17] Their journey was made in the interest of trade with the Indians,[18] and it may be that these were the first Englishmen to explore the mountains of western North Carolina. Besides these explorers, unknown traders and hunters had pushed into and beyond the mountains, followed by others whose names are lost in obscurity, long before the first settler built his cabin there.[19] It is a reasonable conjecture that the Toe River Valley was known and explored more than 100 years before the Revolution, and that the first settlers had authentic information about this region before they came.

At a very early date paths and roads were found traversing the Toe River Valley. Some of these, undoubtedly, were buffalo or Indian trails. As early as 1771, just after the battle of Alamance, James Robertson led a band of sixteen families from Wake County across the mountains into the valley of the Watauga. They probably followed the Catawba to its head, cross-

---

[14] T. L. Clingman, *Speeches and Writings* (Raleigh, 1877), pp. 130-131.
[15] Francis L. Hawks, *History of North Carolina* (Fayetteville, 1858), pp. 11, 43.
[16] F. A. Sondley, *Asheville and Buncombe County* (Asheville, 1922), p. 51.
[17] F. A. Sondley, *Asheville and Buncombe County*, p. 51.
[18] F. A. Sondley, *Asheville and Buncombe County*, p. 51.
[19] Theodore Roosevelt, *Winning of the West* (New York, 1900), I, 173-174.

ing the Blue Ridge at the McKinney Gap; from there their course seems to have lain up the valley of the North Toe and to have followed Bright's Trace across the Yellow Mountain.[20] When the Watauga settlement became Washington County, in 1777, a wagon road was opened across the mountains into the settled parts of North Carolina.[21] This was the first road of its kind to be carved out across the mountains,[22] and vast hordes of emigrants, including a future President of the United States,[23] were to pass over it on their way to the west. It was the road, in part at least, over which John Sevier and his men were to march on their way to Kings Mountain in 1780.[24]

The route of the Kings Mountain men has been marked out as follows: beginning at the Sycamore Shoals, the place of rendezvous, they ascended Gap Creek to its head, and crossing Little Doe River they came to the "Resting Place" at the "Shelving Rock" after a march of twenty miles on the first day. Here they camped for the night. The next day they ascended the mountains, following the well known Bright's Trace through a gap between the Roan and the Yellow mountains. On reaching the "Bald of the Yellow," the volunteers paraded under their respective commanders and were ordered to discharge their rifles; and such was the rarity of the atmosphere that there was little or no report. At this point two of Sevier's men, James Crawford and Samuel Chambers, deserted. Fearing that the object of the deserters was to apprise Ferguson of their approach, the troops took the left hand or more northerly road instead of bearing to the right as they had planned. Descending Roaring Creek four miles, they reached the North Toe River; and continuing down this river, they reached the Davenport spring where they rested at noonday. That evening they reached Cathey's plantation at the mouth of Grassy Creek, where they camped for the night. On the following day they ascended the valley of Grassy Creek to Gillespie Gap, and here the army divided, the Virginia troops going six or seven miles south to

---

20 Arthur, *Western North Carolina*, p. 233.
21 Arthur, *Western North Carolina*, p. 232; Walter Clark (editor), *State Records of North Carolina, XXIV*, 141.
22 Arthur, *Western North Carolina*, p. 233.
23 Andrew Jackson.
24 Lyman C. Draper, *King's Mountain and Its Heroes* (Cincinnati, 1881), pp. 176-180.

Henry Gillespie's while the others followed the old trace in an easterly direction to the north fork of the Catawba.[25] The remainder of their journey to Kings Mountain, which was through another section, need not concern us here. The original plan of the Kings Mountain men seems to indicate that there was a road leading from Carver's Gap of the Roan down the valley of Little Rock Creek and possibly to Buck Creek Gap. It is difficult to imagine any other course they could have followed had they turned to the right from the shelving rock as they had planned.

An emigrant to the west, however, could have reached the Watauga settlements by a much shorter route. Entering the valley at the McKinney Gap, or two miles farther south at the Gillespie Gap, he could have followed the road which led from the Turkey Cove by way of the forks of Crane Creek near the site of Bakersville to Toe River. Pursuing a course down the river for a distance of about three miles to a point where the road branched, he could have followed the northern branch up Rock Creek and across the Iron Mountains into the Lost Cove; or he could have followed the southern branch which crossed Rock Creek near its mouth and led across the Unakas into the Greasy Cove. Even though either of these courses would have been a much shorter route to Watauga, it appears that they were not travelled as frequently as the one across the Yellow Mountain. In 1802 F. A. Michaux, a French botanist collecting specimens in America, came back from his excursion in Tennessee, Kentucky, and Illinois by way of the Iron Mountain road. He found reason to regret attempting the route, however, because it was so difficult to travel. It was necessary in many places to push back the rhododendron in order that his horse might pass, and since the road followed the bed of Rock Creek for a long distance it was not an easy matter to follow it. For twenty-three miles he saw no sign of human habitation, and on reaching Baker's place (at what is now Bakersville) he learned that this road was very seldom travelled.[26] The branch leading across the Unakas was clearly an Indian path, for in a grant secured by John McKnitt

[25] Draper, *King's Mountain and Its Heroes*, pp. 176, 180.
[26] Reuben Gold Thwaites (editor), *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1904), p. 284.

Alexander and William Sharpe in 1778, the land granted was described as lying at the mouth of Rock Creek on Toe River near where the Indian path leads across the Unakas. The present highways leading through Mitchell County into Tennessee follow very closely these early trails.

The region of the Toe River Valley was not legally opened up to settlement until 1778. Prior to that time no grants were issued for lands lying in the valley. By royal proclamation, in 1763, all lands west of the Blue Ridge had been reserved for the Indians, and individuals had been forbidden to purchase from them. The proclamation had been almost universally disregarded and pioneers had settled on the lands in question almost at will. This legal restriction as far as the Toe River Valley was concerned was not removed until after North Carolina had become independent of the crown. The legislature of 1778, following a more liberal policy, opened up to settlement all the lands lying north of the divide between the Swannanoa and the Toe rivers, and extending westward in such a way as to include all the settled portions west of the mountains.[27] The Toe River Valley was partially included within these bounds, but there is little doubt that prior to the passage of this act there were white residents in the valley.

The earliest grants made for lands lying in the Toe River Valley were secured by John McKnitt Alexander and William Sharpe. Alexander lived in Mecklenburg County, was secretary to the convention which drew up the resolves of May 31,1775, and was a close friend of Waightstill Avery, who practiced law at that time in east Tennessee and western North Carolina.[28] Sharpe was one of the leading men of the state, having served as aide-de-camp to General Griffith Rutherford in the Indian wars, as a commissioner to make a treaty with the Indians at Long Island of Holston, as a member of the constitutional convention of 1776, and as a member of the Continental Congress.[29] These men secured four grants dated December 10, 1778. One tract lay at the mouth of Rock Creek, another on the banks of

---

[27] Walter Clark (editor), *State Records of North Carolina*, XXIV, 159-160.
[28] John H. Wheeler, *Historical Sketches of North Carolina* (Philadelphia, 1851), p. 78.
[29] Wheeler, *Historical Sketches of North Carolina*, p. 216.

Caney River, the third at the forks of Cane Creek near where Bakersville is now located, and the last on the south side of Yellow Mountain. It appears probable that they were interested in minerals. Two of these tracts would be considered valuable for agricultural purposes, but the other two could have little value except for the minerals they might contain. An outcropping of mica or possibly some other mineral may have attracted their attention. It would appear that there was no intention on their part to live on the land.

Probably the first grant taken out by an actual resident was that obtained by Samuel Bright, March 5, 1780, for 360 acres lying in the valley of the North Toe. Bright was a loyalist who lived three miles from the McKinney Gap. Bright's Trace takes its name from him. It appears that he was in league with the Indians and that he had lived with them before the Revolution. He served as guide to parties crossing the mountains and went west some time before 1800 with a family named Grant. It is believed by many that General Ulysses S. Grant was descended from this family.[30]

Very soon after Bright's grant was issued, others were taken out by William Wisemen, William Davenport, William Davis, and William Pendley. Wiseman, Davis, and Pendley were co-adventurers, having left London together as boys and having remained together thereafter. They landed in New England, made their way south, lingered for a while on John's River, became guides to hunting parties going into the mountains, and eventually took up land near each other in the Toe River Valley. Davis, and probably Wiseman also, was a soldier in the Revolution. Wiseman was appointed the first magistrate in the valley, and on one occasion Samuel Bright's wife was brought before him for trial on the charge that she had stolen a bolt of cloth from a peddler. The evidence was sufficient to convict her, and the penalty was to be thirty-nine lashes on the bare back. The question arose, however, as to who should administer the punishment, and the peddler insisted that Wiseman should do it. Bright was a dangerous foe, and Wiseman did not wish to incur his wrath. A solution was reached when, by court order, the

[30] John Preston Arthur, *A History of Watauga County* (Richmond, 1915), pp. 54-55.

peddler himself was assigned the task. The sentence, however, was never executed.[31] Davenport was the first man to own slaves in the valley. He possessed a large tract of land on what is now known as the Aden Wiseman tract, the best farm in Avery County. Here his home became an open hostelry to the weary traveler, and he entertained, among others, André Michaux in 1795 and the younger Michaux in 1802.[32]

The census of 1790 lists some eighty families living in the Toe River Valley. The whole of the tenth company and a part of the twelfth company of Burke County, it seems, lay in the valley. The tenth company embraced the present territory of Mitchell and Avery counties and a small portion of Yancey, while the twelfth company took in the southern part of Yancey. A few of the men of the tenth company were William McKinney, Thomas McKinney, John Gouge, Thomas Young, John Wilson, and Reid Medlock in the Cane Creek Valley; Nathan Deaton, David McCracken, Joshua Young, and Sam Wilson south of the Toe River; and Thomas Knight, senior, Thomas Knight, junior, Martin Davenport, Samuel Bright, William Wiseman, Thomas Wiseman, and Daniel Hollifield along the slopes of the Blue Ridge extending north into the valley of the North Toe. In the twelfth company there were, among others, James Hensley, Holland Higgins, James Bernett, John Edwards, Robert Baker, Isaac Anglin, and John Renfrow. The total population of the valley at this time was more than 300 persons.[33]

These first settlers and others who followed them were largely of English or Scotch-Irish stock. Miss Margaret Morley, a Bostonian, who lived for some years among the people of western North Carolina and who made an excellent study of them, says:

> The truth is, the same people who occupied Virginia and the eastern part of the Carolinas peopled the western mountains, English predominating, and in the course of time there drifted down from Virginia large numbers of Scotch-Irish, who, after the events of 1730, fled in such numbers to the New World, and good Scotch Highlanders, who came after 1745. In fact, so many of these stanch Northerners

---

[31] Arthur, *A History of Watauga County*, p. 55.
[32] Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, p. 284.
[33] *State Records of North Carolina*, XXVI, 337-341.

came to the North Carolina mountains that they have given the dominant note in the character of the mountaineer, remembering which may help the puzzled stranger to understand the peculiarities of the people he finds here today.[34]

While the land in the Toe River Valley was being occupied by actual settlers, the speculative bug was busy. A few far-sighted individuals began to realize that this mountain land would some day be of great value. Indeed, precious minerals were imbedded in the valleys and mountain sides which at a future date were to bring great wealth to the owners. It was also a fine livestock region. In summer thousands of cattle could graze on the slopes, and fruits would grow in abundance. About 1785 Waightstill Avery, the first attorney general of the state of North Carolina, took out hundreds of grants, usually in 640-acre tracts, extending from the headwaters of North Toe River along its course to Toecane but also on the headwaters of South Toe River. On November 9, 1796, John Gray Blount, a citizen of Beaufort County, and brother of William Blount, a delegate to the Constitutional Convention in 1787, secured a grant calling for 320,640 acres extending from the Toe River on the north and Crabtree Creek on the east southward in such a way as to include practically the whole of what is now Yancey County.[35]

The Blount land was sold in 1798 for delinquent taxes, and John Strother, Blount's agent, bought it and acquired title to it in his own name. When Strother made his will in 1806, however, he remembered his "beloved friend," John Gray Blount, and bequeathed to him all of the unsold portion. Many small tracts had been sold and the deeds cited the sheriff's sale of September 19, 1798, to Strother as authority for the title. On the death of Strother, Robert Love became the agent for the executors of John Gray Blount, and in 1834, for the sum of $3,000, the executors transferred all the unsold land to Robert Love and James R. Love, whose residence was in Haywood County.[36] This seems to have been a good bargain for the Loves, since as late as 1848 there were large tracts of this land still unsold and

---

[34] Margaret W. Morley, *The Carolina Mountains* (Boston and New York, 1913), pp. 138-139.
[35] Arthur, *Western North Carolina*, pp. 137-138.
[36] Arthur, *Western North Carolina*, pp. 137-138.

listed for taxation by the owners for several times the original purchase price.[37]

The same story is repeated as to the lands north of the Toe River. William Cathcart in 1795 took out two large grants, one for 99,000 acres and the other for 59,000 acres. These grants covered practically the whole of what are now Mitchell and Avery counties and included the Avery grants.[38] Subsequently a great deal of litigation took place with respect to boundary lines, and at least one corner of the larger tract is still questioned. The mineral rights are still owned by the heirs of the agent of Cathcart, and this fact has discouraged in large degree the activity of prospectors, who cannot hope to reap a rich harvest by uncovering veins of minerals which could be exploited by other hands. The land itself, not the mineral rights, has been sold to people who have built homes upon it and who in part are responsible for changing the region from a "howling wilderness" into a prosperous land.

There are no reliable records which describe the relationship of the early settlers with the Indians. Prior to the coming of the white man the Catawbas held the country to the crest of the Blue Ridge, while west of that line the Cherokees, a numerous and warlike tribe, held sway to the Mississippi River. There is little reason to believe that large numbers of these ever inhabited the Toe River Valley. It is more probable that from time to time large bands of Indians roamed through this unsettled region where game was plentiful, and that after the coming of the whites they preyed upon the more isolated settlers. The presence of arrowheads in large numbers, notably near Ledger and in the Deyton Bend, and the fact that trails were found leading across the mountains in the direction of the populous Indian settlements, are evidence that the Toe River Valley was a hunting ground of both tribes.

There are traditions of many conflicts between the whites and the Indians. A man by the name of Rose was killed and scalped by Indians near Altapass, and Rose's Creek derived its name

---

[37] Tax list for Yancey County for the year 1848. (All county records cited in this article are in the county courthouses.)
[38] Arthur, *Western North Carolina*, pp. 138-139.

(so the story goes) from this fact.[39] Aaron Burleson, an ancestor of Postmaster-General Albert S. Burleson of President Wilson's Cabinet, was massacred somewhere on the headwaters of Cane Creek about 1781.[40] And there is a story to the effect that a woman by the name of Mace was scalped alive by three Indians on the headwaters of Grassy Creek. Her husband returned from a hunting trip and, finding his wife in this mutilated condition, followed the Indians to a point near the present Grassy Creek Baptist Church and shot them. Three mounds have been pointed out on the edge of a pasture, but grown over with pines, as the graves of these Indians. Strange to say the woman recovered, and hundreds of her descendants now living have received the story from the lips of their parents or grandparents.[41] There is a tradition in almost every family that at some time in the hazy past the Indians constituted a real source of danger to the early settlers.

Indian legends are few, but the one explaining how the Toe River got its name is worth preserving. The story is to the effect that there was a beautiful Indian princess named Estatoe who lived somewhere in the Toe River Valley, the place varying according to the person who is relating the story. A young brave from the Watauga region on one of his hunting trips into the valley chanced to see the princess, and it was a case of love at first sight. Pretty soon after this he returned and made known to Estatoe his love for her and she agreed to elope with him. But they were pursued by her kinsmen as they fled down the river, were overtaken, and the young brave was killed. Estatoe was so overwhelmed by the loss of her lover that she cast herself into the river and was drowned. The river after that time was called Estatoe, and the whites abbreviated the name to Toe.[42]

While definite information about the Indians is lacking, it is certain that wild beasts constituted a great source of danger to the settlers. Panthers, wildcats, bears, and wolves were the

---

39 Tradition preserved by Mr. W. W. Bailey of Spruce Pine.
40 Arthur, *Western North Carolina*, p. 250.
41 Told to the writer by Mr. John C. McBee of Spruce Pine, who is a grandson of the woman scalped.
42 Duggar, *Balsam Groves of the Grandfather Mountain*, p. 121.

most troublesome depredators and they were the means of much serious damage to the stock of the settlers, most of which was driven to the mountain ranges where luxuriant grasses abounded from May until October. Colts, calves, and pigs were frequently attacked and destroyed by these "varmints," as they were called. Wolves especially were so destructive that beginning in 1836 a special wolf tax was levied each year until 1857. The proceeds of this tax were offered as a bounty for wolf scalps.[43]

The settlers learned early that in unity there is strength. There were many problems to be solved. The forests had to be cleared, houses built, and crops planted and cared for until they matured; and the sparseness of the population rendered the problem of protection, whether against the Indian or the wild beast, a difficult one. All of these were common problems and led to the cultivation of a mutual dependence and brotherhood. Consequently, there was developed a friendly and neighborly intercourse which has seldom been surpassed. A corn-husking, log-rolling, or house-raising drew settlers for miles about; and oftentimes crops were even planted, cultivated, and harvested by several families who, exchanging labor and companionship, moved from one clearing to another and thus made the most of their opportunities to develop a worthy community spirit. Through such methods it was possible to lay the foundation for an economic unit that was practically self-sufficing.

DEVELOPMENT TO 1860

The history of the Toe River Valley to 1833 is tied up with that of Burke and Buncombe counties. The entire valley was a part of Burke County from the time of the formation of the latter in 1777[44] to the creation of Buncombe County in 1791.[45] In the latter year all that portion of the valley lying south of Toe River and west of Crabtree Creek became a part of the newly created county of Buncombe. The remainder of the valley continued a part of Burke County until 1833, when the

---

[43] Minutes of County Court of Yancey County, 1836-1857.

[44] *Revised Statutes of the State of North Carolina*, revision made by Frederick Nash, James Iredell, and William H. Battle (Raleigh, 1837), II, 108.

[45] *Revised Statutes of North Carolina*, II, 107.

entire valley was taken to form a part of Yancey County. Thereafter, and until the creation of Mitchell County in 1861, the story of the Toe River Valley is in reality the story of Yancey County.

The need assigned for the creation of Yancey County was the extreme difficulty and expense of rendering public service by the inhabitants living in the area which was to be included in the new county.[46] For example, a member of the county court of Buncombe who resided near Toe River would have to travel more than forty miles over very bad roads to attend the sessions of court at Asheville. His neighbor living just north of the river, in Burke County, would have to travel approximately the same distance to reach Morganton. In either case the round trip would consume two days and one night—this in addition to the time required by the transaction of business. Moreover, witnesses summoned to appear before the courts would usually be put to a great deal more expense in making the trip than they could hope to receive in fees. Consequently the course of justice was often hindered and delayed because of the absence of witnesses. By 1833 the population of the valley had grown rapidly since its first settlement, both because of natural increase and through immigration. A host of new settlers had arrived in the valley, had secured land, had built homes, and planned to remain there. A new county, it was thought, would add greatly to the convenience of conveying titles to property, dispensing justice, and building roads. An ambitious people would not long consent to remain so far removed from the seats of their government.

The bounds of the new county of Yancey were much greater than those of the Toe River Valley and included a large portion of the present county of Madison as well as that section of the present county of Avery which lies west of the Blue Ridge. The eastern and western boundary lines, however, for the most part coincided with the bounds of the Toe River Valley.[47] In 1831 an area on the southwest was included in the new county of

---

[46] *Acts of the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina Session of 1833-34* (Raleigh, 1834), chap. 83.

[47] *Act of the General Assembly of North Carolina, 1833-34*, chap. 83.

Madison,[48] and in 1849 a portion on the northeastern section was taken to become a part of Watauga.[49] From 1851 to 1861 the bounds of Yancey County were practically coterminous with those of Toe River Valley.

Yancey County was named for Bartlett Yancey, a native North Carolinian and a citizen of Caswell County. He was twice a member of Congress and eight times a member of the state senate. He was one of the first to agitate the question of a public school system in North Carolina. In the House of Representatives he rendered distinguished service and often was called by Henry Clay to the Speaker's chair, in which capacity he presided with dignity and ability.[50] Burnsville, the county seat, was named in honor of Captain Otway Burns, another native North Carolinian. Burns was a noted naval officer during the war of 1812, and commanded the United States privateer *Snapdragon.* He made himself a terror to the British, who sent the *Leopard* to capture him. While Burns was off duty because of illness his vessel was captured, but not until much damage had been done to the British shipping.[51] A monument has been erected in the public square of Burnsville, commemorating his brave deeds and services in the Second War for Independence.

The location of the county seat of Burnsville was not difficult to determine. In an act supplementary to that establishing the county, Rickles Stanley, Thomas Baker, Joseph Shepherd, John McElroy, and Levi Bailey[52] were appointed commissioners to fix the location for the seat of justice, and to acquire title to it either by donation or by purchase. The tract of land so selected was to consist of not less than 100 acres and was to be within five miles of the home of James Greenlee.[53] By March 6, 1834, these commissioners had secured from John Bailey, commonly known because of his fighting propensities as "Yellow Jacket

---

48 *Laws of North Carolina, Session of 1850-51* (Raleigh, 1851), chap. 36.

49 *Laws of North Carolina, Session of 1848-49* (Raleigh, 1844), chap. 25.

50 Wheeler, *Historical Sketches of North Carolina,* pp. 78-79.

51 Wheeler, *Historical Sketches of North Carolina,* pp. 467-468.

52 No attempt is made to identify the many men whose names are mentioned in connection with the location of the county seat, the acts of the county court of pleas and quarter sessions, and the laying out of roads.

53 *Acts of the General Assembly of North Carolina, Sessions of 1833-34* (Raleigh, 1834), chap. 84.

John," title for 100 acres of land, and at the June session of the county court acknowledgment of the deed was received.[54] It appears that this site was satisfactory to all. The tract lay on a plateau in the divide between Little Crabtree Creek and Caney River, and from the standpoint of natural beauty it is doubtful whether a better location could have been secured. It was not far from the center of the county at that time. The comparatively populous sections of Cane Creek, Rock Creek, and Toe River, in the extreme north and east, were a little farther removed from the county seat, but the inhabitants had a much more level route to travel than those who lived in Ivy and Laurel sections, since for the most part they could descend one valley and ascend another until the Burnsville plateau was reached; while the inhabitants of the southwestern area, while not as far distant from the county seat had to cross Ivey Gap or Paint Gap, and the ascent from the west side was across a mountain and was very similar to the roads crossing the Blue Ridge from the east.

The first session of the Yancey County court of pleas and quarter sessions opened on the third Monday in January, 1834. The place of meeting was the Caney River meeting house, which stood near James Greenlee's. There were sixteen justices present. Strange to say, a chairman was not chosen until the second day of court, when John Hensley was elected to this position. On the first day, however, the following officers were elected: clerk, Amos Ray; sheriff, Samuel Byrd; solicitor, Burgess S. Gaither; surveyor, Abner Jervis; register, Joseph B. Ray; entry-taker, Ansell Cook; county trustee, Gutridge Garland; treasurer of public buildings, William Dixon; coroners, Reuben Young and Zephaniah Norton; processioners, David D. McCanles, J. W. Garland, and Joel E. Jervis. All of these, together with the many constables appointed for various companies, were to hold office until the time for the regular election, in July. Polling places were established as follows: one at Smith's and McElroy's store at Burnsville, one at May Jervis's on Caney River, one at Isaac Rice's on Ivy Creek, one at Thomas Young's on Little Crab-

[54] Minutes of County Court, Yancey County, June, 1834.

tree Creek, one at Adam Hoppas's on Toe River, one at Lodawick Oaks' on North Toe River, one at Garland's and Brigg's store on Rock Creek, and one at Jonathan Tipton's on Brummett's Creek.

Another important item to come before the court was that of devising ways and means of securing public buildings. The plan of creating a commission and investing it with the proper authority was decided upon, and W. L. Lewis, Daniel Carter, Tilman Blalock, John Edwards, and D. D. Baker were appointed members. They were invested with the authority to make plans, draw up specifications, and let the contract for the erection of a courthouse in the most advantageous manner. The commission functioned admirably, and the sessions of the court were held in the newly erected courthouse in the fall of 1836. It was constructed of brick, and stood near the site of the present building.

Some minor items transacted by the first term of the court are interesting. For example, it appeared to the court that David D. Baker and W. W. Carson were men of good character and steadiness, and therefore the sheriff was directed to issue each a license to retail spirits by the small measure for a period of one year. At the closing session of the court, probably in a spirit of merriment, Reuben Keith was fined three dozen apples and a gallon of cider; and Samuel Byrd, presumably the newly elected sheriff, was fined a gallon of cider. No offense is stated, but Byrd paid his fine. Probably Keith felt that he should not treat the court since he had been appointed to no important office. There is no record that his fine was ever paid.[55]

The main problem facing the new county was that of building roads. It was desirable that these should radiate from the county seat to all sections of the county and that good connections be opened up with the adjoining counties in both North Carolina and Tennessee. Consequently, nearly all the acts passed by the legislature relating to Yancey County up to 1860 were road acts, and the enforcement of these required a great deal of the time of the county court.

---

[55] Minutes of County Court, Yancey County, January term, 1834.

The first local road act for the county was passed by the legislature in 1834. Its purpose was to open up connections with the east and the west at one stroke. Colonel William Dixon, Alfred Perkins, and William Murphy, Jr., of Burke County, and John G. Phillips, Bacchus S. Smith, and Colonel David Baker of Yancey County were appointed commissioners to survey and lay off a road from Morganton via the nearest and best route to Burnsville, and continuing thence to Bennett's Station in Buncombe County, or to such other point on the road from Asheville to Newport as might be best calculated to open a channel of communication between Burnsville and Tennessee.[56]

A part of this road, that from Burnsville to the Blue Ridge, was built before 1840, but the completion of the entire road within a few years time was beyond the resources of the county. Road building was expensive, and for this purpose the county had to depend almost solely upon free labor. That part of the road extending from Burnsville to the Tennessee line was abandoned temporarily, for in 1847 a new commission was appointed to lay out that section of the road on a grade not to exceed ten per cent.[57] A new attempt was made to extend the road in the direction of Morganton in 1841, but this time state aid was sought. Alexander F. Gaston, William Gillispie, James H. Greenlee, and Daniel Cox of Burke County, and William Dixon, Jacob Hollifield, Jesse Wilson, and Isaac C. Wilson of Yancey County were appointed to lay off a road beginning at the point where the road leading from Burnsville toward Morganton terminated, and thence following the most practical route down the Blue Ridge to Turkey Cove Creek. For this project $1,000 was to be paid from the public improvement fund of the state in the event the citizens of Burke and Yancey expended $500 in cash or labor upon the road. Even with this state aid, however, the project was not completed, and in 1849 a more ambitious scheme was undertaken when the McDowell and Yancey Turnpike Company was incorporated to build the road. The company was to secure subscriptions of $7,000 from the citizens of Yancey and

---

[56] *Laws of North Carolina, Session of 1834-35* (Raleigh, 1835), chap. 124.
[57] *Laws of North Carolina, Session of 1844-45* (Raleigh, 1846), chap. 83.

McDowell counties and to receive $3,000 from the state public improvement board, the latter sum to be set aside for the purpose from the sale of public lands in the valley.[58] The incorporators, however, found that they could not secure the required subscriptions of $7,000, and an amendment was enacted by the legislature of 1850-1851 to reduce the subscription to $3,000; and in case that amount could not be secured Yancey County was authorized to supply two-thirds of the deficit and McDowell County the other one-third. The two counties were directed to raise their share of the funds in the same manner that other funds for county purposes were secured, that is, by direct taxation.[59]

Even this generous plan, however, failed to bring about the completion of the road. In 1861 an additional $3,000 was authorized to come from the funds of the internal improvement board and to be set aside from the sale of public lands, not merely in Yancey or McDowell counties but anywhere west of the Blue Ridge.[60] The Civil War interfered until several years afterward. In the modern sense, this road, even when constructed, could never have been classified as a graded road. It was narrow, and the grade in ascending the Blue Ridge in many places exceeded the one-foot-in-ten limitation specified in the act of incorporation.

The story of the construction of the road westward from Burnsville to the Tennessee line is similar. The best location was not a matter easily to be determined. A highway leading to Asheville as well as into Tennessee was desirable. In 1847 Colonel William Brown, Jr., M. Smith, and Milton Penland were appointed commissioners to lay off a road from Asheville to Burnsville and thence to the Tennessee line, while the county courts of Buncombe and Yancey were directed to "call out all hands subject by law to work upon said road and to make the route which shall be laid off by said commissioners." This commission did not function, and the Laurel Turnpike Company was chartered in 1849 to construct a road from the Tennessee line to Ivy Gap.[61] Prior to this, however, in piecemeal fashion

---

[58] *Laws of North Carolina, Session of 1849-50* (Raleigh, 1850), chap. 219.
[59] *Laws of North Carolina, Session of 1850-51* (Raleigh, 1851), chap. 145.
[60] *Laws of North Carolina, Session of 1860-61* (Raleigh, 1861), chap. 187.
[61] *Laws of North Carolina, Session of 1848-49* (Raleigh, 1849), chap. 216.

a road had been opened up from Burnsville, by way of Bald Creek, to Ivy Gap. In 1857 the internal improvement board was authorized to subscribe $3,000 to the capital of the Laurel Turnpike Company, but this amount was insufficient and the road was not finished until after the Civil War.

The tolls to be charged by the McDowell and Yancey Turnpike Company and the Laurel Turnpike Company on the roads constructed by them were to be as follows:

wagon with five or six horses	.75
pleasure carriage drawn by two horses	.75
wagon with four horses	.50
wagon with 2 or 3 horses	.30
wagon or cart with one horse	.15
peddler	.50
gig or sulky	.25
man and horse	.10
loose horse or mule	.05
cattle each	.03
sheep and hogs, each	.01

The greatest interest had been shown in the construction of roads connecting with the east and with Tennessee on the west. But a road leading through North Toe River Valley to Ashe and Watauga counties was important especially for the inhabitants of the northeastern section of Yancey County. Consequently much effort and time were spent in opening up a route from Councill's store in Ashe County to Bedford Wiseman's, near the mouth of Three Mile Creek. It was not until the late 'fifties that this route was marked out. Connecting side roads within the county were also important, and these were usually opened up by the county court without reference to any special act of the legislature authorizing each particular project. For example, in 1835 a road from William Baker's on Rock Creek to D. D. Baker's on Cane Creek was ordered built; in 1836 one connecting the Yellow Mountain on Bright's Road with the Iron Mountain Road;[62] and in 1851 one from Jack's Creek across the Green Mountains to Burnsville.

---

62 Minutes of County Court, Yancey County.

The isolated location of the Toe River Valley did not have its full effect until after 1860. In the period 1830-1860 this mountain section began to be shut off from the remainder of the state, but the poorness of the mountain roads was not as much a deterrent to travel before the Civil War as afterwards. Road building in the more prosperous, thickly settled portions of the state led to distinctions between valley areas and mountain ridge sections. The stream of immigration from east to west was gradually subsiding. This frontier section still existing in the mountains was separated from the frontier region of the northwest by a belt that had reached a more advanced stage of development. The tendency was for the Toe River Valley to become more isolated. For the most part, after 1850, there were no large migrations through the valley. The stress in road construction had been laid on building through and not to the valley. Consequently, very few of that large number of emigrants wending its way westward from 1830 to 1850, to escape the toil of poverty in central North Carolina and to enter a nonslave territory, remained in the mountains. There was contact with the outside to be sure. Outsiders could be seen daily, bringing news from the east, but they were headed farther west. The Iron Mountain road and the Yellow Mountain or Bright's road were in such a state of improvement as not to deter the emigrant headed west. But when this migration ceased, contact with the outside was largely cut off. Thereafter, to all intents and purposes, the curtain fell and there was little further contact with the east, while those who had passed on to the west were likewise forgotten. The enormous expense encountered in building roads in this section rendered it impossible to keep pace with the lowland and valley sections to the east or west. Hence, progress was much slower, and the spur of contact with more developed communities was lost. In a word, the Toe River Valley, though not populated by a class who were conservative by nature, became conservative as compared with more accessible regions. It became conservative because it could not possibly compete with the more favored sections.

The matter of public education in Yancey County was given little attention prior to the Civil War. There was a decided interest in orphans, but the masses of children received less attention than conditions would have seemed to justify. Apprenticeship laws seemingly were vigorously enforced, partly because of a sincere desire to help the unfortunate but also because this was a popular thing to do. During the year 1834 four orphan children were bound, and this practice continued from year to year even as late as 1866. The first child bound was Lewis Bailey:

> On motion made ordered by the court that Lewis Bailey who is now between seven and eight years old be bound to Willie C. Bailey, which was accordingly done and is to give Lewis eighteen months schooling, one horse bridle and saddle worth sixty-five dollars, three good suits of clothes when he comes to the age of twenty-one years, one of which is to be store goods.[63]

At the same time Polly E. Bailey was bound to Abner Jervis, who was to give her twelve months schooling, one cow and calf, one bed and furniture, and five good suits of clothes, two of which were to be store suits. The following spring Malinda Goldsmith was bound to Reuben Keith until she should arrive at the age of eighteen, "said Keith to learn said apprentice to read and write well and also to teach said apprentice the art and mystery of Industry and constantly provide all necessary food and clothing for said apprentice."[64] At the same session of the court Thomas Sawyer was bound to Daniel Carter, "said Carter to give the apprentice two years of schooling, one year before he becomes fifteen years of age, and the other year before the time of his freedom; to give him horse, bridle and saddle worth eighty dollars, three suits, one to be of good decent Broadcloth and teach said apprentice the art of farming." In the fall term of 1834 Amos Boon was bound to James Boon, who was required to give the apprentice two years of schooling; a horse, saddle, and bridle worth eighty dollars; four suits of

---

[63] Minutes of County Court, Yancey County, December 30, 1834.
[64] Minutes of County Court, Yancey County, June term, 1835.

clothes, two of which were to be of good "Janes" and two of everyday apparel; one ax; one good hat; and one "pars" of shoes. In 1852 it was "ordered by court that Francis Rose, a minor orphan of Alfred Rose and Sarah Rose, deceased, be bound to James M. Patterson until he arrives at the age of twenty-one years, who [Francis Rose] is now about fourteen years of age who [James M. Patterson] is to give him two years of schooling and at his freedom two suits of clothes, six dollars in cash and one Bible."[65]

As a rule, orphans were apprenticed to relatives, and in each case a bond for the faithful performance of the latter's obligations was required. Whether or not the provision for one or two years of schooling was complied with cannot be determined, but it is certain that girls were usually taught the "art and mystery" of industry, which meant carding, spinning, and weaving, and that boys were taught the rudiments of agriculture.

Yancey County did not participate in the State Literary Fund before 1844. It is to be supposed, therefore, that there were no public schools in the county before that date. In the August election of 1839 the vote was against adopting the state scheme of education, which was based on the principle of joint support by local taxation and by participation in the income of the State Literary Fund. No doubt the view frequently expressed in North Carolina at that time as to the comparative importance of schools and internal improvements prevailed in Yancey County. "Governor Swain in 1833 said that by a judicious system of internal improvements the people would become prosperous and then would not have to depend upon the public schools for an education."[66] The prevailing attitude seems to have been that large sums should be spent for internal improvements but little or nothing for schools.

Little is known about the schools of Yancey County before 1853. The reports of the State Superintendent of Schools, Cal-

---

[65] Minutes of County Court, Yancey County, July term, 1852.

[66] William E. Drake, The History of Education in Tyrrell County, 1928, p. 24, as quoted by Bramlett, Popular Editor in North Carolina, 1815-1860, p. 31. (Both studies are transcripts in the University of North Carolina library, Chapel Hill.)

vin H. Wiley, from 1853 to 1860 show that there were schools in many of the districts in those years. In 1853 there were 37 districts in the county, and schools were taught in twenty-two of them. In 1854 there were forty-six districts and thirty-three of them had schools. The average length of the term in that year was two and one-fourth months, and the average monthly salary for teachers was $16. For the school year ending September, 1859, there were forty-eight districts, of which thirty-seven had schools. There were thirty-seven licensed teachers, and in that year the term was two and one-half months. In all of the years from 1853 to 1860 the number of children taught was about one-half the total of the school population. The number of children taught was not reported for the year 1853, but the total school population was reported as 3,605. In 1858, 1,662 children out of a total of 3,244 were in attendance upon the schools. The decrease in the total population from the number reported in 1853 is accounted for by the transfer of certain districts in the southwest to Madison County. In 1860, 1,703 children out of a total of 3,409 were taught in the schools. The total school revenue for that year was $2,250.32, of which amount $467.36 remained unexpended at the close of the year—a condition which seems to have been characteristic of the prewar period. There was a surplus of revenue over expenditures in all those years in which reports for the county were completed.[67]

The collection of the school funds was not always efficiently managed. Oftentimes the sheriff, who was also the tax collector, was dilatory about making accurate statement and settlement of the funds collected by him. In fact, in the year 1850 and again in 1858, the sheriff absconded without paying over the funds collected, but fortunately the county was able to recover the funds. In 1855 the county chairman refused to make settlement for the funds passing through his hands. But upon the advice of the State Superintendent, a new chairman, M. P. Penland, was elected to this position and things seem to have run smoothly thereafter. This situation called forth an exten-

[67] Calvin H. Wiley, *Educational Reports*, 1853-1860 (Raleigh).

sive discussion of the weaknesses of the school system on the part of State Superintendent Wiley.[68] Had news collecting been as efficient then as it is today, no doubt the scandals in Yancey's official circles would have been heralded far and wide.

Doubtless there were private schools before the beginning of the public schools. The census of 1850 shows that there were only 962 adult whites out of a total of 7,809 who could not read and write. This was only 12.7 per cent, a figure which, if correct, was exceeded by many returns prior to 1900. The people had in some manner succeeded in learning a few of the fundamentals, and many of the leaders were liberally educated for that time. The neatness, accuracy, and completeness of many of the county records for the pre-Civil War period, as compared to the condition of the records today, show that those virtues were more effectively taught than in the period after 1900.

There was one private school in the county which rendered fine service for its day—Burnsville Academy. Though never a chartered institution it had a wide reputation, and many outstanding men were educated there. An exact history of this school cannot be secured, but it was opened about 1845 by Professor Stephen Adams, who taught there ten or twelve years. After his death Professor J. E. Rheim had charge of the school for seven or eight years.[69] This academy was a Methodist institution. On one occasion three students who came from Baptist homes professed themselves Christians and joined the Methodist Church. This put the parents of those students to thinking, and the result was the establishment of Mars Hill College, a Baptist institution, at Mars Hill.[70]

The agricultural development of Yancey County prior to 1860 was little short of marvelous. The soil and climate were not only favorable to the production of grain but also peculiarly

---

[68] Wiley, *Educational Reports*, 1856-1857; also minutes of the county court for the years mentioned.

[69] C. H. Mebane, *Biennial Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1897-1898 (Raleigh, 1898), p. 721.

[70] E. H. Stillwell, *Notes on the History of Western North Carolina* (Cullowhee, 1927), p. 140.

fitted for grasses. Land was cheap. In a letter of February 3, 1844, Congressman Clingman wrote:

> With respect to the prices of land, I can assure you that large bodies of uncleared rich land, most of which might be cultivated, have been sold at prices varying from twenty-five cents to fifty cents per acre. Any quantity of land favorable for sheep-walks might be procured in any section of the county, at prices varying from one to ten dollars per acre.[71]

Moreover, the livestock of the Kentucky and Tennessee country was marketed largely in the South Atlantic seaboard region, and large droves of hogs, cattle, and mules were frequently driven through the Toe River Valley on their way to market. Because of the cheapness of land and the possibility of disposing of livestock to the drovers who passed through the valley, cattle raising came to be of major concern, and comparatively large estates developed in the county.[72]

There were also handicaps to agriculture, but the local government aided in a very practical way. Wolves were destructive especially to lambs, pigs, and calves. But the wolf tax levied annually aided greatly in the extermination of these animals. The prevalance of "milk-sickness" in the higher altitudes was more difficult to cope with. Indeed, this disease is little understood even to the present day and has not yet been eradicated. The marketing of stock was not always certain, but in many instances owners were able to sell to drovers who were passing through the county. Otherwise, local buyers and sometimes the owners themselves would drive the stock to the cotton belt or even to Charleston and dispose of the animals at low prices.

The following table, taken from the censuses of 1840 and 1850, will serve to show something of the importance and growth of the production of livestock, wool, and dairy products:

---

[71] Clingman, *Speeches and Writings*, p. 114.

[72] The tax list for 1848 shows that there were seventy-four estates in the county ranging in size from 500 acres to 3,000 acres.

Livestock, Wool, and Dairy Products of Yancey County, 1840-1850

	Number, Quantity, or Value Produced in 1840	Number, Quantity, or Value Produced in 1850
Cattle	5,585	10,379
Sheep	5,041	20,061
Swine	18,718	29,132
Wool	2,931 lbs.	19,829 lbs. [73]
Butter and Cheese	$5,182	$8,984.20

It should be borne in mind, however, that the area of the county was smaller in 1850 than it was in 1840. A portion of the county had been taken in 1849 to form a part of Watauga, and hence this table does not represent the total increase for these items. Such a large slice was added to the new county of Madison in 1852 that it seems best not to include in the table the figures for 1860. It would seem, however, that prior to 1840 the farmers of the Toe River Valley had definitely decided that their economic welfare largely depended upon the production of livestock, in competition with the blue grass region of Kentucky and Tennessee in that lucrative trade which had been built up between that section and the South Atlantic cotton plantations. No other plausible reason for the enormous increase in the production of livestock in the ten-year period, 1840-1850, can be offered. Yet the farmers of Yancey County did not put all of their eggs in one basket. They followed a scheme of diversification.

The following table will show something of the extent of diversification and the trend of agriculture during the period 1840-1850:

Farm Products of Yancey County, 1840-1850

	Amount Produced in 1840	Amount Produced in 1850
wheat, bu.	6,320	7,500
rye	418	6,275
oats	33,670	122,544

[73] The census of 1850 shows that the total amount of butter and cheese produced was 89,842 pounds. In order to make comparisons with the figures for 1840, the value was obtained by rating the amount produced in 1850 at ten cents per pound.

corn	405,390	284,016
potatoes	89,270	12,928
tobacco, lbs	4,830	12,245
flax		11,204
flax seed		821
orchard products, value	$3,924	$5,508
hay, tons	185	1,181
home manufactured articles, value	$4,688	$64,279

It appears that either the figures for the 1840 census are in error as to the production of corn and potatoes, or that these had been raised for export and that the problems of transportation and marketing were too great to permit a profit on these items. An increase in the production of oats, rye, and hay was necessary because of the increased number of cattle and sheep, but the increase in the production of tobacco would indicate that this crop was coming to be recognized as an important staple. Clearly, the production of wheat was for home use only. The production of flax was in line with the increased amount of home manufacturing. Other types of manufacturing were negligible.

In addition to livestock, there were many other products of farm and forest that might be exported. Such necessities as salt, sugar, and coffee were secured in the markets of South Carolina and Georgia, and they were purchased with the produce of the county. It was the custom for several families to pool such articles as they possessed for export, such as bacon, lard, dried fruit, deer hams, honey, and beeswax, and to have these carried to market. From thirty to sixty days were required for the round trip,[74] and the cost of one-way transportation ranged from $1.75 to $2 per hundredweight, thus consuming a large portion of the receipts.[75] "It was interesting to see the people meet to get from the wagons their portion of the return load; and happy was the small family that got half a bushel of salt, 50 cents worth of coffee, and a gallon of molasses.[76]

---

[74] Arthur, *Western North Carolina*, p. 284.
[75] Arthur, *Western North Carolina*, p. 279.
[76] Arthur, *Western North Carolina*, p. 284-285.

There was one article, ginseng, for which there was a local market. The mountains abounded in this herb, and as early as 1837 Smith and McElroy, merchants doing business in the Caney River section, purchased 86,000 pounds, yielding 25,000 pounds of "choice clarified" root. This they shipped to a firm in Philadelphia, which in turn sold it in the Chinese markets. Although the supply gradually became exhausted and production declined, as late as 1850 the total value of ginseng collected in the county was $5,500. But gradually a market was developed for many other native herbs such as bloodroot, raspberry leaves, spearmint, and liverwort. Unfortunately, however, there are no figures showing to what extent these were exported.

Life in Yancey County prior to 1860, and even later, was essentially that of the pioneer. There were no newspapers, communication with the outside was difficult, markets were far away, and many of the things considered essential in a later period were unknown. There were only two sawmills as late as 1850, and most of the houses were built of hewn logs. Nearly all the clothing was manufactured in the homes. Carding, spinning, weaving, and sewing, in addition to the many other duties of the home, took up the time of the women. Occasionally a tanner, shoemaker, or hat-maker made his rounds, but as often as not each farmer tanned his own leather and made the shoes and hats for the family, together with other necessary articles such as harness and saddles. The difficulty met in securing supplies made it necessary that each farm be self-supporting as nearly as possible.[77]

Until the coming of the railroads, there was a great deal of primitiveness in the types of houses, clothing, manners, and customs of the people; but religion was always a strong and controlling factor in their lives. They had churches from the very beginning. The isolation of the early settlers was conducive to religious thought. To one of a later period it may appear that there was little depth to their spiritual convictions and that the church existed primarily to feed denominational strife

---

[77] Arthur, *Western North Carolina*, pp. 254-255.

and offer opportunity for argument. But the fact that there was a great deal of invective spent in fighting a rival denomination and that the sermons were usually of the doctrinal type reveals the earnestness with which these pioneers sought the truth. Oftentimes they may have been misguided, but they were always earnest.

The great majority of the people were Baptists. In 1850 there were twenty-nine churches in the county, and no less than twenty of them were Baptist. Of the other nine, eight were Methodist and one was "Tunker" (Dunkard.)[78] Since the people were largely Scotch-Irish, it would be expected that the Presbyterians would be in the majority. It should be remembered, however, that the settlers did not come in bands made up of entire congregations but usually in small groups of one or two families. They brought no ministers with them and they joined the church which had already been established, or they were organized by visiting ministers of the Methodist and Baptist faith who preached a democratic religion. From 1800 to 1815 Bishop Asbury of the Methodist Church made regular visits to western North Carolina, passing usually through what is now Madison County and into Buncombe County.[79] No doubt it was largely through his influence that the Methodists were established in Yancey County. The descendants of James Anderson, who is said to have been the first Methodist west of the Blue Ridge, settled in Yancey County.[80] Many of these came to be very influential, and of course they were devout Methodists. One of the earliest Methodist preachers was Conario Brayton Smith, who was converted in 1836 while clerking for Smith and McElroy on Caney River. He was licensed to preach the following June and followed this calling until 1853, when he went on the supernumerary list because of bad health. He seems to have been an earnest man and won many converts to the cause of Methodism. In 1855 he became an agent for the American Colonization Society in Tennessee and sent to Liberia two families of emancipated slaves. In 1854 he be-

---

78 *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850*, pp. 327-331.
79 Arthur, *Western North Carolina*, pp. 215-216.
80 Arthur, *Western North Carolina*, p. 180.

came interested in mineralogy, and through his studies he became recognized as an authority on geology, winning a little later the position of assistant state geologist under Professor Emmons. He maintained his interest in geology until his death in 1894.[81]

Little is known of the early Baptist preachers, but it is certain that they greatly outnumbered the Methodist ministers and that some of them had splendid organizing ability. The Reverend Stephen Morgan was one of the most powerful of these men and moved and worked among the people so earnestly that he is remembered almost as a saint. It appears that his early days were spent in what is now Madison County and that later he served many churches in that county and also in Yancey. He was the organizer of Grassy Creek, Bear Creek, and Roan Mountain churches in what is now Mitchell County.[82] All of these churches were organized before 1840 and have always had large congregations. The Bear Creek Church has the largest membership of any church in Mitchell County.

A member of the Grassy Creek Church, commenting upon the earnestness of the early members of that church and the loyalty and esteem in which the preacher was held, says that often from both sides of the Blue Ridge the members would leave on Saturday and make the trip to Roan Mountain, a distance of more than twenty miles, in order to attend church the following day. Services were very rare, coming sometimes not oftener than once in two months, and the Reverend Morgan was followed from one church to another by devout Christians.[83] The Reverend Stephen Collis succeeded the Reverend Morgan and proved a worthy successor to that good man. The best known portion of the labors of Collis, however, fall in the period after the Civil War, when he became an ardent prohibitionist and a foe of idleness. He seems to have considered whiskey and idleness as the two greatest evils.

Sometimes one fears that the conduct of church members and those who did not belong to a church, but who nevertheless

---

81 Arthur, *Western North Carolina*, p. 228.
82 Statement of Stephen Willis of Ledger.
83 "Notes on the History of the Grassy Creek Church," *Spruce Pine News*, October 7, 1930.

believed in the respected Christian doctrine, was anything but in keeping with the teachings of the church. Fighting and drinking seem to have been among the most common sports, and the two usually went together. But the fights were seldom serious, and murder was rarely committed. Oftentimes the courts took cognisance of the fighting and fines were levied upon the participants. To show something of the prevalence of fighting, a few of the court records of Yancey County may be cited. At the spring term of the superior court held in Burnsville in 1837 fourteen criminal cases were tried, and ten of these were for assault and battery or for affray. At the fall term of 1840 there were fifty-five criminal cases, and thirty-one of these were for these offenses. Evidently the election that year must have had something to do with the activities of the court. Only ten cases of assault were tried at the fall term of 1845 and nine at the fall term of 1848. The number continued to decline until the Civil War. Minor cases, however, were often disposed of by the county court. At the January term, 1844, two prominent citizens were fined for "having passed a contemp [*sic*] to the court by fighting at the courthouse door and in the presence of the court." [84]

The distilling, retailing, and drinking of spirituous liquors were common among all classes. Even ministers in many instances are said to have made and sold whiskey. It was considered right to convert the surplus corn, rye, and fruits into whiskey and brandy, some of which was probably exported. The statement is attributed to Aden Wiseman, who served as sheriff of Mitchell County during the Civil War, that he sold 1,200 gallons of whiskey in Shelby, Charlotte, and South Carolina towns in 1859, and that the proceeds enabled him to discharge his share of the bond of a former sheriff who had absconded.[85] It would seem that the quantity of whiskey exported would have been fairly large since in 1840 there were thirty-two distilleries in the county with a total output of 5,790 gallons.[86] Liquor was sold, however, in every country store and

---

[84] Minutes of County Court, Yancey County, January, 1844.
[85] Statement of John G. Phillips, a farmer of Ingalls.
[86] *Sixth Census of the United States*, 1840, p. 246.

in many private homes, for the local demand required the greater part of the amount distilled. Drinking was prevalent on all public occasions. In 1854 Judge A. S. Merrimon, who was holding court at Burnsville, spoke very bitterly against the prevalence of drinking among the office-holding class in Yancey County and declared that he could not hope for better social condtions as long as the leaders persisted in getting so drunk that they were unable to perform their duties.[87] It seems that there was little or no objection to whiskey on religious grounds during the period.

DIVIDED ALLEGIANCE, 1861-65

The period 1861-1865 was one of stress in the Toe River Valley. It was a period in which many serious problems were pressing for solution and whose very existence created dissension among the people. The first of these problems was the demand for a new county, a circumstance which was brought about partly by the desire for an equal share of the county offices by all sections and partly by the policy which had been followed in western North Carolina of creating new counties as rapidly as the growth of population would permit. Since the formation of Yancey County in 1833 most of the representatives elected to the state legislature had resided south of the Toe River. In fact, there had been only two elected from the northern section of the county in the twenty-seven years of its existence. Burnsville and its immediate vicinity had furnished not only all the representatives except these two but most of the county officials as well. There was a feeling on the part of those living north of the river that they should have greater recognition in local government and that the best solution would be the creation of a new county. There was ample precedent for such a demand. The problem was common to all western North Carolina[88] in that the east had usually dominated in the state legislature. The creation of a new county would give the west greater representation in that body, and would also bring the seat of local government in the territory affected

87 "Heavy Drinking at Court Times in Olden Days," (anonoymous), *Asheville Citizen-Times*, July 19, 1931.
88 Stillwell, *Notes on Western North Carolina*, p. 90.

closer to the people. The opportunity came in 1860 when Jacob W. Bowman, a rising young politician of Bakersville, was elected to represent Yancey County in the legislature. Young Bowman, eager to serve his people north of the Toe River, secured the passage of an act creating Mitchell County.[89] Unlike previous acts affecting the section, this one cut the county in two in the middle, whereas former acts had merely trimmed off the edges, leaving the county a more nearly complete geographic unit than had been the case before the pruning. The dividing line was made to follow the Toe River and Crabtree Creek, so that Mitchell County would include the territory to the north and east while Yancey County was confined to the territory south and west of this line. The separation did not become complete at once for the two counties voted as a unit in general elections until 1868. There was a county court in the new county, but there are few records of its transactions. A superior court sat regularly, and the first term was held in the fall of 1862.

The two sections of the valley as marked out by the boundaries of the two counties differed on fundamental questions. While slavery was never a vital issue in the Toe River Valley, it was much more prevalent in the southwestern section than elsewhere. There were only 362 slaves in the entire valley in 1860, while in 1862 there were only 65 slaves in the portion cut off to form Mitchell County.[90] There seems to have been very little discussion of the institution of slavery, but its merits were not so easily appreciated in those northern districts where it did not exist at all. Three of the five districts in Mitchell County had no slaves. The tendency was to look upon slavery as being in competition with free labor and as constituting a distinct disadvantage to the poor man.[91]

There was, in general, agreement between the two sections regarding national unity. Union sentiment was always strong in the valley. It should be borne in mind that in 1860

---

89 *Public Laws of North Carolina, Session of 1860-61* (Raleigh, 1861), chap. 8.
90 Mitchell County Tax List, 1862.
91 Statement of S. J. Black, a lawyer of Bakersville, whose father was a Union soldier. Mr. Black quotes his father as having expressed this feeling.

this region was still a frontier community and that its views and attitudes were typically western. There was no section of North Carolina where democratic principles were more strongly intrenched. In all the years of Whig ascendancy in the state, the Toe River Valley remained consistently loyal to the Democratic party in state and county elections. In national elections, however, there were two defections, one in 1840, and another in 1848. The panic of 1837 may have figured largely in the election of 1840, but most probably the log-cabin and hard-cider campaign tactics of the Harrison supporters appealed most strongly to this backwoods section. In 1848 the defection is most largely attributed to the influence of the returned soldier. One company, the Yancey Rangers, had been organized under Captain Tilmon Blalock and had marched to the Mexican border.[92] Fourteen of the men had died during the campaign. The rest of the company were mustered out in August, in ample time to participate in the presidential election. Through the influence of Captain Blalock and several other prominent members of the company, General Taylor was given a nice majority of the vote of the county. The Whigs stood firmly for internal improvements, a matter in which the inhabitants of the Toe River Valley were vitally interested, while the party of Jackson held an appeal because it was more truly democratic. The nationalist spirit which was characteristic of the west seemed to pervade this eastern frontier.

The test on secession came in the convention election early in 1861. The issue was thoroughly debated and the campaign was a very heated one. There were many fist fights, and in one instance at least a pitched battle came near taking place. Despite the influence of certain important pro-slavery leaders in the southwest and in the northeast who fought valiantly to carry the election for secession,[93] the returns showed a Union victory. The vote was close, 576 against calling a convention and 548 for calling it. The division followed pretty closely geographical lines, with the Yancey section voting generally for the conven-

---

92 Minutes of County Court, Yancey County, 1848.

93 This information concerning the convention campaign was secured from Mr. R. J. Young of Bakersville. Mr. Young attended many of the meetings at which leading citizens spoke and he remembers well many of the incidents of the campaign.

tion and the Mitchell section casting its ballots against it.[94] It is significant, however, that of all the votes cast for delegates in case the convention should be called, not one was cast for a secession delegate.

When war was declared the inhabitants of the valley fell into three divisions. There was a group in the southwestern section of Mitchell County which was opposed to war under any conditions, and it was augmented by various men who felt that they were not vitally concerned in the war and planned in any event to avoid military service. There was another group whose Union sentiment remained strong despite the fact that the state had joined the Confederacy. They hoped for the defeat of the South from the very beginning, and a few of them escaped to the North in the earliest stages of the war and joined the Union army. The third group, consisting probably of three-fourths of the people, immediately became enthusiastic in their support of the Confederacy, many of them hastening to join the nearest military organization.[95] Eighty-six volunteers were mustered into service before the fifteenth day of August, 1861.[96]

The total number of troops furnished the southern armies was probably more than 1,200. Most of these belonged to the Twenty-ninth and the Fifty-eighth regiments. Companies B, C, I, and K of the Twenty-ninth North Carolina and companies A, B, C, G, and K of the Fifty-eighth North Carolina were made up in Mitchell and Yancey counties. Besides these there were a company of cavalry, originally Company K of the Sixty-fifth but later of the Fifth Battalion, and a few scattered troops in various regiments, notably the Sixth, Ninth, and Thirty-ninth. All of these troops saw action, mainly in the west and south, but their war records need not be of concern here. The battles of Bentonville, Chickamauga, Chattanooga, and Atlanta, in which many of these men of the Toe River Valley were engaged, belong to the history of the South as a whole and not to that of any particular section.

---

[94] This statement is made on the basis of the statements of two highly intelligent ex-Confederate soldiers, James N. Green of Forbes and Stephen Willis of Ledger.

[95] This statement is made on the basis of the statements of two highly intelligent ex-Confederate soldiers, James N. Green of Forbes and Stephen Willis of Ledger.

[96] Minutes of County Court, Yancey County, January, 1862.

There were many serious problems at home which required the attention of the local governments and of all patriotic citizens. These were complicated from the beginning by the fact that the valley was divided in its feeling, with a small minority remaining loyal to the Union and obstructing as far as possible all attempts to aid the Confederate cause.

The first problem of major importance was that of equipping the volunteers and the militia with arms, ammunition, and uniforms and of caring for the families of those who volunteered for service.[97] Ready cash was scarce, for large amounts of money had never been in circulation in the valley. Trade to a large extent had been barter.[98] The one item for which cash was always required was taxes, but the rate had been kept as low as possible. Even in the matter of building roads, free labor had been substituted for taxes. It had been the custom of many to save up cash in small amounts from week to week to meet the tax bill a year in advance. In 1861, however, there was a sudden demand for money in amounts much larger than had ever been required before.[99] The first effort toward securing funds to help carry on the war was sufficient to bring home to the people the meaning of war and to discourage many enthusiastic supporters of the Confederacy. In September a tax was levied in Yancey County at the astonishing rate of 150 per cent of the amount levied at the beginning of the year, the proceeds to be used for equipping the militia with arms, in purchasing uniforms for the volunteers, and in caring for the wives and children of those entering the Confederate service. The total tax rate for 1861 was raised by this one decree from $1.90 to $4.75. The property of soldiers, however, was exempted from this additional tax, a fact which violated the principles of uniform taxation and which gave cause for protest on the part of many Union sympathizers. The faith and credit of the county were pledged in borrowing funds from various officers and citizens of the county, an agent was appointed to expend the funds,

---

[97] Where not otherwise credited, the information for the remainder of this chapter is taken from the Minutes of the County Court of Yancey County, 1861-1865.

[98] Arthur, *Western North Carolina*, p. 284.

[99] Statement of James Green, of Forbes.

and the agent's certificates of indebtedness were made legal tender within the county.

There had been some poverty before the war, and the usual tax levy for poor relief had been five cents; but suffering became acute as the struggle progressed. By April, 1863, it had become necessary to appoint a commissioner for the county and subcommissioners for each district to distribute the poor funds. By this time supplementary funds were being secured from the state, and the commissioner was placed under a bond of $26,000 for the faithful performance of his duties. The basis of distribution was made as follows: to wives and children of deceased soldiers, two shares each, and to wives and children under twelve years of age, one share each. No doubt a great deal of aid was rendered, but the problem was too acute to be solved adequately.

The entire population suffered not only from the payment of heavy taxes but also from the lack of supplies, especially such articles as salt and baking soda. The latter article could be secured scarcely at all, and the residue ash from the burning of corn cobs was used as a substitute. The nearest point at which salt could be secured was at the works in southwest Virginia. If left to private distribution, it was evident that the price of salt would become prohibitive. Thus a salt agent, together with subagents for each district, was appointed. These officials were to handle the distribution in such a manner as to supply each family, excepting the disloyal, with its quota at a fixed price of ten cents per pound. The quantity so apportioned was based both upon the amount of salt delivered at the distributing points and also upon the number of families in each district as ascertained by actual count by the captain of the district. The wagoners who hauled the salt from the works were allowed five cents per pound for hauling. The distribution was not satisfactory, however, and within a year's time the office of agent was declared vacant on three different occasions and each time a new man was appointed to the position. To aid further in the purchase of salt the chairman of the county court was directed to secure $2,500 on the credit of the county and to place this amount in the hands of the salt agent. Wagoners were made more liberal

offers and were permitted to keep for their own use, at the base price, three bushels of salt for each 1,000 pounds hauled. As Federal soldiers advanced and infested the mountain regions, the task of getting through became more difficult, and consequently suffering became more acute.

In the midst of such trials and suffering, as if the people were not already sorely enough pressed, smallpox broke out and added to the distress. The local government, as it had already done in the matter of caring for the destitute wives and children of soldiers and in alleviating the salt famine, exerted the greatest efforts to help. A camp was established in the Pensacola region in the southern part of the county and all patients and suspects were huddled into it and placed under guard. A physician was secured to wait upon the patients, and everything possible was done to prevent the spread of the disease. The existence of even a few cases caused great anxiety and alarm. Smallpox was a most dreaded disease, and its ravages were feared more than the bullets of the enemy.

The most serious problem, however, was the breakdown in law enforcement and the presence of an increasing number of Union sympathizers who were ready to join the Federal armies as the quickest means of ending the war. The intense suffering on the part of the civil population had led to lawlessness and crime. Robbery was an everyday occurrence. Desertion increased as the Confederate armies were pushed back, and the valley became infested with deserters who either had had enough of war or who planned at the first opportunity to pass through the lines and join the Union army. As early as December, 1862, the county court passed the following resolution:

> Resolved by the court, a majority of the Justices being present that in our opinion it is unsafe to call any more men out of our county into the Confederate service, all who have lately volunteered or who have been conscripted according to the late act of Congress should be organized into a company for county and state defence; that our families and property need their aid and assistance of the men liable now in this county for military service; that we will use all our efforts with the governor of the state and the proper authorities of the Confederate

States to allow those above alluded to to remain in this county for its defence and for the defence of the state from the depredations of the Tories and Deserters.

A month later, in January, 1863, the court passed an order directing Colonel J. W. McElroy of the One-hundred-eleventh Regiment of North Carolina Militia to call out the county militia at any and all times he might think such action necessary for the safety of the county. By the spring of 1864 every able-bodied man above the age of conscription who still believed in the Confederate cause was taken into the organization of home guards which had for its purpose the punishment of criminals and the rounding up of deserters. The activities of this organization against the bands of robbers and deserters made fast and permanent a hatred among neighbors which was more enduring than the hatred of the enemy.[100]

The situation in Mitchell County was even worse than that in Yancey. To begin with, there were more Union sympathizers and these were more ably led. Suffering was great, and as the number of conscripts who deserted from the Confederate army increased, those who were supporting the Confederate cause were more likely to be mistreated. Stealing and robbery became the rule rather than the exception. During the first session of the superior court held in that county after the close of the war, no less than thirty people were indicted for robbery. In fact all the cases except two that were tried at that term of the court were for larceny or assault and battery.[101] Colonel George W. Kirk of the Third North Carolina United States Volunteers had drawn into his regiment, which was organized at Knoxville, many of the Union sympathizers and deserters from the Confederate army. These recruits had followed the example of their leader and had become desperate and brutal in character. In the latter days of the war bands of these and others who claimed to belong to Kirk's regiment had pillaged and plundered throughout the Toe River Valley. In fact, the supporters and admirers of Kirk had gained control of Mitchell County.

---

100 Letter of John C. McBee to the author, July 1, 1931.
101 Minute Docket of Superior Court, Fall Term, 1865, Mitchell County.

With the coming of the peace the divisions in the Toe River Valley were more distinct than at the beginning of the war. It seems that peace was a special blessing at the time to the winners only. There was a great deal of mistreatment of the vanquished and hatreds were engendered that were to continue for almost half a century. A new political alignment was to come about following geographical lines, with the northern section lining up with the Radical party and the southern section remaining as a rule loyal to the party of Jackson. Beginning with the close of the Civil War the history of the Toe River Valley can no longer be considered as the history of a politically homogeneous unit. For good or for evil, the breach in the valley became wider, with the northern section continuing its course as Mitchell County and the southern section as Yancey County. It remains to be seen whether a reunion will yet take place, whether the Toe River Valley, constituting a single unit in blood, geography, and economic interests, will again become a single political unit.

THE VIRGINIA SOUTHWESTERN RAILROAD SYSTEM AT WAR,

1861-1865

By CHARLES W. TURNER

The American Civil War was the first military conflict in which railroads were a highly important factor. Some lines had been operating in the South for more than twenty-five years and by 1861 had formed a fairly complete network of tracks over Virginia for use of the Confederacy. Certain lines had made connections with other lines and had agreed to uniform rates and schedules. Such lines might be considered to form a system over which trade and travel could flow. The destruction of these lines was a major goal of the Federal armies.

Three railroad companies, the Richmond and Danville, the Southside, and the Virginia and Tennessee, made up a system of railways extending south of Richmond to the North Carolina line and west to the Tennessee border. Though beginning as independent lines between 1846 and 1848, the tracks were connected, and in the next decade uniform rates were worked out agreeable to the respective companies. This system furnished the most complete transportation facilities for the area covered by the rails as well as contacts with out of state lines.

Before 1860 a majority of the stockholders were local investors, who were paid good dividends partly because of the fact that the railroads were built with low capitalization. The state purchased at least three-fifths of the stock, while local governments took some shares.[1] The system was dependent on northern and foreign manufacturers for iron and rolling stock. Few

---

[1] Virginia and Tennessee shares, 1860 (in a box labeled "Virginia and Tennessee," in offices of State Corporation Commission, Richmond, Virginia).

State of Virginia	23,000 shares	County of Montgomery	390 shares
City of Richmond	1,461 shares	County of Pulaski	159 shares
City of Petersburg	278 shares	County of Wythe	230 shares
City of Lynchburg	5,418 shares	County of Smythe	329 shares
County of Campbell	152 shares	County of Washington	1,413 shares
County of Botetourt	3 shares	County of Floyd	33 shares
County of Bedford	369 shares	County of Grayson	2 shares
County of Franklin	2 shares	County of Scott	1 share
County of Roanoke	152 shares	County of Tazwell	1 share
		Others	1,529 shares
		TOTAL	35,402 shares

extensions were planned or made during the war years. The lines were crippled, as the war dragged on, with raids, general wear and tear, and shortages in labor and materials. The Union armies used the ties for firewood, while depots, bridges, and rolling stock were burned. In April, 1865, the total assets of all the Confederate railroads equaled only one-third of those of 1861. The credit of the three companies declined, interest went unpaid, and mortgages piled up. Their main customer, the Confederacy, paid the lines in bonds and paper currency which had become practically worthless by 1864. In spite of this, the railroads managed to pay dividends fairly regularly.[2]

Regardless of their losses, the railways rendered an invaluable service, sustained the South in its cause, and possessed an able leadership which went all out to keep the lines running. The three lines of the southwest system are described in some detail to prove the truth of the above statement. Today the Southside and the Virginia and Tennessee are a part of the Norfolk and Western, and the Richmond and Danville is a part of the Southern.[3]

The Southside Railroad Company was chartered in 1846 to provide a line between Petersburg and Cox's Road in Nottoway County. Extensions had made the line 123 miles in length with $3,000,000 capitalization by 1861.[4] A second line of the system, the Richmond and Danville, was chartered in 1848 to build a track from Richmond to Danville. Having obtained several millions in capital in the next decade, the stockholders decided to make an extension through Henry County to make connection with the Virginia and Tennessee.[5] These funds paid for two more extensions, namely, from Keysville to Clarksville, and from Danville, Virginia, to Greensboro, North Carolina.[6]

To satisfy the petitions for a line running through the southwest to the Virginia line, the General Assembly passed an act in

---

2 C. R. Fish, "The Restoration of Southern Railroads," University of Wisconsin, *Studies in Social Studies*, no. 2, 1919, pp. 1-28; C. W. Ransdell, "The Confederate Government and the Railroads," *American Historical Review*, XVII (1911), pp. 794-804.

3 *Acts of the General Assembly of Virginia, 1845-1846*, p. 92.

4 *Penny Post* (Richmond), April 11, 1855. W. F. Switzler, *Report of Internal Improvements of the United States* (Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office, 1886).

5 *Richmond Whig*, December 14, 1855.

6 *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, April 5, 1859.

1845 providing for the incorporation of the Richmond and Ohio, which was never incorporated as such.[7] People from beyond Lynchburg continued to clamor for a railroad since the James River and Kanawha Canal seemed destined never to reach them. The following reasons were cited in favor of such a railway: (1) it would provide large returns to the investors, (2) the line would offer a means whereby the interior could be developed, (3) improvement in trade relations between the interior and the coastal cities would result, (4) the Springs (mineral springs of western Virginia) would be more accessible, (5) foreign capital would be invested in the state, and finally (6) a rail line toward the Pacific would permit the tapping of trade of the Far east.[8] M. F. Maury, writing in the *American Railway Journal,* urged the construction of this line in order that Norfolk might be made a great trade center.[9] Shortly thereafter a bill was passed to charter the Virginia and Tennessee with a capital of $2,500,000.[10] The first stretch of sixty miles was let between Lynchburg and Salem.

At the opening of the war the above mentioned lines were linked together and were paying dividends to their stockholders. Reports from one rail line (the Richmond and Danville) alone show gross receipts of $4,000 a month in 1855.[11] The stockholders in annual meetings, after hearing the yearly reports of progress and finance, elected officers for the coming year—a president and directors who were in turn to select the superintendents, agents, and other officials needed for the railroad's effective operation.

The companies had able leadership under the presidency of such men as William Mahone of the Southside, Lewis E. Harvie, and A. S. Buford of the Richmond and Danville, and Robert T. Owen of the Virginia and Tennessee. They held their positions for practically the entire period, and no record has been found of their failure to carry out honestly the tasks assigned or to

---

[7] *Journal of the Senate,* 1845-1846, bill no. 2.
[8] *Richmond Enquirer,* May 2, 1848.
[9] *American Railway Journal,* August 12, 1848.
[10] *Acts of the General Assembly,* 1847-1848, p. 184.
[11] *Richmond Whig,* October 26, 1849, and September 25, 1856; *Thirty-Sixth Annual Report of the Board of Public Works to the General Assembly of Virginia,* 1851, pp. 5-15. These reports are in the Virginia State Library.

cooperate with the governments in support of the southern cause.[12] The offices of secretary and treasurer were often separated. The five directors, three selected by the state and two by the company, met with the president at least monthly. These officials were called to meet with other railroad officials of the South in convention during the war.

The next position of importance was that of superintendent of transportation and upkeep. Several outstanding personalities were connected with this position, such as H. D. Bird of the Southside, Charles G. Talcott of the Richmond and Danville, and Thomas Dodamead and E. H. Gill of the Virginia and Tennessee, all of whom tried as best they could to keep the lines open and replied constantly to the complaints of lack of service registered with them. Showing the value attached to the work of one of these men, Thomas Dodamead was placed in charge of the properties of the Richmond and Danville in 1865 in order to get it back into operation as quickly as possible.[13]

The remainder of the force included as many as 800 men on one line alone—conductors, "train drivers," baggage men, mechanics, inspectors, carpenters, unskilled help, and the agents stationed at the various depots. Several lists given as examples show that the Richmond and Danville in 1862 had 400 laborers, 50 train hands, 30 carpenters, and 20 blacksmiths,[14] while the Southside had its labor departmentalized in 1866 with 132 in transportation, 60 in machinery, 220 in road, and 2 in executive departments.

The securing of skilled and unskilled labor was a serious problem that did not improve during the war years. Higher wages were demanded. Jobs which paid $1.50 per diem in 1850 now required from $3.00 to $4.50. Raids carried off Negroes, and conscription took many of the white laborers. The Virginia railroads complained to the state and Confederate governments of the lack of a labor supply. The General Assembly passed an act as early as 1862 stating that "if within 20 days

---

[12] *Report of the Board of Public Works*, 1862, p. 142; 1866, pp. 46, 91.
[13] Letter dated June 8, 1865 (in box labeled "Richmond and Danville," in offices of Virginia State Corporation Commission, Richmond).
[14] *Richmond Daily Examiner*, January 22, 1862.

after the draft, the president and superintendent of railroad, canal, and telegraph companies certify certain persons necessary for the operation of the road they might be deferred."[15] The Confederate Congress passed an act in the spring of 1864 exempting from military service a certain number of skilled laborers for railroad duty, with a provision that these men might be called into service if an emergency arose.[16] These measures alleviated the situation very little, however, and advertisements for help appeared regularly in the papers.

Slave labor was employed during the period. The slaves were either hired by the year or purchased from local planters. The cost of hire and keep tripled as did the general price level. The Virginia and Tennessee employed 500 slaves, and the Richmond and Danville employed 300 in 1862.[17] The General Assembly tried without much success to impress into service a sufficient supply of slaves.

The Virginia assembly had passed acts in 1836 and 1857 allowing the state to appoint members to the railroad's board of directors and require the railroads to send annual reports to the Board of Public Works. A further act passed in 1863 required the railroads to transport all soldiers and war materials without requiring legal charge in advance.[18] Certain extensions and consolidations were urged by the state, but neither the Confederacy nor the state interfered with the management or attempted to force certain policies on the lines.

The Confederate government placed railroad supervision under Quartermaster General A. C. Myers, who was to coordinate the roads and see that troops and supplies were carried at special rates agreed upon in the southern and state railroad conventions. One such convention brought together the president and superintendent of each line in order, as one newspaper stated, "to serve and promote southern rights."[19] W. S. Ashe was appointed Myers's assistant and was sent over the railroad on fre-

---

[15] *Acts of the General Assembly*, 1862, p. 10.
[16] *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, January 12, 1864.
[17] *Report of the B. P. W.*, 1862, pp. 82, 142.
[18] *Acts of the General Assembly*, 1863, p. 38.
[19] *Richmond Daily Examiner*, June 30, 1862.

quent inspection tours. This arrangement failed to work, however, and W. M. Wadley was appointed supervisor of railroads under the Confederate Department of War in December, 1862. Wadley called a conference of the southern railroads to meet in Augusta, Georgia, where an attempt was made to consolidate its lines into a single unit. The superintendents were requested to send in weekly reports to Wadley, who would check over the schedules. This control proved too rigid, and F. W. Sims, who understood the railroad business thoroughly and tried hard to improve railroad equipment, was placed at the head of an engineering bureau in June, 1863.[20]

Direct governmental control was always a threat, and the necessary authorization was provided in a bill as early as 1861. This failed to pass, but a convention recommended military control, under a competent supervisor, of all lines entering the Confederate capital. The governor of Virginia, in a speech before the senate in 1863, expressed fear of Confederate control of railroads, and said that he agreed with a federal judge who had declared that no government had any railroad rights.[21] Not until February, 1863, was a bill passed allowing the Confederate Secretary of War to place any railroad, canal, or telegraph line under such officials as should be designated to keep them in repair and to operate the lines. All damages inflicted would be paid for by the Confederate government. Nevertheless, the war was concluded before the act had been enforced. The strongest government control came when the Federal government, having defeated the Confederacy, sequestered the Virginia railroads and turned them over to the Board of Public Works in June, 1865. The board, however, handed them back to the superintendents of the old companies in order to put them in operation as fast as possible.[22]

The three lines of the system by 1861 had consolidated their facilities, but each planned extensions which still were to be completed. The Virginia and Tennessee had not reached Bristol, while the Richmond and Danville and the Southside lines

---

20 Ramsdell, "The Confederate Government and the Railroads," p. 804.
21 *Journal of the Senate*, 1863-1864.
22 Journal of the B. P. W., Book W, p. 140. (In offices of State Corporation Commission.)

were seeking out-of-state connections. The extension of the Richmond and Danville to Greensboro, North Carolina, was deemed of major importance in connection with the war program. In a secret session of the General Assembly in the fall of 1861, an act was passed urging this extension and providing that, if the company failed to do this, the Confederacy be requested to handle the job.[23] The act went further and urged extensions and consolidations as rapidly as possible to facilitate the war effort.[24] The *Daily Richmond Examiner* stated that the above extension was of great military value and urged that it be completed in six months to connect with the North Carolina Central.[25] Conventions were held at Richmond and Reidsville demanding this improvement. Former Governor Morehead of North Carolina was speaker at the first, while at the second it was pointed out that both states had chartered the extension, and it was resolved to request President Jefferson Davis to promote it.[26] Davis, in a message before the Congress, favored the extension, though considerable opposition was registered.[27] As late as the fall of 1862 this line was not complete as a result of a labor supply shortage, for only 200 Negroes were employed where 2,000 were needed.[28] In the final year of the war the connections remained incomplete. One editor disclosed that railroads were built without a general plan and that jealousy of cities and the "battle of the gauges" proved the foolhardiness of the builders. He called upon the Confederate government to give heed and correct the situation.[29]

With the coming of peace, Virginia realized the need for completed extensions and encouraged these measures. A letter of President Owen of the Virginia and Tennessee, June 23, 1865, declared that his line had just been opened as far as Bristol.[30] Furthermore, acts of the Assembly authorized the purchase of the Piedmont Railroad for debt and the extension of the South-

---

[23] *Acts of the General Assembly*, 1861, p. 55.
[24] *Acts of the General Assembly*, 1861, p. 64.
[25] *Richmond Daily Examiner*, Nov. 23, 1861.
[26] *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, Dec. 13, 1861.
[27] *Richmond Daily Examiner*, Feb. 8, 1862.
[28] *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, Oct. 22, 1862.
[29] *Richmond Daily Enquirer*, Jan. 4, 1865.
[30] Letter in offices of State Corporation Commission.

side System, and allowed $2,500,000 for a Danville to Lynchburg extension.[31] Therefore, though extensions bogged down during the war, the lines speeded them up with the return of peace.

The three companies of the system suffered greatly from the wear and tear of war. At the beginning of the war the Southside Railroad reported a rail line of 123 miles with the equipment listed below.[32] The second year there were only 11 passenger cars and 190 freight cars.[33] The final year only 13 engines pulled 9 passenger and 114 freight cars over its tracks. The line was fortunate enough to secure iron the first year, but the supply was soon cut off. The company always complained of too few cars and a scarcity of supplies practically unobtainable in the Confederacy.[34]

Before the war the Virginia and Tennessee used 27 passenger, 14 baggage, and 200 freight cars over its tracks. In 1862 the number of passenger cars had been reduced to 19. The Federals cut the tracks in a number of places, and in 1865 the Virginia and Tennessee trains ran only as far as Big Lick. The Confederacy was very desirous of keeping the trains running over the whole line, for it tapped such a large area with many needed war materials.[35] The equipment usable at the end of the war is given below.[36]

The Richmond and Danville reported in 1860 that the following improvements had been made on its line. The "T" rails

---

[31] *Acts of the General Assembly*, 1865-1866, pp. 319, 334.

[32] *List of Southside Equipment:*

Engine houses and shops	3
Engines	29
First-class pass. cars	10
Second-class pass. cars	3
Baggage cars	4
Freight cars	208

[33] *List of Southside Equipment*, 1862, p. 285.

[34] *List of Southside Equipment*, 1866, p. 35; Pres. T. H. Campbell, *List of Southside Equipment*, 1861, p. 277.

[35] *Reports of the B. P. W.*, 1861, p. 71; 1862, p. 93; *Richmond Whig*, July 6, 1865.

[36] *Equipment of V. & T.*, 1866 (Report of B. P. W., 1866, p. 83)

Number of engine houses	9
Number of engines	29
First-class pass. cars	13
Second-class pass. cars	5
Baggage and express cars	7
Box cars	170
Stock cars	8
Platform cars	60
Caboose cars	18
Depot cars	12

had been laid for 9½ miles, leaving only 8¾ miles of the old flat rails to be removed. The Virginia Assembly had appropriated $350,000 for deepening the James River at the Richmond and Danville wharf in Richmond. A freight office at Richmond and a boarding house at Clover had been erected, and four wells had been dug along the right-of-way. The equipment of the line in 1860 is listed below.[37]

This supply was soon heavily taxed, for by 1863 only 22 engines and 328 cars remained in use,[38] and the year of surrender found it with 25 engines and 161 cars.[39] The president's report told a hard-luck story, declaring that the situation as to equipment had become increasingly worse. Furthermore, owing to the difficulty of procuring necessary material, little work had been done during the years from 1862 to 1864 in the way of repair. Ditches had not been cleaned, and often water and mud had covered the rails, causing the cross ties to decay. The portion of track between Burkeville and Meherrin (11 miles in length) had been laid with strap rails from which engines were thrown frequently. After July, 1865, when the company had its equipment returned, "T" rails had been laid, a large force employed for ditching, 184,958 ties and 1,100 tons of iron had been laid, and the Howe trestle had been used where necessary. The new trestle work had been placed at Manchester, Rochett's, and Richmond in order to accommodate the coal business. Depots and water stations had been put up at Keysville, Mossingford,

---

[37] Equipment of R. and D., 1860 (*Report of B. P. W.*, 1860, p. 91)

Engines	29
First-class pass. cars	11
Smoking cars	3
Second-class pass. cars	6
Mail cars	10
8-wheel box cars	206
4-wheel box cars	19
8-wheel box cars	48
Stock cars	34
Wood cars	21
Sand cars	2
6-wheel iron and coal cars	56
Gravel and coal cars	2
Sleeping cars	2

[38] Equipment of R. and D., 1863, p. 132.

[39] Equipment of R. and D., 1865, p. 161.

[49] Equipment of R. and D., 1866, p. 49.

Price's, and Rockfield. The company had purchased 7 new locomotives and 41 new cars at high prices[40] and had secured a part of the supply of railroad equipment which the Federal government had sold at auction.[41] As early as July 28, 1865, the 140-mile Richmond and Danville was boasting that with its Southside and Virginia and Tennessee connections it had opened a great southern route of repaired track and replenished rolling stock via Bristol to Knoxville and Chattanooga.

The limitations of equipment played no small part in restricting the effectiveness of the southwest system in wartime. When the war was concluded these lines, as did their sister lines, the Richmond, Fredericksburg, and Potomac, and the Virginia Central, made quick recoveries.

The problem of finance for the southern railroads had always been serious. All the lines had opened with too small a capital outlay, which was increased only when new extensions were allowed. During the war the military engaged more of the lines facilities at lower rates, and paid in depreciated currency. Though the companies of the southwest system had been retiring their debt prior to 1861, they found it increasingly hard to pay the interest, to say nothing of the principal. All the while, dividends ranging from three to seven per cent were being declared out of funds, which might have been applied to replace the capital spent or pay off its fast accumulating debt.

Of the Richmond and Danville's $3,500,000 capital, the state took $1,500,000. In 1861 the General Assembly allowed the company to increase its capital by $2,000,000 for the Greensboro extension.[42] As late as 1863 only $2,000,000 of the entire stock had been paid in, with the state owning the major part, 72,000 shares.[43] The state had meanwhile taken $2,300,000 of the $5,000,000 capital of the Virginia and Tennessee. No increase in the Virginia and Tennessee came until after the war, when the total capital was increased by $2,000,000.[44] The Southside had

---

41 *Richmond Whig*, July 28, 1865.
42 *Journal of the House of Delegates*, 1861, doc. 8, p. 29.
43 *Acts of the General Assembly*, 1861, p. 60; *Report of the B. P. W.*, 1863, p. 128; list in box dated 1866, in offices of State Corporation Commission.
44 *Acts of the General Assembly*, 1865, 1866, p. 332.

a capital stock equaling $1,400,000, with the state owning $803,000 worth.[45] By 1866 individuals had purchased $53,000 of a small amount of new stock which had been allowed.[46]

The total debt of the Richmond and Danville in 1860 was $1,200,000 plus a bond issue of $65,400.[47] Though this was slightly reduced by 1863, the funded debt stood at $551,091, and there was a floating debt of $113,733.[48] Bonds to the amount of $2,018,338 raised the total debt by the final year to $2,018,338.[49]

The company paid off the state debt slowly.[50]

At the beginning of the war the Virginia and Tennessee's debt was divided as follows:

Debt due the state	$ 992,030
Debt due to others	2,019,000
Floating debt	618,958
	$3,629,988[51]

In 1862 the funded debt equalled $992,030 and the floating debt $485,995, with six classes of bonds in debts due the state, first and second mortgage bonds, salt works mortgages, and the like.[52] The total debt the following year equaled $2,231,185, which was reduced only slightly by 1866.[53]

The total debt of the Southside Company in 1861 amounted to $1,763,750.[54] This was reduced the following year and divided

---

[45] *Report of the B. P. W.*, 1861, p. 284.
[46] *Report of the B. P. W.*, 1866, p. 321.
[47] *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Richmond and Danville Railroad Company*, 1860, p. 90.
[48] *Report of the B. P. W.*, 1861, p. 149; 1863, p. 128.
[49] *Report of the B. P. W.*, 1866, pp. 142, 157.
[50] *R. & D. debt payments* (In offices of State Corporation Commission.)

Jan. 1, 1860	$561,442	Jan. 1, 1863	$534,555
Interest	16,843	Interest	16,036
Paid	21,000	Paid	21,000
Jan. 1, 1861	553,004	Jan. 1, 1864	524,479
Interest	15,590	Interest	15,734
Paid	21,000	Paid	21,000
Jan. 1, 1862	554,052	Jan. 1, 1865	513,790
Interest	16,321	Interest	15,413
Paid	21,000	Paid	21,000

[51] *Report of the B. P. W.*, 1861, p. 66.
[52] *Report of the B. P. W.*, 1862, p. 88.
[53] *Report of the B. P. W.*, 1866, p. 80; information in box in offices of State Corporation Commission.
[54] *Report of the B. P. W.*, 1861, p. 284.

as follows: a $800,000 funded debt and a $252,613 floating debt.[55] The company continued to pay off its debt, and as late as 1864 notices appeared in the *Sentinel* to the effect that bonds due January 1, 1865, should be presented to the Petersburg office.[56] The debt was divided thus in 1866:[57] loans from the state, loans guaranteed by the city of Petersburg, bonds issued to the city of Petersburg, and bonds issued to complete the railroad. Though the railroad made efforts to reduce the debt, it appeared hard to do during these critical years.

As a result of the agricultural depression of 1861, the Richmond and Danville Railroad suffered a decline in receipts from freight which equaled $207,582, a decrease of $113,444 below the figures for 1860.[58] The year following showed little improvement.[59] These figures had improved by 1863, and by 1865-1866, though there had been reductions, the Richmond and Danville's earnings were well ahead of expenses, which were $661,743 and $341,185 respectively.[60]

In the case of the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad, no decline in trade was indicated up to July 1, 1861, with gross earnings of $798,928 and expenses of $399,414. Part of its net earnings the company applied to pay off the debt.[61] From passenger travel $446,979 was received, while the expense account included such items as repair of roadbed, buildings, machinery, operation, insurance, and taxes.[62] The financial condition for the year following was the best yet, with the earnings double those for

---

[55] *Report of the B. P. W.*, 1862, p. 282.
[56] *The Sentinel*, Dec. 31, 1864.
[57] *Report of the B. P. W.*, 1866, p. 32.
[58] "President's Report to the B. P. W.," 1861, p. 149.
[59] *Report of the B. P. W.*, 1863, pp. 140, 141.

Receipts for 1862		Expenses for 1862	
Passenger cars	$281,246	Operation	$197,518
Freight cars	175,941	Repairs	32,692
Mail cars	13,845	Maintenance	11,021
Other cars	27,343		
Virginia and Confed.	226,053		$241,231
	$724,430		

[60] *Report of the B. P. W.*, 1863, pp. 157, 158; 1866, p. 148.
[61] Richmond Enquirer, Sept. 14, 1861.
[62] *Report of the B. P. W.*, 1861, pp. 77, 81.

1861.[63] The table of returns is given below.[64] In 1863 the *Sentinel* reported that the Virginia and Tennessee was making net earnings of fifty-six per cent of its capital.[65] This was a remarkable record for a line to make in one of the most critical years of the war. The able administration and the fact that it tapped such a valuable area were the reasons for such showing. In 1866 expenses amounted to $200,000 more than earnings, but this was due to the strained business conditions of surrender and after.[66]

On the Southside Railroad Company the gross earnings of $158,181 of 1861 had increased to $579,958 in 1862.[67] Though inflation had set in by 1863, earnings dropped while expenses increased.[68] This condition continued through 1866, when the gross earnings were $289,580 and the expenses $439,693. No wonder the state was ready to sell its share at the first opportunity; as Governor F. H. Pierpont declared as early as 1865, the state was making little return from its investment in railroads and he advised the sale of the stock held by Virginia.[69] At the time the state owned $22,704,524 worth of shares of stock in this transportation facility as compared to $12,277,290 in navigation, $465,800 in plank roads, $2,674,540 in turnpikes, $11,868,098 in state roads, and $106,100 in bridges in various parts of the state. The Railroad investment in 1865-1866 seemed none too sound.[70]

---

[63] *Daily Richmond Examiner*, Dec. 5, 1862.

[64] *Report of B. P. W.*, 1862, p. 88.

Earnings for 1862 on the V. & T.		Expenses for 1862	
Passengers	$577,206	Maintenance	$179,629
Freight	403,385	Repairs	95,221
Mail	35,934	Operation	187,578
Others	34,690		
	$1,051,215		$462,429

[65] *The Sentinel* (Richmond) March 11, 1863.

[66] *Report of B. P. W.*, 1866, p, 85.

[67] *Report of B. P. W.*, 1861, p. 284; *Report of B. P. W.*, 1862, p. 282.

[68] *Report of the B. P. W.*, 1863, p. 450.

Earnings for 1863 on the Southside		Expenses for 1863	
Passengers	$491,765	Transportation	$405,488
Freight	318,004	Interest	97,405
Mail	14,456	Taxes	38,649
Express	50,648	Debt	25,700
Rent	5,648	Interest due state	208,500
	$880,102		$775,742

[69] *Journal of the Senate*, 1865, p. 18.

[70] *Documents of the General Assembly*, 1865, 1866, doc. 1, p. 25.

The value of the southwest system to the Confederacy cannot be over-emphasized. The railroads served as the best east-west approach to the inland country of the Confederacy. Supplies could be secured from Tennessee and Kentucky as well as from the western and southern areas of Virginia. Doctor Douglas Freeman considers this system one of the main supply lines of the war. A number of the battlefields of the war lay in the area of southwestern Virginia. The Federals desired to sever the system's connection with the capital. Early in 1861 the companies had agreed to allow the necessary troop trains to move at the will of the Confederate military command. The lines authorized President Jefferson Davis and the states to use their men, property, and shops for the manufacture of war munitions, and they accepted Confederate bonds in payment for transportation of soldiers and use of the companies' equipment.[71] The making of gun carriages was one of the main tools the shops could carry out, and as early as December, 1861, the Richmond and Danville shops had turned out thirty-five such carriages.[72]

To aid the cause, the Virginia and Tennessee as early as 1861, in spite of grain failure, the washing away of thirty miles of track, and smallpox epidemics, transported troops and freight at one-half the regular rates.[73] The company's roller mill was employed for government use, and its salt mines were limited exclusively to the use of the state of Virginia, though Governor Zebulon B. Vance of North Carolina requested supplies for his state.[74]

The Southside in 1861 reported that its main business was the transportation of troops and that the company had sufficient equipment to do that adequately. Furthermore, their own cars were being manufactured in their own shops, and very few manufactured products were needed from the outside. In 1862 the Southside reported that less equipment was available but that the supply of ties was the best in years.[75]

---

[71] *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, June 19, 1861.
[72] *Richmond Daily Examiner*, Dec. 19, 1861.
[73] *Report of the B. P. W.*, 1861, p. 62.
[74] Report of the president of the Virginia and Tennessee, June 30, 1863 (in offices of State Corporation Commission).
[75] *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, Dec. 8, 1862.

The military damage and the failure to repair the lines in the 1863-1865 period made for inefficiency. In 1864 the heaviest raids of the war came on the rail lines. In May E. H. Gill, superintendent of the Richmond and Danville, went over the entire system to ascertain damages done by the frequent raids and discovered a body of 3,000 Federal cavalry crossing the line and advancing toward the Clover Hill coal pits.[76] Shortly thereafter the Virginia and Tennessee reported that six raids had destroyed the greater part of the depots and bridges (4,000 linear feet), and that eighteen miles of track had been torn up in one place. The whole damage was repaired in sixty days at a cost of $600,000.[77] Though the Southside was defended by R. E. Lee, Wade Hampton, William Mahone, and Fitzhugh Lee, bad breaks were made along its line. Freeman declares that by December 20, 1864, the Richmond and Danville's cars and locomotives seemed hardly able to crawl over its rusty and worn tracks.[78] U. S. Grant aimed to cut the Richmond and Danville line as well as the Southside at vital points. By February, 1865, the Danville had been rendered useless, and 80,000 Federals stood ready to tear up the Southside.[79]

One month after Appomattox the lines were being repaired. The Southside under the direction of Superintendent Bird was hiring hands, purchasing timber, and sawing out trestle work.[80] On the Virginia and Tennessee, where only one depot and three bridges were left standing, work was beginning,[81] while the year 1866 found the Richmond and Danville being quite completely repaired, ditched, and supplied with cattle guards, crossings, bridges, and depots. The bridge over the Staunton River was finished, while a Howe Truss bridge was built over the Little Roanoke River. The Piedmont Railroad's gauge was changed, since the Danville line had leased it for $75,000 annually.[82]

---

[76] *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, May 13, 1864.
[77] *The Sentinel*, Sept. 7, 1864.
[78] Freeman, *R. E. Lee*, III, 453; IV, 22, 23.
[79] Freeman, *R. E. Lee*, IV, 75-81.
[80] *Richmond Whig*, June 9, 1865.
[81] Letter of Pres. Robert Owen, June 23, 1865 (in offices of State Corporation Commission).
[82] *Report of B. P. W.*, 1866, p. 143.

The rates for passenger fares and for freight remained fairly normal until 1864, when inflation and currency depreciation caused them to double and triple. The passenger fares and freight charges per ton mile on the Southside were 4.06c and 4.86c respectively, while on the Virginia and Tennessee they were 2.94c and 5.3c the first war year. The Southside carried 106,047 passengers and 95,644 tons.[83]

In 1862 business improved, and the Virginia and Tennessee reported 194,106 passengers and 67,339 tons of freight.[84] In 1863 with fares and rates of 3.25c and 4.43c respectively charged by the Richmond and Danville, the carryings included 240,171 passengers and 186,517 tons of freight.[85]

Charges had increased by the end of 1863: the Richmond and Danville had doubled its, while the Virginia and Tennessee average fare was .04c and its average rate .08c per ton mile for freight.[86] The Board of Public Works had authorized these increases even if the charters had set limitations due to the war emergency.

The legislative act permitting this had allowed the lines to apply in three months' time for such increase and had granted them as much as one hundred per cent increase on express providing the charge was no more than fifty per cent above the freight charge.[87] The next year the rates were increased further, as the illustration shows.[88] Still, the Southside asked the Board of Public Works to double passenger fares, to increase corn and wheat rates, and to double and triple the other rates per ton mile.[89] The year of surrender found the three lines operat-

---

[83] Southside Tonnage in 1864

Cotton (pounds)	7,894,590	Flour	3,746,339
Bacon	3,583,906	Plaster	5,634,734
Fruits	685,347	Salt	801,318
Cattle	820,944	Hogs	2,207,253
Lumber	718,953	Copper	1,191,757
Wood	6,675,716	Liquor	1,244,941
Leather	88,188	Drugs	399,252
Butter	56,993	Dry Goods	1,382,593
Corn	2,029,487		
Wheat	18,233,405		

[84] Southside Tonnage in 1862, p. 95.

[85] Southside Tonnage in 1863. p. 152; *The Sentinel*, April 28, 1863.

[86] Southside Tonnage in 1863, p. 128.

[87] Each railroad had contracts with express companies to haul express over its lines for a certain per cent of the charges. *Acts of General Assembly*, 1863.

[88] Handbill in offices of State Corporation Commission. See above, opposite p. 484.

[89] Letter of Pres. H. D. Bird, July 19, 1864 (in offices of State Corporation Commission).

ing only part of the year with reduced rates varying from .04c to .06c for both passengers and freight.

In 1865 the Richmond and Danville carried 2,840 bushels of wheat eastward as compared with 33,640 bushels in 1866, and 9,365 hogsheads of tobacco as against 15,063.[90] The Virginia and Tennessee reported a carriage of only 58,344 passengers and 46,247 tons of freight.[91] The Richmond and Danville showed similar small amounts.

Accidents and complaints were registered during the period in the usual numbers. Complaints were sent to the local papers and to the Board of Public Works. A writer stated in a newspaper article that discrimination in charges should be made when supplies were sent by homefolks to their sons in government service.[92] The privilege of men in government service being allowed to ride free was abused, and the railroad companies ruled that no official could board a train unless he had a passport signed by President Davis or the governor of Virginia.[93] The city of Richmond requested, during the winters of 1863 and 1864, that the system apportion more flat cars for hauling wood for fuel. The lines replied that they had no extra cars to apportion.[94]

The schedules of 1862 show that the Richmond and Danville mail train reached Danville at 7 A. M. and connected at Burkeville with the Southside at 3:10 P. M. for Petersburg and Norfolk.[95] The Southside left Petersburg daily at 7 A. M. to reach Lynchburg at 2:15 P. M.[96] As a military precaution during the war, few if any schedules were published. The first line to resume a regular schedule was the Richmond and Danville, when it published in October, 1865, a notice that a train would leave Richmond at 8 A. M. to return at 4:35 P. M. and 6:35 P. M.[97]

A railroad convention was held in Richmond on May 16 and

---

90 *Report of B. P. W.*, 1866, p. 143.
91 *Report of B. P. W.*, 1866, pp. 37, 83.
92 *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, Aug. 2, 1861.
93 *Richmond Whig*, July 16, 1861.
94 Letter dated Nov. 28, 1862 (in offices of State Corporation Commission).
95 *Richmond Enquirer*, Jan. 1, 1861.
96 *Richmond Enquirer*.
97 *Richmond Daily Enquirer*, Oct. 30, 1865.

17, 1866, at which the lines adopted a time table and agreed on through tickets, a uniform system of handling baggage, and postal rates.[98] These steps were the forerunner of further advancement in the postwar years.

The preceding account is that of how three railroad companies, forming a system of which every mile lay in the battle zone, carried on in wartime, fed men and material to the Confederacy, and carried on business in spite of loss of rolling stock, depreciation, and inflation. This was done without any major disputes among the lines or any direct governmental control. Instead, under their own management the roads succeeded in chalking up dividends for their stockholders and were a means by which the Southern forces were enabled repeatedly to succeed in the campaigns of the upper South. When the end came, the railroads under wise leadership were reconstructed quickly for service in building the New South.

---

[98] *Proceedings* of a railroad convention in Richmond, May 16-17, 1866 (Norfolk, Virginia, Norfolk Printing House, 1866).

RATES OF TRANSPORTATION
ON THE
SOUTH SIDE RAIL ROAD,
TO TAKE EFFECT JANUARY 11th, 1864.

BETWEEN PETERSBURG AND	Ford's	Wilson's	Fairfield	Reed's & Wilson	Hickory C. H.	Dr. Jennings	Hicks	Farmville	Prospect	Pamplin's	Appomattox	Appo. Depot	Concord	Lynchburg
N. B.—Freight between any depots or between any depots and Lynchburg, will be charged as from Petersburg for the same distance, but if the distance is greater, the charge will be as from Petersburg to the next depot beyond that distance.														
Articles not enumerated, (first class,) per 100 lbs.	80	85	90	95	1 00	1 10	1 15	1 20	1 25	1 30	1 35	1 40	1 45	1 50
Agricultural Implements, less than 100 lbs. each,	1 35	1 40	1 55	1 65	1 75	1 85	1 95	2 05	2 15	2 25	2 35	2 45	2 55	2 65
Coal, per bushel,	25	27	28	29	30	31	32	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
Flour, Cement, and Plaster, per barrel,	1 00	1 15	1 25	1 37	1 50	1 65	1 75	1 87	2 00	2 13	2 25	2 35	2 45	2 55
Lime, per barrel,	1 00	1 05	1 15	1 24	1 32	1 40	1 48	1 56	1 64	1 72	1 80	1 85	1 90	2 00
Lumber, per 1000 feet,	16 00	18 00	19 00	20 00	21 00	22 00	23 00	24 00	25 00	26 00	27 00	28 00	29 00	30 00
Laths, per 1000,	3 20	3 60	3 80	4 00	4 20	4 40	4 60	4 80	5 00	5 20	5 40	5 60	5 80	6 00
Packages less than 100 lbs.	80	85	90	95	1 00	1 10	1 15	1 20	1 25	1 30	1 35	1 40	1 45	1 50
Powder, per keg,	2 00	2 00	2 00	2 00	2 00	2 00	2 00	2 00	2 00	2 00	2 00	2 00	2 00	2 00
Poultry—chickens and ducks, per doz.	2 10	2 25	2 20	2 40	2 50	2 60	2 70	2 80	2 90	3 00	3 10	3 20	3 40	3 50
" turkeys and geese, each,	53	54	56	58	60	62	64	66	68	70	72	74	76	80
Salt—Virginia, per sack,	1 00	1 08	1 16	1 24	1 32	1 40	1 48	1 56	1 64	1 72	1 80	1 85	1 90	2 00
Shingles, per 1000,	5 20	5 60	5 80	6 00	6 32	6 40	6 60	6 80	7 00	7 20	7 40	7 60	7 80	8 00
Stock, Horses and Mules, each,	24 00	26 00	28 00	30 00	32 00	34 00	36 00	38 00	40 00	42 00	44 00	46 00	48 00	50 00
" Cattle, each,	24 00	26 00	28 00	30 00	32 00	33 0	34 00	35 0	36 00	37 00	38 00	39 00	40 00	
" Calves, Hogs and Sheep, each,	3 40	3 60	3 80	4 00	4 32	4 40	4 60	4 80	5 00	5 20	5 40	5 60	5 80	6 00
Wheat and Corn, per bushel,	30	36	42	45	47	48	50	51	53	56	58	60	62	63
The following Articles will be carried by the car load:														
Bark, Bricks, Posts and Poles,	45 00	45 00	45 00	50 00	50 00	50 00	55 00	56 00	60 00	62 00	66 00	68 00	72 00	75 00
Stock, Horses and Mules,	60 00	84 00	90 00	99 00	113 00	129 00	135 00	144 00	150 00	159 00	165 00	174 00	180 00	190 00
" Cattle and Hogs,	63 00	69 00	75 00	84 00	90 00	96 00	99 00	102 00	105 00	108 00	110 00	114 00	117 00	120 00
Staves,	63 00	69 00	75 00	77 00	78 00	80 00	82 00	84 00	86 00	86 00	87 00	88 00	89 00	90 00

SPECIAL LIST.

Carriages and buggies will be charged four times first class rates.

Liquors will only be carried at owner's risk, and charged four times first class rates.

Sugar in hogsheads will be charged three times first class rates.

The following named Articles will be charged double first class rates:

Acids, bacon, (if in boxes at owner's risk, unless securely boxed and strapped;) bonnets, brooms, buckets, coffee, clocks, cotton yarns, dry goods, (at owner's risk unless securely boxed and strapped,) eggs, feathers, furniture, (at owner's risk unless well boxed,) hats and caps, leather, (at owner's risk unless boxed and strapped,) looking glasses and glass, (at owner's risk,) manufactured tobacco, musical instruments, nails, oils, (at owner's risk;) saddlery, shoes and boots, sugar in boxes, barrels, half barrels and quarter barrels, stoves, sewing machines, toys, tubs, wood and willow ware.

Firewood will only be carried by the owner paying one cord for each cord carried.

Steam engines and boilers, locomotives and cars, railroad iron, and all articles of unusual size or weight, will be carried by special contract only. These articles and every thing carried by carload, must be loaded and unloaded by the owners. If the cars are not unloaded when required, and the company has to do it, an extra charge will be made for the service.

The load for a car is 5000 feet of seasoned pine, 4000 feet of seasoned oak, 4 cords oak wood, 6 cords of pine, 2500 bricks, and 16000 pounds of sundries. Any person putting more than this weight on a car will be charged extra besides the cost of repairing the car if injured by being too heavily loaded.

Freight carried by Mail Train will be charged double the above rates.

☞ Whenever articles are not weighed they will be rated as specified in the annexed list:

Apples, Peaches and Vegetables, per barrel,	15 lbs.	Cornmeal, per bushel,	50 lbs
Do. do. per bushel,	10 "	Eggs, per barrel (owner's risk,)	160 "
Bark, per cord,	2000 "	Fodder, per cord,	1500 "
Bedding, each,	5.0 "	Flour, per barrel,	196 "
Bran, per bushel,	20 "	Granite, per cubic foot,	160 "
Brass, Steel, per bushel	70 "	Hides, green, each,	60 "
Bricks, per 1000	7000 "	Do. dry, do.	30 "
Castings, each,	100 "	Hemp, flat, each,	150 "
Carts, each,	700 "	Hogs, pre 8, each,	75 "
Cliff Wheat, each,	12 "	Ice, per bushel,	40 "
Chairs, al. per bushel,	25 "	Leather, per lb.,	1000 "
Coal, bituminous, per bushel	70 "	Liquors, per gallon,	10 "
Cubes, per bushel,	40 "	Lumber, pine sawed, per 1000	5000 "
Clover, per bushel,	56 "	Do. do. unsquared, per 1000	7000 "

Lumber, oak, walnut, cherry, ash,	4000 lbs.		
Umbrellas or stays,	1000 "		
Oats, per bushel,	32 "		
Peaches by shell, per barrel,	150 "		
Do. per gallon,	10 "		
Potatoes, per bushel,	60 "		
Rocks, pitch or tar, per barrel,	200 "		
Sheep, each averaging	70 "		
Shingles, per 1000	1000 "		
Skin, dried, per bushel	40 "		
Scraps and bagging, per 1000,	1000 "		
Wheat, per bushel,	60 "		
Whiskey, per barrel,	200 "		

GENERAL RULES.

1. This Company will not be responsible for damages sustained by delays from the war, storms or accidents, or by decay of perishable articles, or injury by heat or frost to such as are affected thereby. Nor will they hold themselves liable for damages by fire, or at common carriers, for any article after the arrival at its place of destination and unloaded in the Company's warehouse or depot.

2. Goods in bundles will not be considered as properly packed, and this Company will not be responsible for any loss of parts of such packages.

3. All articles of freight, arriving at their place of destination, must be taken away within twenty-four hours after being unloaded from the cars,—the Company reserving the right of placing the same in store at the risk and expense of the owner, if they see fit, after the lapse of that time.

4. When goods which have been transported on the Railroad are ordered to remain in a depot, the Company will not be responsible for any loss or injury from any cause.

5. Articles will not be received for transportation, unless properly packed in suitable casks, boxes, bales or packages, and all boxes of dry goods, hardware and iron must be strapped, and each must be well and clearly marked with the name of its consignee and station where they are to be delivered, otherwise they will not be receipted for, in which case no damages for loss or misconveyance will be paid.

6. Commander and Stanley Station will not be open at any times, except to the regular ones, and if found closed among other goods, the consignee, in case of damages, will be held liable thereby.

7. No Dogs, when broken in, will be transported by this Railroad, unless the owner shall produce a certificate of the number of children or guards, whom there will accompany them, and the number and weight of each, and enable to what place they are to be taken, by whom and to whom.

8. Carriages and horses will not be properly secured by the owners, the Company will not be responsible for any injury they may sustain from the conductor.

9. No goods will be received at the Petersburg depot after 5 o'clock, P. M.

10. After the arrival of a train at Petersburg, the Agents will, in a book to be kept in a public place in the depot for the inspection of merchants and others, make an entry from the manifest of all freight brought by the train, showing the name of the consignee, consignor, mark number and description of the property.

11. Receipts will be required from the consignee when he calls himself for the articles, or his written order when he sends for them. For the whole of any one consignment on one day, there will be but a single order.

12. Merchants are requested to mark the weight on all packages that are charged by weight.

13. This Company will not be responsible for the leakage of liquids, or for damages to the hidden contents of packages, or for breaking or leaking, by improper packing, or for loss of nails and other shipments kegs, but for any deficiency in dry goods, kegs, chests, nails, kegs and shoes' goods, or anything in boxes, unless the packages are properly packed and delivered.

14. All persons shipping freight at stations less than Dinwiddie, a distance for transportation to the same place and consignee, must in future send them at the same hour of the same day, or single packages arriving by themselves will be liable to storage and delivery, and charged as the shipments by single or small packages, and no allowance will be made in case they are not received and charged. The agency of the Company's business there will advise of freight thus packed, at the time of reception; therefore persons will then be expected to accompany, and engage for the time of their packages, small packages.

15. Freight will be liable for loss, and for the more until be protected within sixty days after the date of the depot, as it will not be adjusted.

16. Freight to all those stations beyond of the Petersburg office, at Lynchburg, at the option of the consignee, charged to any stations. From any stations to any stations, to be paid at the point of shipment.

By Order of the Board of Directors,

H. D. BIRD,
General Superintendent.

JOHN A. ROE, PRINTER, SYCAMORE STREET, PETERSBURG.


A MAP OF
RAILROADS OF
VIRGINIA
1858
- LEGEND -
RAIL ROADS
SCALE
0 5 10 20 30 40
Wheeling
R & O. RR.
Parkersburg N.W. RR.
Cumberland
B. & O.
Guyandotte
CLIFTON FORGE
C. & O. RR.
Gauley
R.F. & P.
Richmond
Petersburg
Norfolk
Bristol
Abingdon
VA. & TENN. R.R.
Nottoway
SOUTH SIDE RR.
Lynchburg
Danville
Suffolk

CARACAS EXILE*

By Nancy Jane Lucas

James Williamson left his native Scotland when he was twenty-two years of age and settled in Person County, North Carolina. He married the daughter of Dempsey Moore, the first settler of the county seat, Roxboro,[1] and to these parents a son was born on December 2, 1793.[2] The child was named John Gustavus Adolphus Williamson. Apparently Mrs. Williamson died soon after John G. A. was born. James took as his second wife Susan Paine, daughter of Major Paine of Paine's Ordinary in Person County. Three sons and five daughters were born of this union.[3]

James Williamson soon became an important figure in Person County, for he accumulated a comparatively large fortune in land and slaves. His will shows that he was interested in all his children and wanted to make a just distribution of his wealth among them. There are indications, however, that for a Scot he was unusually liberal and lenient with his eldest son, John G. A., to whom he advanced $6,000 in getting that young man started on a career.

---

* In the summer of 1942 the present writer unpacked that portion of the William T. Morrey library which Mr. James A. McMillen had purchased for Louisiana State University. The most valuable item in this collection proved to be the manuscript diary of John Gustavus Adolphus Williamson, first United States diplomat to Venezuela. To date, no information has been secured as to where or how Morrey acquired the two large folio volumes. An edited, typed copy of the diary is now in the North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

1 Stephen B. Weeks, John Gustavus Adolphus Williamson (typescript in Charles L. Van Noppen Collection. Duke University library), Durham, N. C. (publication from this source is not permitted without written authorization from Duke University library.)

2 Williamson wrote in his diary, December 2, 1839: "My birth day, ... I have completed to day my 46th year of pilgrimage on earth — and wish in turning to review them they had been better, more worthy of a mizerable service to his God, than I fear mine has been." Nancy Jane Lucas (editor), Shirt-Sleeve Diplomat, p. 438. (Typescript in Louisiana State University Library, Baton Rouge.)

3 Weeks, in his sketch of Williamson, has the following to say concerning the half-brothers and sisters of John G. A.:

Robert Williamson was a physician of Rockingham County and died about 1843; James Monroe was educated at the University of North Carolina, studied law, was in the North Carolina House of Commons in 1834, 1835 and 1836 and later removed to Tennessee where he was also a member of the Legislature and Speaker; dying after the close of the civil war. William Alexander (1814-1895) was a merchant and banker in Memphis, Tennessee, and left a large estate.

Of the four daughters, Mary married Dr. Donoho who died in Milton, N. C.; Parthenia married Hon. John M. Dick, judge of the N. C. Superior Court; Susan married a brother of Hon. Thomas Ruffin, the elder, and Madrid (Mildred?) (1817-1893) married Calvin Jones (1810-1889) a native of Person County, educated at the University of Alabama removed to Tennessee and served as Chancellor of the Western Division 1847-54.

In the will of James Williamson, his children by his second wife are listed as Mary, Parthenia, Robert, Susan, Anne, James, Alexander and Mildred. Person County Wills, Sales of Estates, and Taxables, 1831-1835, p. 321. (Manuscript in North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.)

John G. A. attended the University of North Carolina in 1813 but did not graduate.[4] In 1817 he settled some business affairs for his father in "the Town of Petersburg in the Commonwealth of Virginia."[5] Some time after this he "embarked in Mercantile business in New York."[6] He could not have remained there long because he came back to North Carolina and served in the General Assembly for three terms, 1823, 1824, and 1825.

In 1823 Williamson became known as a "Jackson and Calhoun" man when he spoke in the Assembly in favor of the Fisher Revolutions.[7] Having thus made himself eligible for whatever spoils might come his way, Williamson began his application for "a situation . . . that should be a permanent and honourable one to which there might be attached a salary and perquisites, or salary alone sufficient for a *genteel living.*"[8] His political friends, especially Bartlett Yancey, Hutchins Gordon Burton, and Romulus Mitchell Saunders, wrote letters of recommendation to the proper authorities[9] and secured for Williamson the appointment in 1826 as "Consul of the United States at La Guayra, in the Republic of Colombia."[10]

Only two men had preceded Williamson in this office: Augustine Madan, a merchant of La Guayra who served for a few days in 1800,[11] and Robert K. Lowry of Maryland, whose term lasted from 1810 to 1826.[12]

During the first eleven years that Lowry served as consul, Venezuela fought for and won her independence from Spain. Simón Bolívar, the great leader in this struggle, felt that his country could not be safe as long as her neighbors were not free

---

4 Daniel Lindsey Grant (editor), *Alumni History of the University of North Carolina* (Durham, N. C., 1924), p. 678.

5 Person County Wills, Sales of Estates & Taxables 1815-1817, p. 264. (Manuscript in North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.)

6 A contemporary, Edward J. Hale, said that Williamson "was pronounced the handsomest man in New York when he came here as a merchant . . . To a magnificent person he added as handsome and sweet a face as I ever saw on a man's shoulders." Weeks, John Gustavus Adolphus Williamson.

7 A. R. Newsome, "Debate on the Fisher Resolutions," *North Carolina Historical Review*, IV (1927), 428-470.

8 Williamson to R. M. Saunders, February 4, 1823. (Venezuela, Applications and Recommendations for Office, 1821-1828. Manuscript, National Archives, Washington, D. C.)

9 Venezuela, Applications and Recommendations for Office, 1821-1828, pages not numbered. (Manuscript, National Archives.)

10 Venezuela, Confirmations and Rejections, 1820-1832, pages not numbered. (Manuscript, National Archives.)

11 *Senate Executive Journal*, (4 vols., Washington, 1828-1887), I, 332, 333.

12 *Senate Executive Journal*, II, 207, 208.

from foreign rule. He went to New Granada (Colombia), Ecuador, and Peru and directed the revolution there. He left the *llanero*, José Antonio Páez, in charge of central Venezuela. When Williamson arrived at La Guayra, Bolívar was still in Peru (he had been absent from Venezuela for five years), and Páez and his followers were in revolt against the order established by Bolívar. They wanted Venezuela to separate from the Republic of Great Colombia (Venezuela, New Granada, Panama, and Ecuador). Williamson could not present his credentials to Bolívar's officials—they had been forced to leave the country—and he hesitated to deal with Páez because Bolívar might return to power. Actually, that is what happened. Early in 1827 Bolívar returned to Venezuela and forgave Páez for his unfaithfulness; and the excitement of revolution gave way to that of reconciliation. Every gentleman of La Guayra was invited to attend a grand banquet in the *Sala Principal de la Aduana.* Toasts were to be drunk and Williamson spent a week "concocting what he considered a certainty—namely the health of John Quincy Adams." An English naval officer who attended the banquet reported that Bolívar expressed the wish "that from the southern point of Spain to the banks of the Neva, all should be one Great Britain, under one great George." No reference was made to other countries. The Dutch consul soon forgot the incident, and the French consul "danced off his spleen"; but the Americans "bitterly felt the neglect, and, like freemen, were not slow to show it. The American consul . . . when he found that no allusion was made to his country, looked as pale as Mrs. Elizabeth Woodcock, who was found buried in the snow near Cambridge, in 1799; and directly the President rose, the whole of the free-born walked out in great dudgeon, and left us to lament their loss in the ball-room."[13]

This incident marked the beginning of Williamson's hostility for the British consul, Sir Robert Ker Porter. Sir Robert had arrived earlier in 1825. He was forty-eight years old and famous as a traveller, artist, and writer, and famous also because he was the brother of two popular novelists, Jane and Maria Porter.[14]

[13] Frederick Chamier, *The Life of a Sailor* (2 vols. New York, 1833), II, 164-165.
[14] *Dictionary of National Biography.*

Williamson felt that Sir Robert possessed "that effrontery common to all Englishmen." All through his diary he refers to him as "the old granny" or "the old woman." When Sir Robert first called to see Mrs. Williamson, John G. A. wrote:

> I have known Sir Robert for 9 years . . . he is a painter by profession and following after his adventures as an officer in the British Army in Spain in 1806, 7 & 8, as an *attaché* to the British Legation to Russia, there *painted* himself into favor, married a Russian Princess, by whom he had a daughter, travelled over some part of Russia & Georgia painted the same, left the Country, wife daughter & all returned to England and was knighted by George the fourth and then sent as Consul to Caracas . . . he has been residing here near ten years and hardly speaks enough Spanish to ask for a glass of water— . . .
>
> Sir Robert sat a considerable time in expectation I suppose of seeing Mrs. W., but fatigue, change of climate &, keep her in her own room, he therefore had to depart without this gratification.[15]

Williamson never had a good word to say for Sir Robert's liquor. One time, at a picnic at Blandin's (today the Country Club), Sir Robert furnished the sherry and "more horritical stuff was never offered to sinners to drink." Williamson added that could he have suspected such a cheat he would have sent his own which was good. On another occasion, Sir Robert gave a dinner for the French consul, "a common affair with wine strong enough to knock a horse down, and it *did it* for the young Frenchman attache to Mr. Mahalin—he drank with all & all most all with him, he took bumpers they merely siped he *got drunk* & they remained sober—when adjourned to take coffee the Frenchman never out of Paris before nor perhaps never dined with English drinking people found himself so far gone as not to be able to stand—He spewed in the Patio like a dog and the French *Chargé* took French leave and lead him home.[16] Once when Williamson called on Sir Robert, he found him "in a great funk," because his landlord had ordered him to leave his house. Williamson grimly wrote: "How the old rat would laugh if such a

---

[15] Lucas, Shirt-Sleeve Diplomat, pp. 41-43.
[16] Lucas, Shirt-Sleeve Diplomat, p. 247.

thing had fallen on me, and I of course consider myself privileged to laugh *now* at him.—"[17]

During the next few years Williamson acquired a knowledge of the commercial possibilities of Venezuela and an understanding of her political uneasiness. Páez and others feared Bolívar's monarchial ambitions. In 1829, under the leadership of Páez, Venezuela separated from Great Colombia. A constitution was framed in 1830, creating the Republic of Venezuela, and Páez was soon elected president. Bolívar died in December, 1830; and loyal followers of his tried to upset the new government. Páez, however, handled the insurrection with that skill which was to make him the chief caudillo until 1848. Williamson came to know Páez well, and his diary contains many intimate details about the man and his family.

In 1832 Williamson returned to the United States and on May 2 was married to Frances Travis of Philadelphia.[18] The next year he became a Congressional candidate in North Carolina for the district composed of Wake, Orange, and Person counties. He was an "ardent and eloquent supporter of Jackson and his policies";[19] but, as the election returns show,[20] he was defeated because he did not carry Wake County.

About this time Williamson received a rather stern letter from the Secretary of State asking for an explanation of his prolonged absence from Venezuela and requesting him to report immediately to his station.[21] Williamson returned to Venezuela alone. In a few months he wrote to the Secretary of State for permission to go to Philadelphia for his wife.[22]

Williamson discovered, when he reached home, that the United States was going to recognize the Republic of Venezuela by sending a chargé to Caracas. He immediately set to work to secure this appointment, and his North Carolina political friends again rallied successfully to his support. They did not have to put forth much effort because Jackson wanted to reward Wil-

---

17 Lucas, Shirt-Sleeve Diplomat, p. 425.
18 Records of Christ Church, Philadelphia.
19 Weeks, John Gustavus Adolphus Williamson.
20 *Star and North Carolina State Gazette* (Raleigh), August 28, 1833, p. 3.
21 Letter of Louis McLane, August 27, 1833. (Venezuela, Instructions to Consuls, Vol. V. Manuscript in National Archives.)
22 Letter of Louis McLane, February 10, 1834. (Venezuela, *Instructions to Consuls*, Vol. V. Manuscript in National Archives.

liamson for his electioneering efforts in 1833. Also, Williamson was the logical candidate for the position since he had learned Spanish and had had experience in Venezuela; and it is entirely possible that there was no other applicant for the position.

With a salary now of $4,500 per annum and an additional $4,500 with which to purchase his "outfit," Williamson set out in high spirits to take over his new duties. This time Fanny accompanied him to Venezuela. Feeling the importance of his position, Williamson determined to keep a diary from the day of his appointment "to a foreign diplomatic situation." This record he kept faithfully from that day, March 3, 1835, until his wife left him in May, 1840. He died a few weeks later in Caracas.

Williamson was a shrewd, if biased, observer of Venezuela during its formative period; therefore his diary is an important first-hand account of phases of the history of that country from 1826 until 1840,[23] a period about which there have been altogether too few satisfactory records. Many amazing persons are presented, among them: Renato Beluche, one of La Fitte's pirates; Dublin-born Daniel Florencio O'Leary, Bolívar's chief secretary José Félix Blanco, the priest who "dowsed his *casoc* and seized the sword" and later edited a great work on Venezeulan documents; Augustin Codazzi, Italian geographer; and Sam D. Forsyth, an "ambidextrous personality." A few others of a similar character are Carlos Soublette, Frederick Chamier, General Laurencio Silva, Diego and Andrés Ibarra, Lord Henry Peter Brougham, Simon Bernard, and Pedro Carujo. In addition there are famous people who are better known: Simó Bolívar, José Antonia Páez, Andrew Jackson, Martin Van Buren, Queen Victoria and her husband (whom Williamson dubbed the "rib of her ribs"), Henry Clay, Santos Michelena, and Francisco de Paula Santander. (Mention of these does not imply that Williamson assumed intimacy with all of them.)

The diary is more than a history of Venezuela; it is a commentary on world events of the time. Caracas was isolated and silent. Those days on which mail arrived were red-letter days.

---

[23] While Williamson did not begin his diary until 1835, yet he made many references to events which had occurred during the period while he was consul.

After reading the long awaited papers, Williamson would write in the diary his opinion of the events about which he had been reading. Vivid contemporary accounts are given of such happenings as rumors of war with France over her failure to pay American spoliation claims, the blockade of Mexico by the French, mob action in Philadelphia because of agitation by abolitionists, the consequences of abolition in the South, steamships making the westward passage of the Atlantic, the coronation and marriage of Queen Victoria, Britain's attempts to end the slave traffic and conflicting policies in the West Indies, the end of the National Bank, Henry Clay's "white-wash" presidential activities, the Canadian-Maine boundary question, Canadian border clashes, French and English policy toward the United States, British aggressions in China and conflicts with Russia in Afghanistan and India, and British and French attempts to keep Russia out of the eastern Mediterranean.

One could wish that Williamson had made his diary more personal than it is; yet there are many indications of tragedy and humor, especially in Williamson's relations with his wife and with Sir Robert Ker Porter.

Mrs. Williamson was unhappy in Caracas and apparently made no attempt to adjust herself to its "dull routine of unsociable existence." At first Williamson tried to stimulate social gatherings at the different homes, but jealousy and gossip among the women threatened to result in "pistols and coffee for Two" of the most vigorous females, so such parties were discontinued. They could not explore the country, for the only means of travel was by mule or horseback and Fanny was a "great coward to ride." Sometimes John G. A. walked with his wife through various sections of the city. On All Saints Day, November 1, 1835, they went to several churches and then to the Cathedral, which they entered "arm in arm, and after having advanced to the lower part through the intricate mass of kneeling devotees on small carpets for the Churches in this good Catholic country have no seats but here and there a Confessional Chair, we were approached by a vulgar looking puppy, addressing me and telling me I should not come into the church *arm & arm* with my wife. I asked the fellow by what right he had to criticise me upon that

subject—who are you I demanded to all of which he could not or did not make any reply, but continued his protestation of this being a Christian Church & a holy place & & & to all of which I simply replied *vaya usted con Dios*—after a turn or two left the Church."[24]

Fanny became ill and "complaining," so that Williamson had to call in Doctor Lacombe who declared the sickness to be "spasmodic affection of the womb." He prescribed "magnesium, castile soap, in powders, to be taken every two hours until the pain is removed, and a fraction of Camphor & sweet oil & perhaps a grain or two of opium." Williamson thought that there was a great deal of *"charlatanism"* in the doctor.[25]

When Fanny was better, Williamson tried to please her with a large masquerade party. "On the 14 [February, 1840], sent out cards of invitation for a ball on the 27, *disfraz* or fancy—the evening proved fine, our company large say some 55 ladies & 70 or 80 Gentlemen. It went off very well, but has cost me more than any two Balls I have ever given, at least 400$—a *small hole into* a charge d'affairres salary—."[26]

Williamson's efforts were wasted. When the Brig *Caracas* made a very "expeditious passage" and arrived some ten days earlier than anticipated, Mrs. Williamson determined to return to Philadelphia in it. Williamson wrote: "My wife I regret to perceive has a great disposition to return in her, what can I say to it when she seems so discontented here, my feelings say stay, but I must remain quiet, neither to insist nor deny, and when she determines be governed by it.[27] Fanny sailed north within a few days.

This timid, self-centered woman who had not the "philosophy" to endure Caracas, found neither security nor happiness in Philadelphia. She developed a great fear of being buried alive and ordered in her will that after death her body was to be kept one week "but not in Ice—to be opened and embalmed, and afterwards interred, but not in a Metal Coffin—in a Vault at Laurel Hill Cemetery. . . ."[28]

---

[24] Lucas, Shirt-Sleeve Diplomat, p. 126.
[25] Lucas, Shirt-Sleeve Diplomat, pp. 282-283.
[26] Lucas, Shirt-Sleeve Diplomat, p. 266.
[27] Lucas, Shirt-Sleeve Diplomat, p. 497.
[28] Will no. 361 (September 5, 1857). (Register of Wills, Philadelphia City Hall.)

Mrs. Williamson, because of her fancied or real illness, had failed to percieve her husband's critical condition. Williamson frequently recorded in the diary that his health was not good. He had "occasional twitching about the region of the liver," and "a shooting pain from the interior of my right breast to the shoulder blade of my right arm." On more than one occasion he stated that he had been unwell for several days, "a heavy, dull inactive state of the system and frequently producing a vertigo state of the head." Sometimes Williamson called in Dr. Lacombe, but more often he treated himself by "encouraging puking," or by having recourse to the "blue pill system."

The last entry in the diary is:

> I feel much irritation in my right side, great pain in my shoulder & blade—evident symptoms I fear of diseased or at least effected liver—
>
> No news—the mail from the South brings nothing—The Caracas in which my wife sails, will leave LaGuayra I learn on Saturday, I suppose sunday next—

Williamson died on August 7, 1840.[29] Sir Robert Ker Porter was the one to whom he turned as he closed his earthy affairs—in spite of his dislike for the British consul, Sir Robert looked after Williamson during his last illness and consented "not only as a Friend but as a colleague" to take charge of the archives of the United States legation.[30] The old Englishman made a careful report both to London and to Washington. He arranged for a stately and ceremonious funeral, and Williamson was buried in the English cemetery. Sir Robert built a chapel there "at his sole Expense," then he left Caracas in 1841 and died the following year. The cemetery was neglected and rank grass grew so tall that it was impossible to see the graves. Soon the whole place was covered with ant-hills several feet high.[31]

Unaware of the ant-hills or the chapel, John Gustavus Adolphus Williamson lies undisturbed and forgotten "in a foreign situation."

---

[29] Ker Porter's letter to the State Department, August 9, 1840. (File Microcopy 79, roll 2, National Archives.)

[30] Ker Porter's letter to the State Department, August 9, 1840. (File Microcopy 79, roll 2, National Archives.)

[31] Edward B. Eastwick, *Venezuela: or Sketches of Life in a South American Republic* (London, 1868), p. 52.

JOURNAL OF THE SURRY COUNTY (N.C.) AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY

Edited by NANNIE MAY TILLEY

The records of an agricultural society which from 1819 to 1823 flourished in a semi-mountainous area in a remote section of North Carolina offer surprising indications of intellectual stirring. True, the membership of the society was not large; but, all factors considered, the serious determination of the leaders maintained the organization for a surprisingly long period, although enthusiasm waned after 1821. The Journal of the Surry County Agricultural Society, 1819-1823,[1] now published for the first time, found its way to and long remained among the papers of David S. Reid, governor of North Carolina from 1851 to 1854.[2]

It has been stated merely as a fact, without any analysis whatever, that the "years immediately following the War of 1812 witnessed a great awakening of interest in agricultural societies" in the South.[3] Though the formation of the Surry County Agricultural Society presents no exception to that statement, the detailed record of its activities may possibly suggest some explanation for the new interest. Nor was Surry County alone in North Carolina in organizing an agricultural society during the years immediately following the War of 1812. There were at least seventeen others—in Beaufort, Duplin, Edgecombe, Halifax, Cumberland, Wake, Robeson, and Northampton counties in the eastern portion of the state, and, in the western section, in Guilford, Chatham, Lincoln, Rowan, Orange, Mecklenburg, Rutherford, Stokes, and Richmond. Apparently tied in with these local societies was a State Agricultural Society, also organized in 1819. Although little is known of the activities of this latter society, it apparently was responsible

[1] Preserved in the library of Duke University.

[2] Since he was only six years of age in 1819, Reid had no part in the Society. J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, "David Settle Reid," *Dictionary of American Biography*, XV, 476.

[3] Lewis C. Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860*. (2 vols., Washington, 1933), II, 784. After 1815 the same interest was equally as marked in the northern states, although for that area students of agricultural history have attributed the movement to the earnest work of Elkanah Watson, to the policy of state aid for agricultural societies, and to the great variety of reforms then being agitated. P. W. Bidwell and J. I. Falconer, *History of Agriculture in the Northern United States, 1620-1860* (Washington, 1925), pp. 187-190. Watson's work undoubtedly fell on sympathetic ground, and state aid did not come without pressure from farmers. Of the reasons given, it therefore follows that the spirit of reform must furnish the fundamental explanation.

for the creation of the Agricultural Fund of 1822, designed in part for the support of local agricultural societies. Connected with the State Society also was the establishment of a State Board of Agriculture to be composed of delegates from the county societies. Moreover, by the act of 1822, each county society was to receive a sum from the state equivalent to the amount raised locally. Included in the scheme there was not only a provision to encourage the offering of premiums for agricultural products but also a plan to have the winners write detailed accounts of their procedure. From these accounts the State Board of Agriculture was to select the better ones to be included in a volume and, at the expense of the state, have 1,500 copies printed to be distributed through the local societies "to the good people of the State." [4] The journal printed here shows perhaps more of the details connected with the statewide movement for agricultural reform than has heretofore been generally known. In addition it also indicates that the local societies in some cases perhaps antedated the State Agricultual Society.

Various writers have suggested more or less indirectly that the timing of movements for agricultural reform has been interlocked with depressions in prices, westward migration, soil depletion, and effects of the scientific awakening of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Before attempting to view the Surry County Agricultural Society in the light of these factors, it is perhaps advisable briefly to examine conditions in North Carolina, at that time one of the most backward states of the Union, and in Surry, which was certainly among the least favored of all the counties of that backward state.

It is a fact that North Carolina by 1819 had become rightfully known as the most unprogressive state of the Union, often being dubbed the "Rip Van Winkle state." Its legislature had done little to promote the cause of education, and illiteracy prevailed

---

[4] W. K. Boyd, *The Federal Period, 1783-1860* (vol. II of a *History of North Carolina*, Chicago and New York, 1919), pp. 100-101; *Laws of North Carolina*, 1821, p. 63; 1822, p. 62; *Acts of General Assembly of North Carolina*, 1824, p. 90; 1825, pp. 73, 86; *American Farmer*, V (Dec. 5, 1823), p. 293. See *Laws of North Carolina*, 1822, pp. 18-20, for the act to promote agriculture by establishing an Agricultural Fund and a State Board of Agriculture. Present at the first state-wide meetings to result from the act of 1822 were delegates from Orange, Rowan, Lincoln, Edgecombe, Richmond, Duplin, and Robeson counties. *American Farmer*, V (Dec. 5, 1823), p. 293.

in alarming proportions. The state was predominantly agricultural, with few or no markets and public roads. Not only were the existing roads wretched, but the sand-choked inlets and small rivers of the coastal area and the shallow streams of the piedmont offered little in the way of natural aids for transportation. Such natural aids as there were assisted only the large landholders who lived east of Raleigh. With few industries and fewer home markets, the state was constantly drained of working capital, and westward migration furnished the chief escape from such intolerable conditions. It has been estimated that North Carolina lost one-third of its population from 1815 to 1850. Perhaps the chief cause for this deplorable situation lay in the undemocratic political conditions existing in the state. Suffrage and office-holding were based on property qualifications without regard to population. In the western sector of the state population increased far more rapidly than in the east. Furthermore, land taxes throughout the state were levied on the basis of acreage, notwithstanding the greater fertility of soil in the eastern area. In the west streams were better adapted to industry than to commerce, but industrial enterprises demanded transportation facilities. The east, with a greater representation in the legislature, controlled the government, and all efforts to secure an *ad valorem* tax met defeat from votes based on sectional interest. It was therefore natural that the west came to demand schools, internal improvements, and constitutional reform.[5] In the Journal of the Surry County Agricultural Society this policy is virtually as clear as interest in agriculture.

Surry County perhaps suffered more from domination of the east than any other area, as a brief survey of its history and resources will indicate. Established in 1770 and situated in the northwestern corner of the state on the eastern slope of the Blue Ridge Mountains, Surry lay approximately 250 miles from the nearest seaport. Though sparsely settled, it became the scene of violent strife during the Revolutionary period, with the num-

---

[5] W. K. Boyd, *The Federal Period*, pp. 83-104; R. D. W. Connor, *North Carolina: Rebuilding an Ancient Commonwealth, 1584-1925* (4 vols., Chicago and New York, 1928-1929), I, 438-474.

ber of loyalists and patriots about evenly balanced.[6] The scant acreage of valuable land lay in narrow strips along small rivers and creeks, and by the account of one writer in 1857, it was "a poor man's country" in which rigid economy and hard labor prevailed. Observations made eighty years later from the vantage point of scientific training do not include many facts to offset this judgment of 1857 save in transportation facilities, a public school system, and small industries.[7]

Social conditions prevailing in Surry County from 1819 to 1823 were naturally rooted in the economic background. An unknown observer, evidently compiling material for a gazeteer, wrote in 1810 of the county's "far removal from market," of its iron ore, "from which larger profits may be raised," and of its lack of "schools of note, bridges & other public buildings." He confessed further that the inhabitants of Surry were "behind some of their neighbors." On the credit side, however, he noted "a large settlement of Quakers whose habits & good morals are generally known" and called attention to fertile lands on the Yadkin River.[8] Writing specifically of the period from 1820 to 1829, the Reverend Harden E. Taliaferro, doubtless closely related to John and Charles Taliaferro of the society, declared of the western area of Surry and inferentially of the entire county that a large proportion of the population was wholly uneducated and that "the rest of them had but a rude and imperfect rudimental education." Rifles, shot pouches, butcher knives, and spirits, less stimulating than stunning, played a far more important rôle in their lives than education, which, if secured at all, was to be had in "a log-pole school house." [9] Furthermore, it was stated that the adult population in Surry was in 1850 perhaps the poorest educated of any county in the United States, with one-third of the males and more than one-half of the females unable to read

---

[6] J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, "Jesse Franklin," *Dictionary of American Biography*, VI 600; J. G. Hollingsworth, *History of Surry County* (Mt. Airy, N. C., 1935), pp. 89-106; [H. E. Taliaferro], *Fisher's River (North Carolina) Scenes and Characters* (New York, 1859), p. 17.

[7] [Taliaferro], *Fisher's River (North Carolina) Scenes and Characters*, pp. 17-19; W. A. Davis and E. F. Goldston, *Soil Survey of Surry County, North Carolina* (United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Chemistry and Soils, Series 1932, no. 20, Washington, 1937), *passim*.

[8] A. R. Newsome, editor, "Twelve North Carolina Counties in 1810-11," *North Carolina Historical Review*, VI (1929), 303.

[9] *Fisher's River (North Carolina) Scenes and Characters*, pp. 13, 17-18.

and write. According to the same writer, few inhabitants of Surry owned slaves or had ever traveled outside the county.[10] Census records support this statement in part. In 1830, however, slightly more than 11 per cent of the heads of families owned one or more slaves, while 13.4 per cent of the total population was slave.[11]

Under such circumstances it might readily be assumed that the membership of the Surry County Agricultural Society centered in one small and better favored neighborhood. Although the majority undoubtedly lived in the eastern sector of the county, there is evidence that in a greater or lesser degree the entire county was represented in the society's membership. According to the list of taxables for 1816, eight members owned property in Captain John Zachary's district, six in Captain Micajah Forkner's, four in Captain William Potter's, three in Captain Solomon Graves', two in Captain Thomas W. Poindexter's, one in Captain Peter Dowel's, one in Captain Joel Underwood's, and four in another district for which no collector was recorded. Two years later fifteen of the members were listed as property owners in Captain Zachary's district, five in Captain William Pierce's, three in Captain Underwood's, two in Captain William Potter's, one in Captain Stephen Potter's, one in Captain Ambrose J. Gregory's, and one in Captain James Hudspeth's.[12] Among the listed taxables in the membership of the Society there was, of course, some overlapping. In 1818, however, they owned land on Ararat, Yadkin, and Fisher's rivers and on several creeks including Bull Run, Forkner's, Tom's, Lovern's, Stewart's, Paul's, and Moore's Fork of Stewart's Creek. According to deed books, various members from 1819

---

[10] A. H. Guernsey, "Surry County, North Carolina," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, XXV (July, 1862), 178. Guernsey, whose article was based on census reports and [Taliaferro's] *Fisher's River (North Carolina) Scenes and Characters*, asserted that the latter's pseudonym, "Skitt," veiled the name of one of the first families of Virginia.

[11] From figures based on original manuscript returns. Census of 1830, Surry County, N. C., Population Schedule, pp. 83-159 (microfilm copy in State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh).

[12] An Alphabetical List of Taxables in Surry County, 1816, 1818, clerk's office, Surry County Courthouse, Dobson, N. C.

to 1830 owned land and lived on these same streams as well as on Deep Creek, Benson's Creek, and Archer's Creek, and at Ward's Gap on Ararat River.[13] While none of these records furnish irrefutable proof that membership of the society was county-wide, they do indicate more than a neighborhood gathering.

Regardless of the geographical location of its members, the society was undoubtedly organized during the darkest days of the panic of 1818-1819. Although any such organization would naturally be based on a desire to improve agricultural products and thereby increase incomes, the journal itself includes few statements even indirectly indicative of concern over depressed prices. Meshack Franklin's discourse of October 30, 1819, on "the deplorable defalcation of Our present farming system," pertained rather to the necessity for improving farming methods. The profit motive was naturally the basis for discussions involving agriculture as opposed to internal commerce, manufacturing rather than exporting raw materials, raising stock in preference to selling grain, and dairying instead of routine farming. Interest in a cash crop perhaps emerged most distinctly in the determination to cultivate tobacco more extensively even at a time when prices were deplorably low, a determination apparently not translated into action.[14] Lack of markets and of transportation facilities, and a self-sufficient economy may well have rendered effects of the panic relatively unimportant in Surry. It is also evident that plans for organizing the society had been brewing before the effects of the panic appeared.

Westward migration has been cited as a ruinous factor for agriculture in Surry from the Revolution to the War of 1812.

---

[13] Surry County Deed Books, J, 218-220; O, 453-454; P, 262-263; R, 122, 244, 248; S. 16; U. 143-144; Y, 290, in office of register of deeds, Surry County courthouse, Dobson, N. C. Among the principal Whig families of northwestern Surry during the Revolution were the Franklins, Taliaferros, and McCraws. E. W. Caruthers, *Interesting Revolutionary Incidents: and Sketches of Character, chiefly in the "Old North State"* (second series, Philadelphia, 1856), p. 198. Elizabeth McCraw, wife of the active Whig Jacob McCraw, however, spent her last days in the neighborhood of Mt. Airy (Caruthers, *Sketches*, p. 282) in the northeastern portion of the county. William Easley also lived in the western portion of the county. [Taliaferro], *Fisher's River (North Carolina) Scenes and Characters*, p. 141. It would appear that the seven members of the society who were listed as "Transient" came from the extreme northwestern portion of the county.

[14] Tobacco prices began to drop in November, 1818, and except briefly in 1820 declined steadily until 1825. J. C. Robert, *The Tobacco Kingdom: Plantation, Market, and Factory in Virginia and North Carolina, 1800-1860* (Durham, 1938), pp. 139-156.

In an analysis of census figures by age groups the same writer concludes that, in later years, the predominance of women in the county indicated a heavy migration of males westward.[15] Yet the total population figures listed below show consistent growth and at the same time no great variation in the total number of males and females. Westward migration, therefore, can hardly be cited as a major factor for agricultural decline. It is indeed doubtful that agriculture before 1819 had advanced to a status of sufficient improvement to warrant a statement that it had declined at all.

POPULATION OF SURRY COUNTY [16]

	Whites-Male	Whites-Female	Slaves	Free Negroes	Total
1790	3,293	3,188	698	17	7,196
1800	4,389	4,033	1,005	21	9,448
1810	3,991	4,752	1,469	84	10,296
1820	5,435	5,547	1,365	112	12,459
1830	6,284	6,281	1,945	185	14,695
1840	6,366	6,727	1,778	208	15,079
1850	7,925	8,234	2,000	284	18,443
1860	8,930	9,126	2,682	356	21,094

Part of the increase from 1790 to 1800 must be credited to the annexation of a small strip of land from Wilkes County—the western portion of the area drained by Mitchell and Fisher's rivers.[17] Westward migration no doubt explains the scant increase in white population from 1800 to 1810. That the slave population fluctuated in more erratic fashion, however, is perhaps in a measure explained by the flourishing slave trade which centered in Surry County.[18]

Reference by members of the society to methods of soil im-

---

[15] Hollingsworth, *History of Surry County*, pp. 166-167, 202.

[16] Based on Census figures. Yadkin County, created from Surry in 1850, was not established as a political unit until 1851. In order to furnish consistent comparisons, the figures for 1860 have been combined for the two counties.

[17] Hollingsworth, in his *History of Surry County*, p. 111, states that this annexation in 1792 confused the historian, Wheeler, causing him to err in stating that Jesse Franklin, governor of North Carolina, 1820-1821, moved from Wilkes to Surry in 1791. The error has been copied. W. R. Edmonds, "Sketch of Jesse Franklin," *University of North Carolina Magazine*, n. s., XXVII (Mar. 1911), 13-14; Hamilton, "Jesse Franklin," *Dictionary of American Biography*, VI, 600.

[18] The Jarratt-Glen Papers (Duke University Library) contains ample evidence on this point. Kit Robbins, a notorious slave driver, also carried on his operations nearby. Raleigh *News and Observer*, July 26, 1925.

provement renders that issue clear-cut but by no means dominant. There were Meshack Franklin's disturbance over "the deplorable defalcation of Our present farming system," the reading of John Taylor's recommendations for reclaiming exhausted farm lands, Captain John Zachary's account of the restoration of his father's land by stopping washes and filling gullies, the best methods of applying manures, eagerness of members to obtain agricultural literature, and the general conviction that burning wood land was to be avoided because of consequent destruction of soil fertility. Less direct but equally as significant in the concern for soil improvement was Solomon Graves's statement in favor of contour-plowing.

Perhaps more striking than any of these items was the interest of the group in education, in other reforms then agitating the thinking of the nation, in state constitutional reform, and in making the organization function to improve the status of society in general. Numerous are the indications that these men were thinking seriously along many lines. Their concern for internal improvements and domestic manufacture may well have been imbedded in considerations which also explain the not inconsiderable strength of the Whig party in Surry County during later years.

The nature of the various subjects brought before the members leads to a questioning of the motives which caused this group of small farmers [19] to organize the Surry County Agricultural Society. Rather more strongly than in depressed prices, westward migration, or soil depletion, the answer seems to lie in the stirring of the human mind, perhaps as a belated result of the scientific awakening of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Certainly it would be difficult to explain on any other basis the timing of the initiation of the early agricultural socie-

---

[19] In the original manuscript returns, Census of 1830, Surry County, N. C., Population Schedule, pp. 83-159, seventeen members of the Society are listed with the following numbers of slaves: Meshack Franklin 40, Matthew Davis 16, Golihew Moore 13, Mordecai Fleming 13, Charles Taliaferro 11, Micajah Forkner 9, John Whitlock 9, Solomon Graves 9, Dabney Walker 8, Jonathan Roberts 8, John Martin 7, John Davis 6, James Martin 5, Evan Davis 0, Ruel Jackson 0, John Sparger 0, John Zachary 0, In view of the youth of these slaves in 1830, it is doubtful whether any member except Meshack Franklin owned any slaves in 1819.

ties of Europe and the United States.[20] Why, then, despite the scientific awakening, should such a society have been organized as early as 1819 in a remote and poverty-stricken area? Perhaps it was in some measure due to the enlarged vision of those who had just returned from the campaigns of the War of 1812. John Whitlock, the first president and a zealous member, had served as a private in the first Surry regiment. Four other founding and active members of the society, James Martin, the first treasurer, Mordecai Fleming, Matthew Davis, and John Martin, had also served as privates in Surry regiments, and William McCraw, the first to be admitted after organization, had been captain of a company in the first Surry regiment.[21] It was Meshack Franklin, however, perhaps the best educated man of the county and long a member of Congress,[22] who seemed to furnish the drive and to bring in outside ideas. It was Franklin who presented the first topics of discussion and suggested the purchase of one dozen copies of the *Pennsylvania Farmer* and four copies of John Taylor's *Arator*. It was Franklin also who first read to the group from his own copy of the *Arator*. But when the volumes arrived, "all were eagerly grasped by the hands of the members." Franklin's ideas indeed fell on ready ground. The common man was rising, and seldom do records of the past contain more graphic illustrations of that ferment than the Journal of the Surry County Agricultural Society, which is reproduced below *verbatim et literatim*.

JOURNAL OF THE SURRY COUNTY (N. C.) AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY, SEPT. 25, 1819-AUG. 23, 1823

The Constitution of the Agricultural Society of Surry County for the promotion of usefull knowledge &c.

We the Subscribers having formed ourselves into a Social capacity, which shall be known and called by the name of the Agricultural Society of Surry County for the promotion of usefull knowledge, do mu-

---

20 See, for example, the lists of early agricultural societies and the dates of their formation in Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860*, pp. 782-788; A. C. True, *A History of Agricultural Education in the United States, 1785-1925* (United States Department of Agriculture, Miscellaneous Publication no. 36, Washington, 1929), pp. 6-17.

21 Hollingsworth, *History of Surry County*, pp. 214-217.

22 [Taliaferro], *Fisher's River (North Carolina) Scenes and Characters*, pp. 17-18; *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927* (Washington, 1928), p. 987.

tually agree and pledge our honour to each Other, That We will Submit with due subordination to all such laws and regulations as may from time to time be adopted by the Society for the government thereof.

Subscribers names.[23]

1. S. Graves
2. Hugh Boothe. Absconded
3. Mordecai Fleming
4. William Slade
5. Jacob A. MCraw
6. John Martin
7. James Martin
8. John Sparger
9. Randsom Dudly
10. Thomas Forkner
11. Alexander Dodson
12. Nathaniel Bryson Removd.
13. Jas. W. MCraw. Transient member
14. Jno. Taliaferro. Removed
15. Samuel Gordon
16. Martin Cloud
17. John Whitlock
18. John A. Hughes. Transient M:
19. John Talbert. Removed
20. Dabney Walker
21. John Zachary
22. Jonathan Roberts
23. Golihew Moore
24. Matthew Davis Senr.
25. Jas. MCraw
26. Wm. MCraw
27. A. J. Gregory (dead)
28. Evan Davis
29. J. Franklin Transient member dead
30. Ruel Jackson (expelled)
31. C. Taliaferro
32. William Easley Transient Member
33. Bartlett Hammock Dead
34. Micajah Forkner
35. John Davis
36. Robt. Hammock

The names of Transient members

1. Meshack Franklin
   Benjamin Franklin
   Jas. Franklin—(removed.)

We The members of The Agricultural society of Surry county for the promotion of usefull knowledge &c. for the proper government of ourselves and the preservation of our Society have framed and adopted The following Constitution and Rules of order.

Viz.

Article 1st. The Society Shall Consist of the following officers, To Wit, A president, Secretary and Treasurer who Shall be chosen by ballot and hold their offices during the term of twelve months.

---

[23] It would appear that the Franklin family and its connections constituted a large block of the Society's membership. The Franklins and Taliaferros were connected by marriage; William Slade and Solomon Graves each married a daughter of Governor Jesse Franklin; James Franklin was evidently his son; and Benjamin Franklin, the nephew of Meshack and Jesse Franklin, also married a daughter of Governor Jesse Franklin. E. J. and H. G. Cleveland, *The Genealogy of the Cleveland and Cleaveland Families* (3 vols., Hartford, 1899), III, 2059, 2079, 2107-2110.

Article 2:nd As Soon as the president is chosen he Shall take the chair and require Order, which he Shall preserve while in Office.

Section 1: It Shall be his duty to Call an extra meeting of the members in Cases of emergency.

Section 2nd. It Shall be his duty likewise when any person is admitted a member of the Society to address him extempore, on the propriety of good Order, and regularity. He Shall rise to put a question, but may State it Sitting.

Section 3rd. He Shall vote only in Cases of a tie, then he shall give a Casting Vote.

Article 3.rd It Shall be the duty of the Secretary as soon as the President is Seated and Order Observed to Call Over the names of the members. And at the Close of the meeting Call Over their names again, and mark down the Absentees; whom he shall report to the Society at the next meeting.

Section 1. It Shall be his duty to preserve the papers and to procure a book at the expense of the Society in which he shall transcribe the proceedings thereof in a legible manner.

Article 4:th The Society shall appoint monthly a Committee of the members to Select the querries to be discussed at the next meeting.

Article 5th. No person Shall be admitted a member of this Society Without being regularly proposed, and meeting the Concurrence of two thirds of the members present.—When thus admitted, the President Shall nominate two members of the Society to introduce him and Conduct him to the Secretary's table, where he Shall Subscribe his name: The President Shall then address him extempore, in appropriate terms; from thence he Shall be Conducted to a Seat.

Article 6th. No member of this Society to be expelled without the Concurrence of three fourths of the members present.

Article 7th. When a member is accused of a misdemeanor he Shall be regularly impeached, and be intitled to a fair and impartial trial, which Shall be Conducted in the following manner Viz. The articles of impeachment Shall be handed to the Secretary, who shall inform the President that Such articles are upon his table: upon which information the President shall request the accused to retire: at the Succeeding meeting of the Society the accused shall have notice to attend the Society for the purpose of his trial.

Section 1: Every member impeached as by this Constitution directed shall have the liberty of Speaking at least twice in his own defense.

Article 8th. The Concurrence of two thirds of the members present Shall be necessary to alter any Article of this Constitution: But a Majority Shall have power to adopt or alter any rules or regulations of this Society. —

Article 9th. A majority of the members Shall Constitute a quorum

to do business: but a manority [*sic*] may meet from time to time and take an account of absent members.

Rules of Order for the government of the agricultural Society of Surry County for the promotion of useful Knowledge &c.

1. As Soon as the President is seated and Order Observed The Secretary Shall Call Over The Names of The Members and mark down the absentees.
2. The Secretary Shall at each meeting of The Society read to the house the proceedings of the preceding meeting.
3. A Member Shall rise from his Seat and address himself respectfully to the president before he shall be allowed to Speak.
4: No member shall be allowed to speak more than Three times on the same subject Without permission of The Society.
5. If any two members Shall rise at the Same time, it Shall be determined by the president who shall Speak first.
6. No one Shall pass between the person speaking and the president.
7. All laughing at the performance of the speakers is to be entirely exploded, neither Shall any be permitted to Speak above a whisper; except in his public address.
8. No member Shall leave the house without permission of The president.
9. No motion shall be put to the house without first being Seconded and when Seconded it Shall be determined by the majority of yeas or nays.
10. In voting for officers of the The Society each member shall deliver his ticket to the Secretary, who shall after all the members have Come forward, proceed to Count out the tickets and make a report who are elected to the Several offices for which they were nominated.
11. When a member recommends any person wishing to become a member of the Society, he Shall Specify in his recommendation the advantages of Such a person becoming a member.
12. When the president or Secretary is absent at any meeting of the Society, it Shall be the duty of the Society to appoint others protempore.
13. Every regular member of the Society who is not present when the House is formed and does [not] answer to his name Shall render reasons for being absent at the next meeting of the Society.
14. If any member Shall behave disorderly, while in The Society, it Shall be in The power of The Society to punish him according to the nature of the offence, by fine Suspension or expulsion: Decency of Speech Shall be Observed, and all personal reflections shall be Carefully avoided.
15. At every meeting of the Society, each member Shall produce in writing a querry on Some Subject, which Shall be handed to the Sec-

retary, from which, one or more Shall be Chosen by the Committee of examination of querries, to be discussed at the next meeting.

16. Each member of the Society shall meet at Forkner's Meeting House at twelve o-clock on the fourth Saturday in October next, fourth Saturday in every month thereafter, in Order to proceed to business.

17. The time of taking the Votes of the Society on any question Shall be left to the discretion of the majority of the members present.

Journal of the proceedings of The Agricultural Society, for the promotion of usefull knowledge &c—

At a meeting of the members of the Agricultural Society of Surry County for the promotion of usefull knowledge &c begun and held at Forkners meeting-house on the 25th. day of September A.D. 1819. a majority being present.

On motion of Mr. M: Franklin. John Whitlock Esq a member of The Society, was called upon to preside at this meeting as chairman. and Mr. S. Graves to act as Secretary. pro. tem.

Being thus organized, Mr. S. Graves who had been previously appointed for That purpose, presented to The house a Constitution, and certain rules of order for the government of the Society, which with some amendments and alterations were adopted. Whereupon The house proceeded to the election of the several officers of the Society according to the provisions of the Constitution.

On motion of Mr. S. Graves John Whitlock Esqr. was unanimously Chosen as President of The Society.

On motion of Mr. M: Franklin Mr. W. Slade was duly elected Secretary.

On motion of Mr. Jas. MCraw, Mr. Jas. Martin was duly elected Treasurer of the Society.

On motion of Mr. Jas. MCraw Mr. M: Fleming and Mr. S. Graves were chosen as a committee to select suitable queries to be discussed at each Succeeding Meeting of the Society.

On motion of Mr. M. Franklin The following queries were made choice of by The Society to be discussed at The next meeting Viz.

What season of the Year is most advantageous for the fallowing of our lands for a Corn Crop; and which the most economical animal for such purpose.

The house then adjourned to Convene again on the last Saturday in October following at Forkners meeting house.

John Whitlock chairman pro. tem.
S. Graves Secry. pro. tem.

Forkner's meeting-house October 30th. 1819.

This being the day and place, for the meeting of the agricultural Society of Surry County for the promotion of useful Knowledge &c.

The President being seated the Secy. proceeded to Call over the names of the members: and mark down the absentees. (To Wit). John Sparger, Nath[l]. Bryson, Jas. W. MCraw, Jno. Taliferrio, Sam[l] Gordon, Martin Cloud, Jn°. A. Hughs, Dabney Walker and Jas. MCraw.

As M[r]. Franklin had proposed the querries for discussion at this meeting, he readily arose and gave much light on their great importance; explicitly depicting the deplorable defalcation of Our present farming system: and urging the necessity of Our immediately endeavoring to alter Our Course: Shewing the inestimable advantages of fallowing Our lands earlier than we have hitherto done: thinking the month of Nov[r]. the proper time for doing it. And mentioning the Horse, the Ox and the mule as animals of drudgery;—Seemed rather to think that the Ox would be the most economical animal to be used among us in fallowing.—M[r]. Davis, M[r]. Boothe and M[r]. Graves all Spoke in opposition to M[r]. Franklin: each thinking it would be better to fallow earlier than the time he mentioned; and giving the preference decidedly in favor of the horse for Such purpose.

M[r]. Davis moved that the Sense of the house be taken on the querries. M[r]. Franklin moved that the house first decide the time of fallowing, nominating the month of November.—decided in the negative. —M[r]. Boothe nominated the month of September as the most proper time. Carried 8 to 7:

M[r]. Franklin moved that the House decide which is the most economical animal for fallowing, the mule, Ox or Horse: the preference was given in favor of the ox.

M[r]. Graves recommended W[m]. MCraw Esq[r]. as a person Worthy of being admitted a member of this Society: and requested that the sense of the House decide whether he be in or not: Which unanimously admitted him as a brother of their body: The president nominated M[r]. Franklin and M[r]. Boothe to conduct him to the Secretary's table, where he subscribed his name.

M[r]. Franklin moved that the Secretary be instructed to procure a dozen Copies of the "Pennsylvania Farmer." and four "Taylor's araters" for the use of the Society. And that each member of the Society pay to The Treasurer at next meeting fifty Cents, Out of which he pay to the Secretary Such Sum as may be ascertained he has necessarily expended for the use of the Society.

M[r]. Graves recommended Cap[t]. A. J. Grigory & M[r]. Evan Davis as persons whom he tho[t]. might become useful members of the Society: and moved that the Sense of the House decide whether they be admitted or not: which was unanimous in the affirmative. The president nominated M[r]. Franklin and M[r]. Boothe to Conduct them to the Sec[y]'s table, where they Subscribed their names.

M[r]. Franklin again resumed his motion "that the Sec[y] be instructed

to procure a dozen Copies of the Pennsylvania Farmer and four Taylor's araters: And that each member of the Society pay to the Treasurer at next meeting fifty Cents Out of which he pay to the Secretary such sum as may be ascertained he has necessarily expended for the use of the Society.—Carried in the affirmative.

The Secretary was requested to Call Over the names of the members and receive their querries. Which was done and the querries delivered to the examining Committee appointed for that purpose: Who chose the following Viz. 1. Which the most destructive to the human family, the Sword or Spirituous liquors. 2. Which tends most to the Wealth and true interest of a Country, agriculture or internal Commerce. 3rd. which is the most happy the illiterate or learned.— Mr. Franklin moved that the Committee be instructed by the House to select Some, one, two or more querries for discussion at the Same time: which was Carried, and the Committee Chose these querries in addition Viz. 1 Which is the most proper time to plant our Corn. 2. Which is the best way to reclaim exhausted farm lands.

Mr. Franklin nominated Wm. MCraw Esqr. and Mr. Jas. Martin as two of the Committee to examine at next meeting the querries for discussion the the Succeeding meeting.—Wm. Slade nominated Mr. Moore as the Other one of the Committee: Who were all three unanimously Chosen.

The President Suggested to the house the propriety of adjourning to Some other place where the benefit of fire might be enjoyed at the next meeting. Mr. Boothe's School-house was named as a suitable place, provided it underwent by that time the repairs that were intended to be bestowed upon it. Capt. Zachary thot. it probable that it would by that time undergo those repairs, and very kindly tendered the use of his house. The question was then taken "Shall the next meeting be at Capt. Zacharys or at this place." decided in favor of Capt. Zachary's.

The House then adjourned, to meet at Capt. Zachary's on the fourth Saturday in next month.

John Whitlock Presdt.
W. Slade Secy.

Capt. Zachary's: November 27th. 1819.

This being the day & place for the meeting of the Agricultural Society of Surry County for the promotion of useful Knowledge &c.

The President being Seated the Secretary proceeded to call over the names of the members and mark down the absentees (To Wit.) S. Graves, Jacob, A. MCraw, Jno. Sparger, Jas. W. MCraw, John Taliferrio, Saml. Gordan, Jno. A. Hughes, Jno. Talbert, Dabney Walker, Jona. Roberts, Jas. MCraw, Evan Davis.

M. Franklin Esqr. Courteously addressed the president, "Shall those

querries be taken and discussed in the Order they Stand, Or Shall any person take up any of them he chooses and deliver his ideas upon it.

Wm. MCraw Esqr. moved that they be taken up in Order: which was agreed to.—The 1st. querry was then read by the Secretary "which is most destructive to the human family the Sword or Spirituous liquors." —It seemed that all present felt a delicacy in taking up this important question: and it was moved that it be postponed for discussion at next meeting.—which was agreed to.

The Secretary read the 2nd querry "which tends most to the Wealth and true interest of a Country agriculture or internal Commerce."

M. Franklin Esqr. requested that the person who proposed this querry Should take it up if he was present; Said he felt much interested in it, but was not prepared to express his mind upon it: not having given it deliberation.

Mr. Fleming requested that Majr. Franklin be permitted to deliver any light he may be in poss[ess]ion of, on any question that may be discussed to day.

Mr. Boothe moved that the proposition be amended, by striking out the Word, "permitted" and inserting "requested."

Majr. Franklin said he was well pleased with so laudable an institution but begged to remain silent until near the Close of the meeting: Wishing to hear the Constitution read before he assumed the rights of a member, lest he might be entering too prematurely into business.

M. Franklin Esqr. took up the querry before the house, saying it was almost an inseperable one, but that agriculture had the preemin[en]ce; as without it there could not possibly be any Commerce.

Mr. Boothe replied to Mr. F. thinking the querry very nearly allied to itself, but that Commerce was superlatively preemine[n]t in aggrandising a nation.

Mr. Franklin Said before he gave his vote upon the Subject he wished to hear it farther explained.—Mr. Boothe moved that the Sense of the House be taken: Which was Sanctioned; He then withdrew the motion and requested that the querry be postponed for farther discussion at next meeting—which was agreed to.

The Secy. read the 3rd. querry "Which one the most happy the illiterate or the learned."—Mr. Franklin Said this was another querry that he had not given deliberation; but wished to hear it discussed by those who had.

Mr. Boothe Said he had found himself always unhappy for the want of learning, therefore he Concluded the learned were Certainly most happy.

Mr. Franklin Said he saw no way of Coming to a direct line on this Subject, Saying happiness was what all were eagerly in pursuit of,

and none ever acknowledged to have found it.—but he tho't the learned most happy.

Wm. MCraw Esqr. tho't it impossible to decide Correctly on this Subject, Saying none Could tell who was most happy but the All Wise disposer of events.

Mr. Boothe said we are americans enjoying learning & happiness in a greater degree than Other nation.

Mr. MCraw Said he thot. the gent. had left the question in extolling the advantages of an education. He again Said he thot. none Could decide Correctly but the All Wise disposer of Events.

Mr. Franklin approbated Mr. Boothe's ideas in thinking ours a happy nation; But thot. it would stagger the gentleman to produce evidence to Show that we are more Happy than the subjects of despots.

Mr. Boothe said there was groaning under despotic governments and repining under Ours. therefore ours is the most happy.

Mr. Franklin referred to the illustrious "Isaac Newton" and Said he or any other great philosopher would have Said to the peasant you are more happy than I am.

Mr. Boothe mentioned several great philosophers whom he thot. were more happy than those who were entirely destitute of information.

Wm. MCraw Esqr. moved that the house decide the question. It was taken and determined in favor of the learned by a unanimous vote.

The Secy. read the next query, "Which is the most proper time to plant Our Corn.—Mr. Franklin Said from his practical Knowledge on the Subject, he thot. it best to plant high dry lands the first week in april.

Mr. Davis said he recollected We determined on fallowing our lands in the fall, and he thot. it would be good policy to plough it again in the Spring, as we would thereby Kill One growth of Weeds; then let us plant our Corn about the first week in May.

Wm. MCraw Esqr. Said from his experience he thot. it best to plant the last week in april.—Mr. Franklin Said take the question.—there were divers opinions as to the manner of Stating it.—Mr. Jno. Martin moved that we State it thus, "Is it best to plant Our Corn the first week in april or the last week in april and first week in May." The motion was Sanctioned and the question taken. decided in favor of the latter time.—The Secy. read the next querry, "Which is the best way to reclaim exhausted farm lands".

Mr. Franklin beged leave to read a few [of] Col. Taylor's chapter's on this very important Subject, Saying it expressed his ideas better than he Could possibly deliver them.—leave was granted and he proceeded to read the essay in which Col. Taylor recommends tending land One year in Corn, the next year in Small grain and then giving

it two years rest. Mr. Franklin approbated this system in the most encomiastic terms.

Mr. Fleming thot. the ideas of Col. Taylor were good, but thot. this would be a better System of farming, to Wit, Sow Oats one year, the Second Rye and the third year plant Corn. Which with proper managemt. would improve our lands without lying out of the use of them at all and the System might be improved by Sowing Clover With Our Small grain, whereby we might reap a double Crop, if we sow proper to Save the Clover, if not, it would add So much the more towards fertilizing the Soil.

Capt. Zachary mentioned his Father's land that was thirty years ago washed into gullies as deep as the Shapes of the hills would admit of, and thay by proper management in Stoping the Washes & filling up the gullies it was so reclaimed that it produced well.

On motion the question was taken, "Which method would best reclaim our lands Col Taylor's or Mr. Fleming. decided in favor of Col. Taylor's. i e. One year in Corn, one year in Small grain and two year's rest.—Mr. Fleming recommended Majr. Franklin as person whom he thot. worthy of being admitted a member of our body; who was [admitted?] by a unanimous vote. The president nominated Mr. Fleming and Mr. Boothe to Conduct him to the Secy's. table, where he subscribed his name.

The Secy. was requested to Call Over the names of the members and receive their querries: which was done & the querries delivered to the examin[in]g Committee appointed for that purpose, who chose the following, in addition to those Continued to day. Viz. 1st. "What is the best mode of procuring & applying manures." 2nd. What is the proper time to Sow Our wheat & what must be the order of the ground." 3rd. "Which is the best plough to be used in fallowing our lands and tending Our Crops."

Wm. Slade nominated M Franklin Esqe. as one of the Committee to Select at next meeting the querries for discussion at the Succeeding meeting. Capt. Zachary nominated Wm. MCraw Esqe. as another one. Wm. MCraw nominated Tho. Forkner as the third one. Who were all unanimously Chosen.

Wm. Slade moved that we adjourn to meet again at this place the fourth Succeeding Saturday at 10.O.Clock. Which was Sanctioned, and the house adjourned accordingly.

Jno. Whitlock presdt,
W. Slade. Secy

Capt. Zachary's 25th. December 1819.

This being the day in Course for the meeting of the Agricultural Society, for the promotion of useful Knowledge &c. The president

being absent Mr. Boothe nominated Wm. MCraw Esqe. to preside as president-protempore, who readily assumed the Chair.

The Secretary Called the names of the members, and it was ascertained that there were fourteen regular members present & fourteen absent: there being neither majority nor minority, doubts were ent[ert]ained whether we Could go legally into business or not: but whilst Contending upon legality or illegallity of procedure two other members came in, which gave a majority:—It being a day of festivity and late in the evening it was moved "that the subjects for discussion be laid Over untill next meeting." agreed to.—Matthew Davis, Golihew Moore and Mn. Boothe were appointed a temporary Committee to try at next meeting all the absentees of the preceding meeting.

Mr. Boothe recommended Doctr Bnja. Franklin [24] as a person whom he thot. worthy of being admitted a member of our Society: said the Doctors Celebrity was such that no incomiums he Could give would enhance his character, therefore he deemed them useless and hoped he would be recd.—the question was taken & he [was] recd. by a general Vote; the president nominated Mr. Boothe & Mr. Davis to Conduct him to the table, where he Subscribed his name as a transient member.

Capt. Zachary recommended Ruel Jackson as a young man who had turned his attention much to farming and thot. him Worthy of being admitted a member of Our body: and requested that the house decide whether he be recd. or not.—the vote taken, and he [was] recd.

Wm. Slade recommended Wm. Easley as a Steady respectable Citizen well experienced in farming, and thot. he would be able to give us Some useful lessons on that Subject.—the House Concurred with the recommendation, and recd. him with Cordiality.—the president nominated Tho. Forkner and M. Fleming to Conduct him to the table, where his name was entered as a regular member.

Wm. Slade recomended James Franklin as a young man of fair Standing in Society and thot. he would make a very useful member of our body.—M. Fleming recomended Chs. Taliferro Esqr. Bartlett Hammock & Majr. Forkner as Gent. farmers of respectability, whom he thot. worthy of being admitted members of Our Society.—The House Concured with the recomendations, and the president nominated Mr. Moore & Mr. Fleming to Conduct the Gent. to the Secretary's Table, where each of their names were entered as regular members, except Jas. Franklin's whose was entered on the list of transient members.

---

[24] Dr. Benjamin Franklin was the son of Jeremiah Franklin, the eldest brother of Meshack and Jesse Franklin. Jeremiah Franklin did not move from Virginia to North Carolina until much later than his parents and brothers, and his son, Dr. Benjamin Franklin, lived in Buckingham County, Virginia, until his marriage to his first cousin, Elizabeth Franklin, the daughter of Governor Jesse Franklin. Supposedly Dr. Benjamin Franklin moved to Tennessee. Cleveland, *The Genealogy of the Cleveland and Cleaveland Families*, III, 2059-2079-2107. According to this journal, however, he lived in Surry County at least from December 25, 1819, until March 24, 1821.

Wm. Slade recomended Chs. Taliferrio Esqr. as one of the Committee to select at next meeting querries for discussion at the Succeeding meeting. Martin Cloud nominated Majr. Forkner as another one.—James Franklin nominated G. Moore as the third One.—The House Concured with the nominations.

The Secretary moved that the members bring forward their querries: M Fleming objected to Our receiving any, Saying it was useless to Select any in addition to those Continued to day. The question was taken, "Shall any other querries be chosen to day for discussion at next meeting, in addition to those that now Stand." decided in the negative.—

The Secretary made Known to the Society that in Obedience to their instructions he had procured four "Taylor araters for the use of this Society, & that he had not yet met with an opportunity of getting the dozen Copies of The "Pennsylvania Farmer," that were Ordered, but that he had procured the fourth volume of the Phila. agricultural Society: which was at the option of Our Society.—all were eagerly grasped by the hands of the members.

A motion was made that we adjourn, to meet again at this place the fourth succeeding Saturday at 10. O. Clock.

Capt. Zachary was questioned to know if we might yet indulge ourselves in his hospitality.—He frankly Said his house was at the will of the society.—the House then adjourned agreeable to the motion made.

Wm. MCraw president protempore
W. Slade. Secy.

Capt. Zachary's 22nd. Jany. 1820.

This being the day in Course for the meeting of the agricultural Society, the first Order of the day, was the trial by Committee, of the absentees of the preceding meetings:—Golihew Moore one the Committee being absent, Charles Taliferrio Esqr. was appointed to Supply the Vacancy.—The Secretary furnished the Committee with a list of the absentees.

The first querry for discussion, "which is most destructive to the human family Spirituous liquors or the Sword."—It was stricken from the list without discussion.—some of the Gentlemen who were waiting on the examining Committee [25] were not well pleased with the manner in which the querry had been disposed of, and moved that it be taken up again.—Agreed to—It underwent Considerable discus-

---

[25] Charles Taliaferro, from the Fisher's River section and a member of this examining committee, was an ardent supporter of the temperance movement, although the movement first reached Fisher's River and perhaps the entire county through the instrumentality of Solomon Graves, a member of the society, who lived in the vicinity of Mt. Airy. The Reverend H. E. Taliaferro later declared that when he first heard of temperance societies in Surry they were called "temple societies." *Fisher's River (North Carolina) Scenes and Characters*, pp. 44-49, 109, 109n.

sion; and was decided that spirituous liquors is most destructive. The 2nd querry "Which tends most to the wealth and true interest of a Country agriculture or internal Commerce. decided in favor of agriculture.

James MCraw moved that the Other three Standing querries be postponed for discussion at next meeting.—agreed to.—

The Treasurer made known to the Society that some of the members had not yet paid the mite required of them, and that he was ready to wait upon those who might wish to do so: requesting those who were not now ready to pay at next meeting.

Majr. Franklin Suggested the propriety of establishing Some rule for the distribution of the books belonging to the Society.—The Secretary Said he was willing to trust the books he had procured in the hands of the members untill next meeting.—The Committee for trying absentees made report inpart "that the excuses given by James MCraw, John Sparger, Ransom Dudley and Jno. Talbert were sufficient for their non-attendance at the preceding meeting.—leave was refused the Committee to set again, and they were considered as exempted. The question was taken "Shall absentees be hereafter tried by a Select Committee or by the house."—decided that they be tried by the House. —Charles Taliferrio Esqr. Jno. Martin and James MCraw were appointed a Committee to Select at next meeting querries for discussion at the Succeeding meeting.

The house adjourned to meet at Perkins' the fourth succeeding Saturday at 11 O.Clock.

Jno. Whitlock. Presdt,
W. Slade Secretary

Perkins' 19th. Feby 1820

This being the day, and place, for the meeting of the Agricultural Society, the president being Seated, the Secretary proceeded to call over the names of the members; and it was ascertained that a large majority were present. Mr. Graves moved that the absentees be tried, before we go into the discussion of querries.—agreed.—The absentees of the Several preceding meetings who were present at this meeting, were all heard and excused.

Charles Taliferrio Esqr. said he thot. it would be proper to adopt some rule applicable to those Subscribers who had never attended any of Our meetings. Several gentlemen Spoke upon this Subject, and it was agreed that the Secretary issue notices to those absentees to appear at next meeting, & make Known whether they Consider themselves members of the Society or not.

The Secretary, read the first querry for discussion, "What is the best mode of procuring and applying manures."—Mr. Boothe, recom-

mended Sowing and ploughing in clover and Buck wheat.—Wm. MCraw Esqr. recommended gathering the Stalks from our farms, placing them in farm yards for the benefit of our Stock, in food and lodging out of the mud, whilst by trampling they would ferment and form an excellent manure: in addition to the offal of Corn Mr. MCraw Suggested the advantage of procuring and applying leaves in the same way.—And as to the manner of applying the manure he thot. when it became Sufficiently rotten it should be hauled to the field and ploughed in directly it was Scattered, giving thereby no chance for the evaporation of its strength, by the exhalation of the Sun, Winds, rain &c.

Mr. John Martin advocated the plan recommended by Mr. Boothe, Mr. MCraw again eulogised his plan.—the question was taken", and decided in favor of Mr. MCraw's plan.

The Secretary read the next querry, "What is the proper time to Sow Our Wheat, and what must be the Order of the ground."

Wm. MCraw Said he thot. it most proper to fallow the land in Sept. sow the wheat about first of October, and harrow it in.—Doctr. Franklin thot. the application of a heavy roller over the land would be preferable to harrowing.—It was decided in favor of the Doctor's plan.

The next and last querry was then read by the Secretary, "Which is the best plough to be used in fallowing our lands and tending our Crops."

Wm.MCraw said from his little experience with the dagon he preferrd it to any plough he had ever Seen used in fallowing. Mr. Roberts advocated the Shovel & bull-tongue ploughs; saying they were more Convenient and he thot. would answer a better purpose in Stony, rooty, or hilly ground; he thot. the dagon would on hilly ground do no good turning it over, as it would Certainly fall back in the furrow.—Mr. Graves Suggested the advantage of ploughing hilly land always on a level, by the assistance of what is termed "a Water level. but Said perhaps in many instances the ploughs mentioned by his friend Mr. Roberts, might be useful, particularly in listing our land.—Doctr. Franklin & Mr. Boothe Spoke in favor of the dagon.— to which the preference was given.

On motion Mr. Thomas Forkner, Wm. MCraw Esqr. and Mr. Golihew Moore were appointed a Committee to Select at next meeting querries for discussion at the Succeeding meeting.—The Committee appointed last meeting for the purpose, chose those querries for discussion at next meeting. To Wit, 1st. "Would a Convention for amending this States Constitution be best or not. 2nd. Which is the proper Steps to be taken to cherish this Society and lead to its further improvement. 3rd. Which is the best way to clear new ground, Grub or not Grub it.

The Treasurer being absent the Secretary recd. the Contributions

of several members, with a list of their respective names and the amount paid by each.

The house adjourned to meet again at Perkins' the fourth Saturday in March next

Jn°. Whitlock President
W. Slade Secretary

Perkins' 25th. March 1820.

This being the day & place for the meeting of the Agricultural Society; a majority of the members were present and proceeded to business.

The absentees of the last meeting who were present at this were heard and excused.—The Secretary made Known to the house that in obedience to orders he had issued notice to John A. Hugh[e]s to attend this meeting: Several Gentlemen recommended expelling him. — Mr. James MCraw moved that the Secretary issue him a Second notice, that unless he appeared at next meeting he would be expelled. — agreed to. —

Mr. Graves moved that the 9th article of the Constitution be amended by Saying Some Specifyd. number of the members Shall have power to do business, instead of a majority. — It was taken in question and decided that in future any ten members Shall have the power of doing business. The Order of the day was taken up by the Secretary's reading the first querry Standing for discussion. "Would a Convention for altering this States Constitution be best or not." — Mr. Boothe the founder of this querry spoke in its favor, by Saying there was not a fair representation in the Genl. assembly.

Charles Taleferrio Esqr. Said he was ready to admit there was defects in the Constitution, but it was a Subject of such momentous importance he felt afraid to have it ripped up.

M. Franklin Esqr. Said he approached the Subject with awe, but would vote for it. — Mr. Graves Spoke lengthily on it, with much zeal, pointing out many defects. 1st. the Constitution Contained no provision for an amendment. 2nd. it Said nothing about the age of a person in the legislature or the Judges of our Courts. — nor made no provision for removing Judges from the bench. 3rd. the election of the Executive Should be vested in the people instead of the Genl. Assembly. 4th. he thot. it would answer equally as well or better for our Genl. assembly to meet biennially instead of annually: whereby we might save one half the expence, which might fairly be estimated at forty thousand dollars a year: this Saving applied to internal improvement would far more promote the interest of the State.

5th. He thot. it would be better to have fewer members in the legislature. — The question was taken and decided in favor of a Convention.

The Secretary read the 2nd. querry "Which is the proper Steps to be taken to cherish this society and lead to its further improvement."

M. Franklin Esqr. said this was a very nice question, and he thot the further improvement of the Society depended on the punctual attendence of the members, and that all pay their mites Cheerfully, deal freely with each other expressing opinion, &c.

Mr. Boothe recommended offering premiums to those who might raise best Crops. — Mr. Franklin readily Concurred with the gentleman Charles Tarferrio Esqr. said the man who had best land would Certainly get the prize. — Mr. Franklin thot. not, that good Culture was also necessary, and ought to be more aimed at than the Selection of the best Spot of ground.

The propriety of offering premiums for the best Crops of Corn and Small grain to the acre and, the best hog or Cow raised, *the* means for defraying premiums &c. Were under Consideration. —C. Taliferreo Esqe. moved that the question be postponed for further discussion at next meeting. — agreed to.

The Secretary read the next and last querry, "Which is the best way to clear new ground, grub or not grub it."

Mr. Boothe said for his part he never Considered that ground was Cleared at all if it was not grubbd. — Capt. Zachary was for not Grubbing: Mr. Roberts prefered grubbing well: and Said if it was not grubbed when you Cleared the land you might be always grubbing & shrubbing. — Mr. Graves readily concurd. with Mr. Roberts. — Capt. Zachary Said those gentlemen were not acquainted with the right manner of Shrubbing, they would Cut the Sprouts off against the Stump whereby many more would soon be produced: his method was to Cut the bark off with the Sprouts.

C. Taleferreo Esqr. recommended grubbing Clean in the Summer months and if possible Cut the timber at the Same time and let it remain 12 or 18 months on the ground, which will mellow and enrichen it more than many have an idea of: — and Shrubs never put up after it. Mr. Franklin Said he was well pleased with this body discussion between practical men, he thot. mellowing with the timber upon the ground, yielded more manure than the roots left in it, Said Clear in the Summer months.

Mr. Davis said he Cleared a piece of ground once without grubbing & spent much labor shrubbing it for 4 or 5 years,—at last grubbed it & found that it produced much better afterwards, than it ever had before. — It was decided in favor of Grubbing.

Wm. MCraw Esqe. one of the examining Committee appointed last meeting being absent Meshack Franklin Esqr. was chosen to officiate in his Stead.

The Secretary recd. the querries of the members and delivered them

to the examining Committee appointed for the purpose of Choosing querries for discussion at next meeting: Who chose the following Viz. 1st. "In preserving Wheat from the Weavel is it best to hand Stack or Shock it." 2nd. What is the best method of preparing meadow land, & what the best Seed to Sow on it." 3rd. "Which is the best grain to Sow on exhausted lands wheat or Rye."

4th. Shall this Society give premiums for the greatest production of any Crop from an acre.

Chs. Taleferrio Esqr. nominated Col. Graves, M. Fleming and Matthew Davis as the Committee to Select at next meeting querries for discussion at the Succeeding meeting: who were all three chosen without discussion.

The house adjourned, to meet at Forkner's meeting-house the 4th. Saturday in next month.

John Whitlock, President
W. Slade Secretary

Forkner's Meeting-House 29th. April 1820.

This being the day & place for the meeting of the Agricultural Society, the president took his Seat; and the Secretary after calling the names of the members made Known that only nine members were present, the house Consequently adjourned to meet again at this place the fourth Saturday in May next

John Whitlock Presdt.
W. Slade Secy

[Forkner's Meeting House]

The Society met according to adjournment, Saturday, The 27th. of May 1820.

The Secretary of the Society being absent, Upon Motion of Captain Zachary, Mr. S. Graves was appointed Secy. pro. tempore. The following Members were absent. Viz. Wm. Slade, H. Booth, A. MCraw, Jno. Martin, Jas Martin, Jno. Sparger, Tho. Forkner, N. Bryson, Jas. MCraw, Saml. Gordon Martin Cloud, Jno. Talbert, Dabney Walker, G. Moore, A. Grigory, Chas. Taliaferro, Wm Easly & M. Forkner.

Mr. Jno A. Hughes who had been notified by the Secretary in pursuance to the order of the Society, to appear and render reasons for his absence at Several previous meetings of the Society, appeared at this meeting and rendered such reasons for his nonattendance heretofore as were satisfactory and he was Therefore excused — he also stated to the Society his wish to be considered a transient Member of the Society which the Society taking under Consideration it was resolved That he be enrolld, as a transient member of this Society.

The following Members Viz. Alexr. Dotson, Jonathan Roberts, S.

Graves, Ransom Dudley, Capt. J. Zachary, Jas. W. MCraw, B. Hammock, and Evan Davis were reported to the house as absentees, and being Severally Calld. upon, rendered reasons for their nonattendance, which were sustaind and they excused — On the recommendation of Mr. S. Graves, Mr. Jno. Davis was unanimously admitted as a regular member of this Society.

On motion of Wm. MCraw Esq. The several querries which stood for discussion at this meeting of The Society, were postponed to the next meeting.

On Motion of Mr. S. Graves it was resolved by the Society That The Article of the rules of order for the Government of this Society, Requiring That each member of the Society shall produce in writing a query on Some Subject, be Suspended so far respects the present meeting.

On motion of Mr. M: Fleming the committee for the examination of queries, were re-appointed to make choice of Suitable queries for discussion at the next meeting—

The house then adjourned to meet again at Forkner's meeting house at the hour of twelve o,clock on the 4th. Saturday in June next:—

Jno. Whitlock president
S. Graves Secy.
pro. tem.

Forkner's Meeting-house 24th. June 1820.

The Society met agreeable to adjournment, and proceeded to business by hearing the excuses of absentees for their non-attendance at Several preceding meetings: all who were present were heard and excused.

The 1st. querry Standing for discussion was read by the Secretary, "Which is the proper steps to be taken to cherish this Society and lead to its further improvement."

Wm. MCraw Esqr., Charles Taleferrio Esqr. and Col. Graves Spoke upon this noble unlimited querry, each warmly urging the necessity of our Walking uprightly; With a zeal for the improvement of ourselves & Others, acting always friendly to each Other: and Keeping an eye to the respectability of persons whom we admit as members of our body. This Course was unanimously agreed to by the house.

The next querry, "In preserving wheat from the Weavel is it best to hand-Stack or Shock it."

Matthew Davis and C. Taleferrio Esqr. recommended Shocking, which was agreed to.

The 3rd. querry, "What is the best method of preparing meadow land, and what the best Seed to Sow on it."

C. Taleferrio Esqr. Said he would Clear the land in July or August, Cut the Stumps higher than in Common Clearing; break it not deeper than barely to level it well. and Sow it in Timothy about the Common time of Sowing wheat. —Co^{l}. Graves regretted that the querry had not inquired what quality of land was best for meadows.—Charles Taleferrio Esq^{e}. tho^{t}. black Stiff Pink Clay soil best. —Co^{l}. Graves Said the Gn^{t}. of the hollow Could not have meadows of this Sort, as this is a Sandy Soil; But perhaps there might be a grass found that would Suit this soil. — M^{r}. Mordecai Fleming Said his Corn Crib was the best meadow. — C. Taleferrio Esq^{e}. Said one acre of good timothy was worth at least as much as three acreas of Corn. — M^{r}. John Martin tho^{t}. the Egyptian Oats and Clover might be used to advantage on Our Gray Soil. C. Taleferrio tho^{t}. the herds Grass would answer better, where the land was very wet and marshy. — It was decided that it is not advisable to bunk the land farther than to level it, and that Timothy is the best Seed.

The 4th. querry, "Which is the best grain to Sow on exhausted land, wheat or Rye." — W^{m}. MCraw Esq^{e}. recommended Rye as best. — Matthew Davis prefered wheat. Charles Taleferrio Esq^{e}. tho^{t}. wheat Straw was best food for Cattle, agreeable to quantity, but that Rye affords most Straw & is Consequently better for the improvement of land.

M^{r}. John Martin & M^{r}. Thomas Forkner, Said they had made experiments by Sowing wheat & Rye upon land of equal quality, and found that wheat yielded Considerably most, and that the Straw was far preferable for manure.—It was decided that wheat is best.

The next & last querry, "Shall this Society give premiums for the greatest production of any Crop from an acre."

On motion of C. Taleferrio Esq^{e}. this querry was postponed for discussion at next meeting.

M^{r}. Thomas Forkner nominated M^{r}. John Martin, M^{r}. James MCraw and Mr. James W. MCraw as the Committee to Select at next meeting querries for discussion at the Succeeding meeting: all three were chosen without a division.

The Committee appointed for the purpose Selected the following querries for discussion at next meeting. Viz.

1st. "Is it best to plough land in wet weather, or wait untill dry weather.

2nd. "Whether will one acre of land be of more worth to the farmer in grass than one of the Same Strength in Corn, for one year."

3rd. "Which is the most useful agricultural Knowledge, or a Knowledge of the learned arts and Sciences."

4th. "Whether would it be best for each farmer to manufacture his own raw materials, or export and exchange them for those already manufactured."

On motion of C. Taleferrio Esq^{e}, Co^{l}. Graves, W^{m}. MCraw Esq^{e}. and M^{r}. Mordecai Fleming, were appointed a Committee to Settle With the Secretary and Treasurer at next meeting, and make report to the house.

M^{r}. Jno. Martin moved that the Society Convene at Perkins' on the 4th. of July in uniform, for the Celebration of that day: which was negatived.

The house adjourned to meet again at this place on the fourth Saturday in July.

Jno. Whitlock President
W. Slade Sec^{y},

Forkner's meeting-house 22nd. July 1820.

The Society met agreeable to adjournment: and proceeded to business by hearing the excuses of Several members who were marked as absentees as Some preceding meetings.—M^{r}. Hugh Boothe was fined for his nonattendance at April and May Meetings, 12½ Cents for each day.

M^{r}. Jacob A. MCraw was fined 12½ Cents for nonattendance at May meeting. —Mr. Martin Cloud was fined for nonattendance at April & June meetings, 12½c for each day. — Mr. James Martin was fined 12½c for nonattendance at December meeting. — Maj^{r}. Forkner was fined 12½c for nonattendance in April.

The Committee appointed last meeting to Settle with the Treasurer and Secretary, made the following report: "The Committee appointed by the Society to Settle with the Treasurer and Secretary have performed the duty assigned them and beg leave to report: that it appears from the books of the Treasurer receipts up to the present date to the amount of $11.25

have been made in his office.

Credit to which he is intitled to the Amount of $8.50 8.50

as p^{r}. Vouchers exhibited

Bal. remaining in Treasureres hands $2.75

Mordecai Fleming
S. Graves

The Secretary read the first querry Standing for discussion, "Shall this Society give premiums for the greatest production of any Crop from an acre." — after considerable discussion it was decided that we will give a premium of five dollars to any member of the Society or other Citizen of the County who Shall raise the greatest Crop of Corn from an acre in the year 1821.

On motion of C. Taliferrio Esq^{e}. the other Standing querries were postponed for discussion at next meeting.

On motion of Co[l]. Graves it was resolved that the article of rules of order for the government of this Society requiring that each member Shall produce in writing a querry on Some Subject, be Suspended So far as respects the present meeting.

The house adjourned to meet again at this place on the fourth Saturday in August next.

John Whitlock President
W Slade. Secretary

Forkner's meeting-house 26[th]. August 1820

The Society met agreeable to adjournment, and proceeded to business by first hearing the excuses of absentees: M[r]. Golihew Moore was fined 12½ Cents for nonattendance at June meeting. —Mr. Evan Davis was fined 12½ Cents for nonattendance at June meeting. —M[r]. Rewel Jackson was fined 12½ Cents for nonattendance at June meeting. — M[r]. Alex[r]. Dobson was fined 12½ Cents for nonattendance at July meeting.

Certain articles of impeachment against M[r]. Rewel Jackson handed in by M[r]. Boothe being under Consideration; the Society decided that they have not Cognisance of the facts therein alledged.

The Secretary read the first querry Standing for discussion. "Is it best to plough land in wet weather or wait until dry weather."—M[r]. Matthew Davis Said in wet Spells he always plough[d]., between Showers: but when ever it appeared that the wet Spell had broken he waited until the ground got dry before he plough[d]. it more. — Charles Taleferrio Esq[e]. and M[r]. Jonathan Roberts tho[t]. it best not to plough any when the ground is very wet, which was the opinion of the house.

On motion of M[r]. Mordecai Fleming the other standing querries were postpon[d], for discussion at next meeting. — And the house resolved that the article of rules of order for the government of the Society, requiring each member to hand in a query on Some Subject be Suspended So far as respects the present meeting. — The house adjourned to meet again at this place on the fourth Saturday in September next.

John Whitlock President
W. Slade. Secretary

Forkner's Meeting-house 23rd Sep[t]. 1820.

The Society met agreeable to adjournment, and proceeded to business in usual Order. — A. J Grigory was fined 12½c for nonattendance at May meeting & the Same for July meeting. — Jon[a]. Roberts was fined 12½c for nonattendance at June meeting. & Jn[o]. Davis 12½c for July.

On motion of M[r]. Mordecai Fleming the house decided that this

Society Shall take Cognisance of offences done out of Society as well as in it.

On motion of William MCraw the house agreed to wait on Ruel Jackson until next meeting

On motion of Mr. Mordecai Fleming all previous querries was postponed for discussion at next meeting. — The house adjourned to meet again at this place the fourth Saturday in October next.

Jno. Whitlock President
William MCraw Secy. pro. tem

Forkner's Meeting-house 28th. October 1820.

The Society met agreeable to adjournment. — The officers having Served the time for which they were elected and the former President being absent Dr. Benja. Franklin was Chosen President pro. tem. and Wm. Slade Secretary pro. tem. — Being thus organised the Society proceeded to elect officers for the next twelve months Jno. Whitlock Esqe. was unanimously elected President again, and Wm. Slade Secretary.—Mr. Mordecai Fleming was elected Treasurer. —

On motion of Mr. Alexr. Dobson Ruel Jackson was expelled from this Society, for ungentlemanly Conduct towards his neighbour Mr. James Roberts.

The Secretary read the 1st. querry. "Whether will one acre of land be of more worth to the farmer in grass than one acre in Corn for One year." — Mr. Mordecai Fleming Said he was but little acquainted with the value of grass, therefore wished to hear Some gentleman better prepared to Speak upon it than himself.—Charles Taleferrio Esqr. Spoke much in favor of Grass: Saying when your meadow is once prepared it requires no more labor in Several years, except barly the Saving of the grass: and he thot. its production worth three acres of land tended in Corn, which required much labor. — Meshack Franklin Esqr. and Mr. Boothe also Spoke in favor of grass; thinking its Cultivation Cheaper and its Value much greater.

The house Concurred with those gentlemen by a large majority.— 2nd. querry "which is most useful agricultural Knowledge or a Knowledge of the learned arts and Sciences.

On motion of Chs. Taleferrio Esqe. this question was postponed for discussion at next meeting. — 3rd. and last querry, "Whether would it be best for each farmer to manufacture his own raw materials or export and exchange them for those already manufactured." — the house decided that it is expedient for us to manufacture our own materials as far as practicable.

On motion of Mr. Fleming, Mr. Alexr. Dobson & Mr. Boothe were appointed a Committee to Settle at next meeting with the former treasurer. — Chs. Taleferreo Esqr., Mr. Dobson and Mr. Boothe were

appointed by the president a Committee to Select new querries for discussion at next meeting. — "Who Selected the following. Viz. 1st. "Whether is a Stock farm or a grain farm the most advantageous for this Section, (Surry County No. C.) 2nd. "Which is the most advantegeous Stock for the farmer to raise Cattle or hogs." —3rd. "Which is the best way for the farmer to dispose of his grain, raise Stock or Sell it."

The house adjourned to meet at Mr. Mordecai Flemings on the fourth Saturday in November next.

Benja. Franklin President pro. tem.
W. Slade Secy. pro. tem.

Mordecai Fleming's 25th. November 1820.

The Society met agreeable to adjournment, and proceeded to business in usual Order: — Mr. G. Moore was fined 12½c for non-attendance at September meeting. — The House recd. from Meshack Franklin Esqe. reports from the Massachusetts and Maryland agricultural Societies: — the Secretary read them to the Society, who were all much pleased to hear of the exhibition of Such fine domestic animals and the liberal premiums given to the owners of the best of them.

The Secretary read the 1st querry "Which is the most useful agricultural Knowledge or a Knowledge of the learned arts and Sciences." — On motion of Charles Taliaferrio Esqe. this question was postponed for discussion at next meeting.

The 2nd. querry was read "Whether is a Stock farm or a grain farm the most advantageous for this Section, Surry County No. Carolina." — on motion of Charles Taliaferreo Esqe. this question was also postponed for discussion at next meeting.

The 3rd. querry read, "Which is the best Stock for the farmer to raise Cattle or Hogs." —— Mr. Boothe Spoke much in favor of Cattle. — Charles Taliaferrio Esqe. prefered the hogs: thinking them far the most prolific and their growth much the quickest. — The House gave the preference to Cattle, by a large majority.

The Secretary read the 4th. and last querry, "Which the best way for the farmer to dispose of his grain, raise Stock or Sell it." — C. Taliaferrio Esqe. Said it depended upon the price of it.—He thot. it was best to Sell it when it was $1. pr Bushel. & when it was Worth only 50 cents it would be better to feed it to Stock. — Mr. Boothe Said every bushel of grain fed to stock was worth $1. and thot. it would in 3 years double itself which would be much better than Selling the grain and putting the money to interest. — The House decided that it is best to feed it to Stock. —

It was thought by the Society that the querries which had been postponed would be Sufficient for discussion at next meeting. — The

House resolved that the Clause of the Constitution requiring each member to hand in a querry at every meeting be Suspended, So far as respects the present meeting. — Mr. Davis, Doctor Franklin and Mr. Mordecai Fleming were appointed a Committee to select at next meeting querries for discussion at the Succeeding meeting.

The Committee appointed last meeting to Settle with the former treasurer were unable to do So, as he was not present. — The Committee were reappointed to Settle With him at next meeting. — The Society resolved that all those who have been fined pay the Same to the Treasurer at next meeting. — The House adjourned to meet again at M. Flemings on the 4th. Saturday in December next.

Jno. Whitlock. President
W. Slade Secretary.

At a stated meeting of the agricultural Society of Surry began and held at M Flemings on Saturday The 23rd. day of Decr. 1820. Mr. J. A. McCraw was fined 12½ Cents for nonattendance at Sept Stated meeting Jonathan Roberts was fined 12½ Cents for non attendance at Sept Stated meeting. The first Query which was postponed at our last meeting. Which is the most useful a Knowledge of the learned arts and sciences or a Knowledge of agriculture, which was discussed and decided in favor of agricultural Knowledge. The Second Query which was postponed at our last stated meeting. Which is the most profitable a stock farm or a grain farm in this Section of the Country Viz Surry County N Carolina was discussed and decided in favor of a stock farm.

The same committee was appointed to settle with the treasurer at our next stated meeting.

Mr. Mathew Davis Mordeca Fleming and Benj. Franklin was appointed to select Queres to be discussed at our next meeting and have selected the following Viz.

1 Whether is a dairy establishment worth one thousand dollars most profitable or a capital of one thousand invested in a farm.

2nd. Would not the inhabitants of Surry County be benefited by a more extensive Cultivation of the tobacco plant

3d Whether is it best to lay out the money arising in fines for good books or give it in premiums

4th. Which is the most proper time to apply Our stable manure for a Corn Crop.

Squire Taliaferro Jno. Martin & Jacob A McCraw were appointed a committee to select querries at our next stated meeting. The resolution of the society at Novr. stated meeting requiring those Who have fines against them to come forward and pay them at this meeting be postponed until our next stated meeting. No other Business before

the house they adjourned to meet at this place on the fourth Saturday in January next

J Whitlock Prest
Benj Franklin S T.

Mordecai Fleming's 27th. Janv. 1821

The society met agreeable to adjournment, and proceeded to business in usual order: after hearing the excuses of Several absentees; the Secy. read the 1st. querry, "Whether is a dairy establishment worth $1000. most profitable or a capital of that amount invested in a farm." — On motion of Col. Graves this querry was postponed for discussion at next meeting.

The 2nd. querry, Was read, "Would not the inhabitants of Surry be benefited by a more extensive Cultivation of the tobacco plant" — Dr. Franklin and Chs. Taliaferreo Esqe. warmly advocated this querry. — Col. Graves questioned the policy; tho Said he intended to raise Some this year. Mr. Boothe positively objected to it: Saying it would be better to keep our attention to raising Cattle and fostering domestic manufactures instead of raising tobo. to buy foreign goods. — The question was taken and decided in favour of a more extensive Cultivation of the tobacco plant.

3rd querry was read, "Whether would it be best to lay out the money arising from fines for good books or give it in premiums.—On motion of Mr. Boothe this querry was postponed until next meeting.

4th. querry was read, "Which is the most proper time to apply our Stable manures for a Corn Crop." On motion of Mr. Boothe this querry was also postponed until next meeting.—The Committee appointed to Settle with the former Treasurer being unprepared to make report, were Continued until next meeting. — The house resolved that the Clause of the Constitution requiring each member to hand in a querry on Some Subject be Suspended So far as applies to this meeting. — The resolution requiring those who have fines against them to make payment was postponed until next meeting.

The house adjournd, to meet again at this place the 4th. Saturday in Febv. next.

Jno. Whitlock President
W. Slade Secy.

Mordecai Flemings 24th. Febv. 1821.

The Society met agreeable to adjournment, and proceeded to business in usual order. — The president begging leave of absence M. Davis was elected pro tem. Mr. Jona. Roberts was fined 12½c for nonattendance at Janv. meeting.—Mr. Jno. Davis was fined 12½c for

nonattendance at Novr meeting. Mr. Evan Davis was fined 12½c for nonattendance at Jany. meeting.

Mr. Mordecai Fleming moved that the last Stated querry be taken up first, as the person who laid it in wished to leave the House before we could reach it in regular Order. — agreed to—The Secretary read the querry, "Which is the most proper time to apply our Stable manures." Several gentlemen Spoke upon this Subject, Some Saying Scatter your manure in the fall season, others Saying Scatter it in the month of February and plough it in immediately. — It was decided that February is the most proper time. — The next querry in order was read, "Whether is a dairy establishment worth $1000 most profitable, or a Capital of that amount invested in a farm.—On motion this querry was Continued. — The next and last querry was read, "Whether would it be best to lay out the money arising from fines in good Books or give it for premiums. It was decided in favour of giving the money for Books. —

The Committee appointed to Settle with the former treasurer having performed the duty assigned them made the following report.— "We your Committee appointed to Settle with Mr. James Martin former Treasurer having done So, Beg leave to report that we found due the Society upon his Books a balance of three dollars and twenty-five Cents, which amount with the Books we tender to our present treasurer Mr. Mordecai Fleming.

Hugh Boothe
Alexr. Dodson

Charles Taliaferreo Esqe. one of the Committee appointed for the examination of querries having obtained leave of absence Col. Graves was nominated to officiate in his stead.

The Committee Selected the following querries for discussion at next meeting Viz. 1st. Would it be best to fire the woods or keep the fire entirely from them.—2nd. Which is the best way to clear land, to Cut the timber or dead it.—

3rd. Whether it would be the advantage of our Society to become an auxiliary to the Raleigh agricultural Society.—

4th. Is it best to plant our corn in the usual Check Style or drill it.

The House adjourned to meet at Forkner's meeting house the 4th. Saturday in March next.

Matthew Davis Prest. pro-tem
W. Slade Secy.

Forkner's Meeting-House 24th. March 1821.

The Society met agreeable to adjournment, and proceeded to business in usual Order, Ransom Dudley was excused for nonattendance at February meeting, and fined 25 Cents for his Several other failures.

Mr. Matthew Davis recommended Mr. Robert Hammock as a gentleman whom he thot. worthy of being admitted a member of our Society. — He was received by a unanimous Vote, and the President nominated Doctor Franklin and Ransom Dudley to Conduct him to the Secretary's table, where he Subscribed his name as a regular member.

The first querry Standing for discussion was read by the Secretary, "Whether is a dairy establishment worth $1000 or a Capital of that amount invested in a farm". M. Franklin and Mr. Boothe warmly advocated the dairy establishment. — Col. Graves Spoke at Considerable length on the opposite Side. — It was decided in favor of investing the Capital in a farm. — The Secretary read the next querry, — "Is it best to fire the woods or keep the fire entirely from them." — Several gentlemen remonstrated against the practice of firing the woods, as being destructive to the fertility of the Soil, the timber, and the range for Stock. — The House decided by a unanimous vote that it would be best to abolish the practice.

The Secretary read the next querry, "Which is the best way to clear land, to Cut the timber or dead it." It was decided that it is best to cut the timber.

On motion of M. Franklin Esqe. the other two Standing querries were postponed for discussion at next meeting: — and it was resolved that the Clause of the Constitution requiring each member of the Society to hand in a querry on Some Subject, be Suspended So far as applies to the present meeting. — The House adjourned to meet at this place the 4th. Saturday in April next. —

Jno. Whitlock President
W. Slade Secretary

Forkner's Meeting-house 28th. April 1821.

This being the stated day for the meeting of the Society—Jno. Whitlock Esqe. the president being absent Matthew Davis was appointed President pro. tem.

Mr. James MCraw was fined 12½ cents for nonattendance at March meeting. — Mr. James W. MCraw was fined 37½ cents for his Several failures up to this time: and begd. to be Considered as a Transient member in future. — agreed to. — Mr. Jno. Davis was fined 12½ cents for nonattendance at March meeting.

The Secretary read to the house the first querry Standing for discussion, "Whether it would be to the advantage of our Society to become an auxiliary to the Raleigh Agricultural Society. — On motion of Doctor Franklin this querry was postponed until next meeting. —

The Secretary read the next querry, "Is it best to plant our corn in the usual check Style or drill it". — decided on favour of drilling.

Mr. James MCraw moved that we alter the clause of our constitution

requiring us to meet monthly, and adopt our meeting quarterly. — as there was Some question of the propriety he amended the proposition by Saying let it Stand for discussion at next meeting. agreed to. — Mr. Boothe moved that no other querry be chosen & that clause of the constitution requiring us to hand in querries be Suspended So far as applies to the present meeting. agreed to — The House adjourned to meet at this place again on the fourth Saturday in May next.

Matthew Davis president. pro. tem
W. Slade Secretary

Forkner's Meeting-House 23rd. June 1821.

This being the day & place for the meeting of the agricultural Society, — after Calling the names of the members the Secretary ascertaind, that there was not a quorum present. — the house adjourned to meet again at this place on the 4th. Saturday in July next. —

W. Slade Secy.

Forkner's Meeting-House 28th July 1821.

The society met agreeable to adjournment, and proceeded to business in usual order: — the President being absent Mr. Matthew Davis was appointed President pro. tem.—Mr. Ransom Dudley was fined 12½ cents for nonattendance at June Meeting. — Mr. Golihew Moore was fined 12½ Cents for nonattendance at Jan. meeting and excused for his Several other failures.

The Secretary read the 1st. querry, "Whether would it be to the advantage of our Society to become an auxiliary to the Raleigh Agricultural Society." Meshack Franklin Esqe. moved that it be postponed for discussion at next meeting. — agreed to. —

The proposition for altering the Clause of our Constitution requiring us, "to meet monthly and adopt our meetings quarterly" was taken up, and agreed to. — M. Franklin Franklin [*sic*] Esqe a transient member expressed considerable anxiety for the prosperity of our Society and agreed to Subject himself to fines as tho he was a regular member.

Mr. Jacob A. MCraw, Meshack Franklin Esqe. and Mr. G. Moore were appointed a Committee to Select querries for discussion at next meeting, who choose the following. 1st. Is it best to fatten hogs in close pens or lots, and what the best method of feeding them."

2nd. "Do the Society think proper to award a premium of five dollars to any member of its body who Shall raise the next Season, the greatest quantity of Cured hay from an acre of ground: timothy, clover or herds-grass."

3rd. Which the best method of preserving Cabbages through the winter."

4th. Is it best to pasture our Stubble land or Keep Stock entirely from it." — Capt. Zachary, Mr. Davis and Mr. Moore were appointed a committee to Select querries at next meeting for discussion at the Succeeding meeting. — The house adjourned to meet again at this place the 4th. Saturday in October next.

Matthew Davis presdt. pro. tem
W. Slade Secretary

Forkners-Meeting-house 27th. October 1821

The Society met agreeable to adjournment, and proceeded to business in usual Order. — after hearing the excuses of Several members for nonattendance the Secretary read the 1st. question, "Whether would it be to the Interest of our Society to become an auxiliary to the Raleigh agricultural Society." — On motion of Mr. Boothe it was postponed for discussion at next meeting: — and agreed that Col. Graves Should inquire to Know upon what terms we would be received by the Raleigh Society. — On motion of Mr. Boothe the Other Standing querries were postponed for discussion at next meeting. — The Society resolved that the Clause of the Constitution requiring the members to hand in querries monthly be Suspended so far as applies to the present meeting. — The House adjourned to meet again at this place the 4th. Saturday in January next.

Jno. Whitlock President
W. Slade Secretary

Forkners Meeting-House Jany. 1822

This being the day appointed for the meeting of the agricultural Society the Secretary proceeded to Call the names of the members and upon ascertaining there was not a quorum present the House adjourned to meet again at this place on the 4th. Saturday in April next.

Jno. Whitlock President
William Slade Secretary

Forkner's Meeting-House 24th. May 1823

The Agricultural Society of Surry County being desirous to assume its former regular course of proceedings, met this day for the purpose of forming arrangements to partake of the appropriation of the State of North Carolina for the promotion of Agriculture. But upon finding there was not a quorum present the House adjourned to meet again at this place on the 4th. Saturday in August next.

William Slade Secretary

Forkner's Meeting-house August 23rd. 1823

The Agricultural Society met agreeable to adjournment and proceeded to reelect John Whitlock Esqe. their President for the next year — and Wm Slade their Secretary. — Mr. Fleming the former treasurer moved that Mr. Golihew Moore be appointed treasurer for the next year; who was unanimously elected. The former treasurer moved that there be a Committee appointed to Settle with him at next meeting. Wm. MCraw Esq. — Genl. S. Graves & Mr. Moore or a majority of them were appointed a Committee for that purpose.

On motion of Mr. Jacob A MCraw all the other business of the day was postponed to next meeting — The House adjourned to meet again at this place the 4th. Saturday in September next.

John Whitlock President
William Slade Secy.

[From a loose sheet inserted in the journal]

Querries for discussion 4th. Saturday in Sept 1823.

querry 1st. — Whether would it be to the advantage of our Society to become an auxiliary to the Raleigh agricul. Society.

2nd. Is it best to fatten hogs in close pens or lots.

3rd. Do the Society think proper to award a premium of $5. to any member of its body who shall raise next year the greatest quantity of Cured Hay from an acre of ground, Timothy, Clover, or heards grass

4th. Which is the best method of preserving Cabbages thro' the winter.

5th. Is it best to pasture upon our Stubble land or Keep Stock entirely from it.

On Motion of S. Graves the Committee appointed to settle with the former Treasurer have untill next meeting to make their report — to meet again the 4th Saturday of November

[From another loose sheet inserted in the journal]

Society to become an auxiliary to the Raleigh Agricultural Society.

2nd Is it be best to fatten Hogs in close pens or Lots —

3rd. The Society

On motion of Wm. MCraw Esqe.
S. Graves was appointed Secretary
pro. tem.

BOOK REVIEWS

The American Indian in North Carolina. By Douglas L. Rights. (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1947. Pp. xx, 296. $5.00.)

Proverbially has the Southeast long been known for its fertility in material resources, and now in the last few years some of its highly capable literary scouts have turned with gusto to the tapping of its hitherto little-realized resources in folk values. The output has been a number of books of an ethnohistorical caliber produced by skilled non-professionals. Southern historians have indeed never been idle in respect to developing the fertile prospects of themes in their factual and romantic background. Nor has the field of folk dialect been neglected. Abundant publications have appeared in these realms in the last few years. As Harry B. Williams observed recently in *The Southern Packet* concerning the resource-use program of the South, the new knowledge "must be developed by study and research then made available to the people in a way they can understand and use it."

The book on the Indians of Carolina by Mr. Rights fulfills these demands. He has made a worthy contribution to southeastern Indian history and its interpretation of military policies in the colonial period of the area. The book ranks as an equally important and authoritative secondary source on Indian and European contact relations as Dr. C. J. Milling's *Red Carolinians* (University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1940). In general scope the two studies supplement each other, especially in treatment of the decline of the smaller tribes of the Carolinan coast, the Tuscarora, the Catawba, and the Cherokee of the mountains. Ethnologists and ethnographers carrying on research in their special line of pursuit in the Southeast—and most of them happen to be of the northern breed—will find in such books as these the kind of popularization of important knowledge which their southern colleagues in research can do with better grace than most others.

Mr. Rights arranges his sections in short essay topics which

introduce the Spaniards and the English as settlers and contestants for control of the territory. He traces out the causes of the subsequent extinction of the coastal tribes. His essays are realistically and graphically handled. They make good reading. He shares some of his own views on historic events with the reader, among them his inclination to credit the good evidence that the Hatteras Indians of the sandbanks in the neighborhood of Cape Lookout were no others than the friendly Croatan, that they "afforded a refuge for the Lost Colony, and that the survivors of the Colony were incorporated into their tribe p.31.)" A short section on the Hatteras Indians (pp. 31-33) adduces his reasons for that conviction, and he further reasons that the "possibility that members of the tribe (Hatteras) migrated to Robeson County, where several thousand so-called Croatan Indians now reside, seems very remote."

Chapter XVIII, in which is a broadly generalized summary of the native life-mode of former and present-day Carolinian tribes as a whole, offers the lay reader a composite profile or major features of material and non-material properties of the Indians. It does not pretend to be an ethnographical summary. Chapters XIX and XX summarize in topical form, abundantly illustrated in plates, the classes of archaeological material, arranged according to form and supposed use, recovered from sites in North Carolina by Mr. Rights and a large group of associates whose aid he generously acknowledges. His influence earned through long experience in the development of archaeological interest in the state has been extensive as one of the organizers of the Archaeological Society of North Carolina and as the society's first president. The increasing company of students throughout the country whose attention is being drawn to the ethnology of the Southeast will undoubtedly discern the shortcomings of brevity and casuality in the presentation of his tribal sketches. There is a noticeable dose of excusable favorable sentiment for the "well-shaped, clean-made people," "who never stooped" and among whom "deformity of any kind was very rare" (quoting earlier writers). This is naturally to be expected from one who dedicates his book to his Indian friends, as a counter-dose to many in the author's regional environment who neither befriend or

find virtues in their humble-living tawny-skinned compatriots. Mr. Rights has the gift of lightening his treatment of informational topics at times with parenthetical touches of well placed humor.

As a judiciously selected compilation of historical source material on the aborigines of North Carolina the book is indeed all that its title implies to the general reader, whether his approach to the subject lies in broad horizons or in more specific aspects of colonial, military, trade, or mission history. Enough ethnography and archaeology have been incoporated into the text to induce the studious reader to use the bibliographies provided at the ends of the chapter sections in pursuit of more specific lines of reading pertinent to early and later life of the Carolina Indians. Several maps, abundant illustrations showing country, artifacts, and people (including reproductions in halftone of White's drawings of 1587), and an ample index enhance its value as a reference book for the public and private library shelf.

F. G. Speck.
The University of Pennsylvania,
Philadelphia, Pa.

A History of Printing in North Carolina. A Detailed Account of the Pioneer Printers, 1749-1800, and of the Edwards & Broughton Company, 1871-1946, Including a Brief Account of the Connecting Period. By George Washington Paschal, with an introduction by Hon. Josephus Daniels. (Raleigh, North Carolina: Edwards & Broughton Company, 1946. Pp. xvii, 313.)

This large and well printed volume, by the distinguished historian of Wake Forest College and of the Baptist Church in North Carolina, contains a great deal of data, not a little of it in the category of "forgotten lore," about North Carolina printing and printers, journalism, books, libraries, and in particular the printing and publishing establishment of Edwards & Broughton in Raleigh. Professor George Washington Paschal, for many years head of the classics department at Wake Forest College, has taken a pioneer step in issuing the volume and incidentally has called attention to the almost entirely uncultivated field of North Carolina journalism. Perhaps the most impressive feature of the "Bibliography" (pp. 295-298) is the appear-

ance of but one title of a printed work dealing with journalism: W. W. Holden's *History of Journalism in North Carolina,* an address delivered before the North Carolina Press Association in 1881. Histories of famous newspapers and biographies of editors and journalists are now the fashion; and conspicuous among recent books of this character are the history of the *Baltimore Sun,* the biography of the late Adolph S. Ochs, *An Honorable Titan,* by Gerald W. Johnson, who also contributed to the first-mentioned work, and the autobiography of the late William Allen White. Professor Paschal gives one other title bearing on this subject, a manuscript history of the *Biblical Recorder* by H. M. Stroupe. I recall a brief manuscript history of newspapers in Salisbury by a student, at Duke University; but no other account of the sort, so far as I now recall, has come to my attention. The monumental autobiography of the author of the foreword of the present volume throws a great deal of light on the history of the several newspapers with which he has been connected, and in particular the *News and Observer.* Much useful information about newspapers and journalism, together with an extended bibliography of North Carolina newspapers and periodicals, is contained in Guion Griffis Johnson's valuable work, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina: A Social History* (Chapel Hill, 1937), which is conspicuous in itself and also for its absence from Professor Paschal's "Bibliography."

A careful reading of the title of the book under review, together with the descriptive clarifying sentence, reveals that it does indicate the nature of the contents. But the distribution of stress, by means of position and type, is seriously misleading. Chapter I, covering slightly more than 26 pages, brings the study of printers and printing in North Carolina down to 1800. Chapter II, a brief sketch of printers, presses, and newspapers, down to 1870, covers only 22 pages. The entire remainder of the volume, 249 pages or roughly five-sixths of the volume, is devoted almost exclusively to the history of the firm of Edwards & Broughton, covering a period of 75 years and the biographies of Cornelius Bryant Edwards, Needham Bryant Broughton, Charles Lee Smith, William Oliver Smith, and Charles Lee Smith,

Jr. These observations regarding title and allocation of space in no way minimize the utility and value of that part of the work covering pages 50 to 298 inclusive. Of unusual significance is the hitherto unprinted sketch of Dr. Charles Lee Smith by the late Dr. Stephen Beauregard Weeks, written in 1916—one of the many unpublished sketches collected by the late Charles L. Van Noppen for the uncompleted *Biographical History of North Carolina*, of which only eight volumes were published. Of the many interesting features of the highly successful career of this able business executive, educator, author, and bibliophile, two only will here be singled out: the writing of *The History of Education in North Carolina* (1888), the first systematic work on this subject—and the first to make use of the then recently published *Colonial Records of North Carolina*—a very serviceable reference work for almost sixty years; and the magnificient collection of works of English literature gathered by Dr. Smith throughout many years and designed eventually for the library of Wake Forest College.

In conclusion, several features of the work under review deserve citation. The late Dr. S. B. Weeks discovered and listed a total of 139 North Carolina imprints; and the late Douglas C. McMurtrie listed 290 titles of "undoubted authenticity" to which he added 39 "doubtful titles." As the result of his wide-ranging researches Professor Paschal has added 14 new titles—a very genuine bibliographical contribution. Appendix II is another valuable addition, in compact form, to the bibliography of North Carolina, being a partial list of books and pamphlets produced by the Edwards & Broughton Company.

Archibald Henderson.

The University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Books from Chapel Hill; A Complete Catalogue, 1923-1945. (The University of North Carolina Sesquecentennial Publications. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1946. Pp. xxv, 206. $1.25.)

One of the most significant books to be published this year is a little volume entitled *Books from Chapel Hill.* It is significant because it tells the story of how a university press, founded prin-

cipally upon the determination of a group of North Carolina scholars to set up a scholarly publishing program, has grown and developed in a twenty-four-year period into a great institution in itself. It is a record of an achievement unparalleled in the South and perhaps in the entire country. The list of books published totals approximately 500 titles, most of which deal with the South and many of which would never have been published had there not been a University of North Carolina Press. The solid worth of its publications has become so well established that the label "Books from Chapel Hill" is readily accepted as representing the finest, both in quality of content and workmanship, wherever sound scholarship is recognized.

Each of the two men most responsible for the success of the North Carolina Press, Louis R. Wilson and W. T. Couch, contributes a historical sketch of publishing at the university. In a foreword, Dr. Wilson outlines the three stages of publishing at North Carolina, devoting most of his discussion to the two earlier periods and leaving the more recent period constituting the activities of the press to Mr. Couch. This volume, which is devoted to the latter period, was published as one of the University of North Carolina Sesquicentennial Publications.

The University Press of North Carolina was organized as a non-stock corporation in 1922 by ten members of the faculty and three members of the board of trustees of the University. These were Alfred M. Scales, Zeb V. Walzer, and Leslie Weil from the trustees; and H. W. Chase, W. C. Coker, Louis Graves, Edwin Greenlaw, J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, L. P. McGehee, Howard W. Odum, Chester D. Snell, Nathan W. Walker, and Louis R. Wilson from the faculty. Dr. Wilson was named director, serving until 1932. He was succeeded by Mr. Couch, whose association with the press, begun in 1925, was continued until 1945, when he resigned to become head of the University of Chicago Press. While much credit should go to Dr. Wilson for building the press upon a sound foundation, it was under Mr. Couch's able direction that the organization attained its greatest success.

In his analysis of the press's activities covering the years 1923-1945, Mr. Couch touches upon the uncertain beginning of the

publishing program, briefly discusses policy, and then gives a table summarizing the total income of the press from all sources for the publication of books during the period 1923-1945. In another table Mr. Couch presents information regarding the periodicals, a venture separate from the book-publishing program, which he credits with having played an important part in the development of scholarly publishing in the university.

In presenting a brief but penetrating analysis of the South's problems, Mr. Couch writes: "Money is not the limiting factor in the South. The limiting factors are lack of public interest, and a woeful ignorance among educators of what education can be and ought to be, and a tendency to parrot the most recent ideas as if there had been no real thinking and important experience on this subject before the present generation. . . . The real question in the South is not that of money but whether Southern people can respond to opportunities, whether they possess capacities that can be developed rapidly, whether human and physical resources here are being left idle or lost, whether the South is contributing all that it can to civilization, whether it is working and thinking and enjoying living as fully as its native powers will permit. Of all man's concerns in this life, none is more important than scholarship. . . . Scholarly publishing and higher learning are interdependent. It is impossible to have one without the other."

This little volume is the answer to the question: "Why not leave publishing to well established commercial publishers?" The range and nature of the subjects covered in this catalogue show unmistakably the broad understanding of what a scholarly publishing program should be and what can be accomplished when intelligent direction is combined with great courage and leadership. The University of North Carolina has been a pioneer in southern education, and its press very definitely reflects the university's success.

Marcus M. Wilkerson.

Louisiana State University Press,
Baton Rouge, La.

Shirt-Sleeve Diplomat. By Josephus Daniels. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1947. Pp. xix, 547. $5.00.)

Officially, Josephus Daniels was ambassador of the United States to Mexico from March, 1933, until his successor arrived in Mexico in February, 1942; but he did not present his credentials to the president of Mexico until April 24, 1933, and he took formal leave of the Mexican government on November 7, 1941. It seems necessary to be meticulous about these dates because the title-page and the first sentence in the "Foreword" appear to indicate that he actually *served* as United States Ambassador in Mexico from 1933 to 1942, inclusive, and because the "global" adjustment of long-standing problems in United States-Mexican relations was reached on November 19, 1941, twelve days after his farewell banquet, the treaties which settled the disputes having been negotiated in Washington, not in Mexico City.

In thus calling attention to the time of the ambassador's arrival and departure and the date of the treaties, this reviewer has no desire to minimize Mr. Daniels's achievements in the diplomatic service of his country. The ambassador won the friendship and confidence of the Mexicans from the start; and in spite of the fact that the final settlement of the stubborn issues that had vexed the two governments for thirty years was not effected until shortly after his departure from Mexico, his contributions were no doubt important, as likewise were those of President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull, and even those of the Axis powers, for it will be recalled that the United States was already practically at war when the Mexican treaties were signed and that the raid on Pearl Harbor occurred on December 7, only eighteen days after the signatures were affixed.

The weight given to the work of this "Shirt-Sleeve Diplomat" will depend, of course, upon the point of view. Some will feel that Mr. Daniels and his government ceded too much—accepted the short end of the bargain and flashed the green light for Latin-American "radicals" from the Rio Grande to Patagonia. Others, agreeing with the governments concerned and with the ambassador, will pronounce his mission a success, since Mexico's friendship was retained while the United States collected over seventy

million dollars for injuries to its citizens and their properties, and since Mexico's tranquillity was promoted, so that her mood and condition were such that she became a helpful ally in World War II rather than a sullen and suspected neutral as in World War I.

The value of this volume does not depend, however, upon the reader's estimate of the ambassador's achievements in the purely diplomatic field, to which not more than a tenth of its 566 pages is given. The major part of the book is devoted to an intimate portrayal of Mexican life and politics during this critical period, to accounts of interviews with numerous visitors, to stories which amused an old-time Southerner, and to swift glimpses into Mexico's past. By no means the least of its merits is its wealth of illustrations, more than a hundred in all. The recollections of this North Carolina journalist, the William Allen White of that section of the country, seem destined to occupy an important place among the memoirs of diplomats (Poinsett, Foster, and others) who have served the United States in Mexico. Whether he agrees with the "Shirt-Sleeve Diplomat" or not—and undoubtedly many will applaud his views—the reader who takes up this most vivid and absorbing volume is likely to finish it and lay it aside with the feeling that here is a book and here is a man! Its author was seventy-one years old when he began his Mexican mission and eighty-five when he published this account —and was still cheerful and genial despite the loss of his able and most attractive wife, who died in 1943, at the age of seventy-four, after graciously assisting him at the embassy in Mexico City for nearly nine years and after their golden wedding anniversary had been celebrated.

J. Fred Rippy.

The University of Chicago,
Chicago, Ill.

The Story of Henderson County. By Sadie Smathers Patton. (Asheville: The Miller Printing Company. 1947, Pp. xx, 200.)

This account of people, events, and institutions of Henderson County, North Carolina, will be welcomed by the citizens of that county as well as by the people of the surrounding area. Its appeal will be more especially to those whose ancestors are men-

tioned in the book as having had a part in the development of that section.

The author explains that much of the knowledge which made the writing of the book possible is a "heritage from ancestors who were among the pioneer settlers." Long years of patient investigation of tradition, customs, and "tales told around firesides" furnished much of the information when written records were silent or lost.

Under chapter headings of "Henderson County—its Creation," "Days of Cherokee Occupation," "First White Settler Crosses the Blue Ridge," "Other Pioneers," "Pioneers Begin to Develop the Frontier," "From Trading Paths to Roads," "A New County is Created," "First Twenty-Five Years," "Schools," "Churches," "Flat Rock—The Little Charleston-of-the-Mountains," "Railroads," "New Growth," "Hendersonville," "Period Between Pioneer Days and Modern Times," and "A New Era," the author discusses the pioneers of the section before the county was officially organized to about the time of the First World War. There are scattered references, however, to people and events of a later date.

This book is not a history in the generally accepted sense. The sequence of events is loosely organized and the genealogical sketches often make dry reading. Despite the fact that the book was not written by a trained historian, the story does preserve tales, tradition, and history which might otherwise have been lost. If Mrs. Patton had done nothing more than to preserve these traditions—and she does not claim to have written a definitive history—she has rendered a valuable service. Unfortunately for the reader, the author does not always distinguish between tradition and fact, for there are few footnotes. More to be regretted, the book lacks a bibliography. There are errors of fact. For example, North Carolina did not abolish all religious tests for holding office in 1835 (p. 104), and Henderson County was not a part of the forty-fourth senatorial district (p. 121).

The volume is attractively printed and its appearance is enhanced by about twenty pictures, including that of Judge Leon-

ard Henderson, for whom the county was named. There is an adequate index.

D. J. Whitener.

Appalachian State Teachers College,
Boone, N. C.

Benjamin F. Perry: South Carolina Unionist. By Lillian Adele Kibler. (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1946. Pp. xiii, 562. Illustrations and index. $4.50.)

Miss Kibler has written one of the most thorough studies of South Carolina history that has ever been produced. She describes the origin, development, and consequences of the most fateful event in the state's annals. This was secession. The agitations which led to the great break with the United States are described in illuminating detail. The break itself occupies a central chapter. It is followed by the presentation of the tragic consequences: war with its physical slaughter and Reconstruction with its affront to the South Carolina pride and prejudice of race and custom. The subject is presented from the viewpoint of one of the few active participants in South Carolina politics whose footsteps can be adequately traced through literary remains. The letters, it seems, of most of the others perished in the ruins or were hidden or destroyed by shy or careless descendants. This is not true of Benjamin F. Perry. He and his kin carefully preserved his papers, and Perry himself, addicted to writing as well as to talking, allowed his bounding egotism to lead to the publication of several volumes of reminiscences. Miss Kibler, with the active cooperation of Perry's descendants, has fully exploited the Perry manuscripts and has accumulated much collaborative evidence found in contemporary newspapers and public documents and in the private papers of numerous public characters. She presents her findings in a style both lucid and cultivated.

The value of the book is largely based on the fact that it presents South Carolina history from the viewpoint of an interesting but heretofore obscure minority. The Calhoun school of nullificationists, secessionists, and Confederate warriors has been

adequately recognized by both historians and romancers; so has the struggle of the South Carolina Negro out of slavery into the demand for political and social enfranchisement. This is not true of the small band of South Carolinians, mostly from the mountain fringe of their state, who joined larger groups of Unionists in other Southern states in the struggle against the tragic destiny nurtured by Calhoun. Perry was the chief of this group. Miss Kibler, with almost daughterly reverence, gives him full opportunity to speak; and he does speak with an emphasis as full and as passionate as that of any South Carolinian of the opposite opinion. He speaks as a lawyer, legislator, political canvasser, journalist, and constitutional pundit; he even speaks through the gun of the duelist. For many years he was the leading citizen of Greenville, a foothills town on the opposite side of the state from Charleston. Miss Kibler's most attractive chapters prove that the social life of this small place had charms comparable to those of the famous South Carolina city by the sea.

The worth of this book is further enhanced by the fact that its subject was as much bound by the convictions of the South Carolina patriot as was John C. Calhoun, Robert Barnwell Rhett, or Ben Tillman. Perry believed in slavery, hated abolitionists, was as vain and patriotic as the most extreme secessionist, and paid fealty to the code of the southern gentleman by appearing on the field of honor. He did not disagree with the majority over the worth of South Carolina's peculiar institutions but merely with this majority's methods of preserving them. For this reason he was never outlawed by the secessionists. He rewarded this seeming tolerance by espousing the cause of the Confederacy once the die was cast in favor of separating from the Union and by a stubborn championship of white supremacy against the aspirations of former slaves after the Civil War. His most notable service was that of provisional governor under President Johnson's plan of Reconstruction.

Perhaps it is too much to expect a South Carolina lady in the confidence of the Perry family to write a biography that is both personal and critical. This Miss Kibler does not do, but this

she should have done to make her book memorable. By a liberal use of the ample records at her disposal she sets the records straight without effective re-creation and appraisal of her man and his environment. Hidden between her lines is an egotist who, despite his learning, courage, and sterling virtues, made mistakes. She prefers an impersonal chronicle to a full revelation of this person. For the most part she accepts South Carolina at its own valuation. It does not occur to her, for example, that the outcome of Reconstruction might have been different from what it was. The fact that her viewpoint is that of the South Carolina up-country rather than that of the South Carolina low-country does not, as Professor Allan Nevins claims in the foreword, serve as a liberalizing force. It leads her into a few imprudent statements as when she claims that the low-country was more prejudiced in its southernism than the up-country. This makes possible the erroneous belief that Perry's administration as provisional governor was a success. There is no room in her narrative for the admission that the anti-Negro and states-rights prejudices of her mountain hero were in no small measure responsible for the failure of the Johnson plan of Reconstruction.

Francis B. Simkins.

State Teachers College,
Farmville, Virginia.

The Fourteenth Amendment and the Negro since 1920. By Bernard H. Nelson. (Washington, D. C.; The Catholic University of America Press, 1946. Pp. viii, 185.)

Dr. Bernard Nelson, in his book, *The Fourteenth Amendment and the Negro since 1920,* tells of the attempts made by the Negro to use the courts as a means of solving his problems. The purpose of the study, as stated by Dr. Nelson, is " . . . to examine the interpretation and application of the Fourteenth Amendment between 1920 and 1943 to determine its effectiveness in protecting the rights and privileges of the Negro citizen." Dr. Nelson points out that the Negro applied the Fourteenth Amendment to cases involving "residential segregation," "disfranchisement,"

"exclusion from juries," "educational inequality," and criminal cases. The clauses of the amendment most frequently used by the Negro to prove that the discriminating practices were a violation of his civil rights were: "due process of law," "privileges and immunities," and "denial of equal protection of the law."

The study points out that over a period of seventy-five years the Supreme Court has moved from a conservative interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment to a liberal one. The case of Plessy v. Ferguson (separation of races in intrastate travel) illustrates the former statement, for the court held that " . . . the right for which protection was sought was a social right, not a legal right; and the Fourteenth Amendment did not force social equality. . . ." The Gaines v. Canada (admission of Negroes to state universities) proves the latter contention when Chief Justice Hughes said, "This discrimination, unrelieved, could constitute a denial of equal protection." The trend of this liberal movement has been concomitant with the social thought of southern society. Another thing the author proves is that there has been consistent effort on the part of most of the southern states to circumvent the ruling of the Supreme Court when these decisions have been favorable to the Negro.

Whereas the work contains much recorded historical information, it lacks historical scholarship. Judging from the footnotes used to support the thesis, the author played the role of a commentator or columnist rather than that of a historian. For example, Dr. Nelson refers his readers to the Norfolk *Journal and Guide* and the Washington *Afro-American* for a discussion of Senator Borah's proposal to alter the Fourteenth Amendment (p. 108, v. 3). Instead, the *Congressional Record* should have been cited, for a historian should cite source material and use newspapers only to track down leads to the information he desires.

Furthermore, the study lacks unity. For in one place the main topic is "Negro Disfranchisement" (p. 34), and in another place, under the same major topic, the author discusses the application of the Fourteenth Amendment in cases involving educational facilities and crime (p. 42). *The Fourteenth Amend-*

ment and the Negro since 1920 would have been more logically arranged if the author had organized his material around the cases involving residential segregation, disfranchisement, and the like.

Nevertheless, the layman who wants a compilation of cases involving the Negro and the Fourteenth Amendment since 1920 will find the book valuable.

Tinsley L. Spraggins.

St. Augustine's College,
Raleigh, N. C.

The Congressional Career of Thomas Francis Bayard, 1865-1885. By Charles Callan Tansill. (The Georgetown University Studies in History, No. I. Washington: The Georgetown University Press, 1946. Pp. xi, 362.)

Thomas Francis Bayard came from a long line of distinguished and influential leaders in Delaware. His grandfather, James A. Bayard, senior, an ardent Jeffersonian Democrat, served as a United States Senator and as peace commissioner to Ghent in 1815; an uncle Richard H. Bayard was a United States Senator and minister to Belgium; and his father James A. Bayard, II, served three terms in the United States Senate, and had the unique distinction of presenting his son's credentials as a Senator, a privilege no other Senator ever had. Thomas Francis came naturally by his sympathetic attitude toward the South. His father loathed the abolitionists and sympathized with the Confederate States of America, believed that the South was in the right and would ultimately triumph. He opposed Lincoln's call for troops, found no warrant for it in the law or the Constitution, and declared that it meant a war of invasion. He believed that Delaware should secede but that her action should follow Maryland's. During the war he bitterly condemned the Radicals as "Brutes . . . [who] grow more sanguinary and vindictive with the hopes of success." Even those Republicans in whom he "supposed some sense and conservatism remained, prove either fanatics or hypocrites."

With such a heritage it was only natural that Thomas Francis should either enter public service and champion the cause of

the South. In June 1, 1861, he made a speech in which he urged that the southern states be permitted to depart in peace. Entering the Senate in 1869, he opposed much of the Radical reconstruction program, including Negro suffrage and the force acts. Bayard also played a major role in the Democratic party. He helped to create the electoral commission in 1876 and was a prominent candidate for the Democratic nomination for the presidency in 1876, 1880, and 1884. But Bayard was more than a politician: he was a real statesman and stood head and shoulders above most of his confreres in the Senate. It is the author's opinion that the South, in failing to give its united support to its "protector," prevented Bayard's nomination. But Professor Tansill presents confusing and contradictory evidence in regard to Bradley T. Johnson's position on pages 270, 276, and 283.

This is not a biography of Bayard but it is an excellent study of his congressional career. Professor Tansill is eminently qualified to make this study. He has already written a good account of Bayard's contributions as Secretary of State and ambassador to Great Britain in *The Foreign Policy of Thomas F. Bayard,* and the present work ably supplements the first. Professor Tansill has made extensive use of the Bayard papers and other contemporary collections in the Library of Congress. The author is most sympathetic with his subject and takes occasion to condemn the New Deal's financial policies and tendency toward centralization when he develops Bayard's attacks upon Republican practices and the Grant administration in the post-Civil War years. He has given a thorough and worthwhile account of political currents for the twenty years following the Civil War.

Fletcher M. Green.

The University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Frontier on the Potomac. By Jonathan Daniels. (New York: The Macmillan Company. Pp. 262. $2.75.)

Often I've wondered—though I don't recall having remembered to ask him—if Jonathan Daniels remembers the day Pro-

fessor Horace Williams at Chapel Hill asked him if he'd rather live in Raleigh or in Heaven. It was during one of "Horace's" lectures to the class in logic. And young Daniels's answer was prompt and unequivocal.

"Raleigh," said Jonathan.

His answer that day more than a quarter of a century ago was characteristic, in my opinion, of his writing in the years that have followed. It was unhesitant, slightly shocking, a bit brash, and designed to be different. And such have been his books. *Frontier on the Potomac*, his latest, has the Daniels touches. One reviewer, Virginia Kirkus, I believe, speaks of them. "Many small touches," she says, "a view of the significance of the healthy heresies he has found, this series of 'profiles' of governmental functioning is knowing, intimate, and interesting in its personal appraisal."

It is the contention of Jonathan Daniels that although the world's—and particularly America's—geographical frontiers are fast disappearing, other equally important frontiers are challenging the rawest courage and deepest devotion of a new group of explorers and navigators, men and women concerned with the discovery of the sound and the sensible and the good in the still unexplored or half-charted continents and oceans of ideas and plans and formulas that must either make or shortly wreck our world.

One of these frontiers, and the most important, including Moscow, London, Oak Ridge, Palestine, Bombay, and scores of college, university, and theological seminary towns where men are coming to close grips with ideas, is Washington, D. C. In Washington, perhaps if anywhere, we can sometimes get an imperfectly focused glimpse of the mighty and ponderous machinery, the intricate and hair-trigger mechanism, that operates this scattered and conglomerate, simple and complex, troubled and happy, vast land. And if anyone is equipped by experience, training, and inclination to have a peek at this dynamo of America and describe it—together with the probable, if there are to be any, gears and pins and dynamos of a new and stable world machine—Jonathan Daniels, one might reasonably suggest, is

the man. He lived in Washington and went to its schools while his father was Wilson's Secretary of the Navy, covered its various personages and doings as a newspaperman, and served in the government with the Civilian Defense organization and later as one of the Roosevelt presidential assistants.

His new book, then, is a report of Washington as Daniels sees it, and he has both an outside and inside view of the capital and the government. It is a frank, intimate, personal report, done with a Daniels flair and saltiness that sometimes approaches a sauciness of the Daniels days when he sat—and fidgeted—at the feet of such Chapel Hill stalwarts as Horace Williams and Edwin Greenlaw. It abounds in clever aphorisms that serve to spotlight Washington personages and places. He frequently chooses strange spots for setting his camera. The reviewer in one of the literary magazines mildly scolded him for this. "There are a good many times when the wincing reader will find the subject matter surprisingly trivial, by comparison with the importance of the period of which Mr. Daniels is writing," this reviewer says, "and the immensity of the tasks allotted to the public figures with whom he deals."

Mr. Daniels, no doubt, deliberately chose these "trivial" persons and places and events, and I approve such writing devices. Often the cab driver with whom he discusses current affairs or the Capitol guard who neatly summarizes the vagaries of Capitol visitors can be more enlightening—and entertaining—than the Chief Justice or a brace of Senators.

The reviews have been very good. The *Christian Science Monitor* declared that "Few chroniclers have Jonathan Daniels's entree. Few have his sharp eyes. Few have his detachments along with his romantic emotion. And so it will be a long time before as good a book as this is written about a contemporary period in American history." The *New Yorker* was somewhat critical: "A sometimes diverting and not always lucid essay on the capital." But the *New York Times* was lavish: "For those who can forgive Washington its climate, its rootlessness and its institutionalized pomposity and love it for its beauty, its human diversity and its never-failing challenge to the mind and the imagination," the book is recommended. "For it is here,

in the seat of Government, that America's frontier now lies. Whoever would know that frontier, in its human rather than its academic form, will have to read this book."

Frontier on the Potomac reveals the fabric of the clothing that dresses Washington, whether it be silks and satins and tails and tall hats or overalls and flour-sacking. But it likewise pulls aside the garments to reveal the skin and sinews and even the bones of that pulsating colossus we call the government of the United States. And it likewise reveals Jonathan Daniels. Perhaps the people and the government haven't changed so much despite the tremendous events of the last quarter of a century. Nor has Mr. Daniels. Were old "Horace" to return for a session with his old class in logic and ask Jonathan Daniels in his whining drawl: "Mr. Daniels, would you rather live in Washington or Heaven?," I'd bet my last nickel on what a considerably older, but still unhesitant, inclined-to-be-slightly-shocking, yes, and even a-bit-brash Daniels would reply.

LeGette Blythe.

The Charlotte Observer,
Charlotte, N. C.

History and Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820. By Clarence S. Brigham. (Worcester, Massachusetts: American Antiquarian Society, 1947. Vol. I, pp. xxvii, 1-757; vol. II, pp. 758-1508. $15.00.)

This set of books is an outgrowth of a suggestion made in 1911 relative to the importance of newspapers in historical research. The significance of such a compilation is quite evident to those who are interested in or who from time to time project historical research activities. Newspapers are important in writing the history of a city, community, county, or state, and when historians know the locations of the existing newspapers of the community or state in which they are interested it is a tremendous assistance. Dr. Brigham began his task in 1913—thirty-four years ago—and the results of his efforts have just come from the press. He did not, however, devote his full time to this task, but did use many vacation periods and visited many libraries throughout the several states.

The largest collections of newspapers prior to 1820 are housed in the American Antiquarian Society, the Library of Congress, the Widener Library of Harvard University, the New York Historical Society, the New York Public Library, and the Wisconsin Historical Society. Of course, other libraries and institutions have smaller files. In the collections which Mr. Brigham examined, he found the numbers of titles of newspapers from the several states as follows: New York with 434 titles, Pennsylvania with 368, Massachusetts with 175, Virginia with 127, Ohio with 99, Maryland with 93, Kentucky 88, and Connecticut 78. Other states follow proportionately down the line—Texas, Michigan, and Florida 2 each, and Arkansas 1. Dr. Brigham lists collections from 30 states.

The Pennsylvania Gazette, according to this compilation, had the longest continuous publication period. It ran for a total of eighty-seven years, 1728-1815. *The Maryland Gazette* was published for a period of seventy-five years, *The Boston News Letter* for seventy-two years, and *The New Hampshire Gazette* for sixty-four years. Other papers, of course, were published for long periods of time, but about fifty per cent of them existed only for two years. Many papers continued publication after 1821. It is interesting to run through the mortality of the newspapers listed in these volumes.

The states included in this compilation are listed alphabetically, as well as the newspapers in those states. The name of the newspaper and the inclusive dates are given after which follows a brief and concise history of its existence; then follows the listing of the issues in the various libraries throughout the country. Volume II begins with the state of North Carolina, about which we are particularly interested. Dr. Brigham lists a total of sixty-two titles of North Carolina newspapers, but of that number he failed to find issues of six. He is certain, however, that all sixty-two did exist for short or longer periods. The American Antiquarian Society has the best collection of North Carolina titles and issues. This is due to the great interest in collecting newspapers, the beginning of which was made by Isaiah Thomas. In checking we find that a

person who is interested in searching the files of the *Raleigh Register,* the *North Carolina Minerva, Wilmington Gazette, The Star,* and the *North Carolina Journal* can find that there are pretty good files of these newspapers. The American Antiquarian Society has forty-one North Carolina titles, the Library of Congress nineteen, Harvard University eighteen, the New York Historical Society six, the New York Public Library one, and the Wisconsin Historical Society five. Some of these libraries have files of several titles and in order to get access to complete files of any of the titles it would be necessary to visit all of the libraries.

Dr. Brigham has rendered a valuable service to students and scholars, and his volumes will be a welcome addition to the libraries throughout the country. This work, together with *American Newspapers, 1821-1936: A List of Files Available in the United States and Canada,* edited by Winifred Gregory and published in 1937, completes the listing of newspapers from 1690 to 1936. Dr. Brigham is to be congratulated on this monumental work. He has been most meticulous in listing every issue of every title of any newspaper published within this period. He can well be proud of his accomplishment, because his work will stand for many years as a guide in locating the early newspapers of America.

D. L. Corbitt.

The State Department of Archives and History,
Raleigh, North Carolina.

Florida Becomes a State. (Tallahassee: Florida Centennial Commission, 1945 Pp. xi, 481. $3.50.)

This volume is a literary souvenir of the Florida Centennial. It begins with a brief essay on life in Florida in 1845 by W. T. Cash, state librarian. The main part of the work is in effect a documentary history of the process by which Florida became a state, beginning with the treaty of cession from Spain in 1819, containing among other selected documents the journal of the constitutional convention which met at St. Joseph in 1838, the resulting constitution, the federal laws providing and prescrib-

ing terms for the admission of Florida to the Union, and concluding with the act of the Florida legislature in 1845 which gave assent to the terms prescribed. The documents, edited by Dorothy Dodd, archivist of the Florida State Library, are preceded by an introduction by Dr. Dodd which gives a running account of the events resulting in statehood. The volume contains a good reproduction of an excellent map of Florida published in 1846, several interesting facsimiles, pictures of the Florida capitol as it appeared in 1838, 1845, and 1945, and portraits of contemporary and modern political leaders.

The whole work is designed and executed with care and ingenuity. It is at once a convenient manual and a small mine of information for those interested in this aspect of Florida history.

Cecil Johnson.

The University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dr. William B. Hamilton of Duke University has been granted a sabbatical leave for the second term, 1947-1948.

Dr. Rosser H. Taylor, formerly a professor of history at Furman University, Greenville, S. C., has been appointed professor of history and head of the department of social sciences at the Western Carolina Teachers College, Cullowhee, N. C. Dr. Taylor succeeds Professor E. H. Stillwell, who died last January.

Miss Christiana McFayden, assistant professor of history at the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, has been granted an extension of her leave of absence for another year to enable her to complete work for the degree of doctor of philosophy at the University of Chicago. Mrs. Carolyn Daniel has been appointed an instructor in history to supply for Miss McFayden during the latter's absence.

Dr. Katherine E. Boyd, who last year supplied for Miss Christiana McFayden, has accepted a position as associate professor of history at Carlton College, Northfield, Minnesota.

Dr. C. D. Johns, who for the past three years has served as acting head of the department of history and political science of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, has been appointed head of the department to succeed Dr. B. B. Kendrick, who died last year.

Dr. H. A. Coleman, formerly a professor at The Citadel and more recently chief of the Medical History Section, Army Air Forces, is now an associate professor in the social studies department of East Carolina Teachers College.

Dr. Lawrence Fay Brewster, professor of history at East Carolina Teachers College, has recently published in the historical papers of the Trinity College Historical Society his book entitled *Summer Migrations and Resorts of South Carolina Low-Country Planters.*

Dr. James W. Patton, head of the history department at State College, announces the following changes in the staff of that Department: Mr. H. A. Cunningham resigned July 1, 1947, to resume graduate studies at the University of North Carolina and Mr. William F. Entrekin, Jr., also resigned effective on that date. The following men have been added to the staff as new members: Dr. Stuart McGuire Noblin, an assistant professor; Dr. Charles Melver Kolb, an instructor; and Mr. Rex Beach, an instructor. The following promotions also have been announced: Dr. L. Walter Segars from assistant professor of history and political science to associate professor; Dr. Kenneth Raahe from instructor to associate professor; and Dr. Preston W. Edsall promoted from associate professor to full professor. During the summer school Dr. Francis B. Simkins of State Teachers College, Farmville, Virginia, taught at State College and Dr. James W. Patton taught at the second term at Duke University.

A Syllabus of the History of the Civilization, Volume III, by Lillian Parker Wallace and Alice Barnwell Keith, has been revised and published by the Technical Press, Raleigh, N. C.

Miss Priscilla Bailey has been appointed instructor in history at Salem Academy, Winston-Salem, N. C.

Dr. Robert W. Barnwell, Jr., has been appointed professor of history and acting head of the department of history at Salem College, Winston-Salem.

Dr. Harold L. Trigg, formerly assistant director of the Southern Regional Council, on September 1 became president of St. Augustine's College, Raleigh, N. C. Dr. Trigg is the first Negro president of this institution.

Dr. Percival Perry has returned to Wake Forest College as assistant professor of history. Mr. Elmer Punyear has returned as an instructor of history and Mr. Wesley M. Bagby and W. B. Yearns, instructors in history for the last two years, will continue

as instructors this year. Mr. J. B. Woodall has resigned as instructor in order to resume graduate work at Columbia University.

Wilson Primitive Baptist Church, Wilson, N. C., a pamphlet edited by Elder S. B. Denny and published by the Wilson Primitive Baptist Church, has just been received from the author. This pamphlet of fifty-two pages gives the history of the church, together with brief sketches of the many pastors. Copies may be procured by writing Elder S. B. Denny, Wilson, N. C.

The Henderson County Historical Society has presented to the county commissioners of Henderson County a photograph of Judge Leonard Henderson, for whom the county was named. The society has also presented to the Rosa Edwards Elementary School a photograph of Judge Mitchell King of Charleston, S. C., who gave in perpetuity the land on which the school is erected.

On August 29-30 Henderson County celebrated its centennial. A pageant written by Mrs. Sadie S. Patton formed the main program for the celebration. Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, and Mr. Henry Howard Eddy represented the State Department of Archives and History at the celebration.

Dr. Bayrd Still has resigned as assistant professor of history at Duke University to become professor of history in New York University.

Dr. Dorothy M. Quynn has resigned from the history department in Duke University and is now serving as a lecturer in Goucher College, Baltimore, Maryland.

Mr. John S. Curtiss of Duke University has been granted a leave of absence for the year to continue his researches in Russian history and to serve as a participating fellow in the Russian Institute in Columbia University.

Mr. Theodore Ropp of Duke University has been granted a leave of absence for the year to continue his work with the State

Department in Washington arranging for publication of the documents of the German Foreign Office.

Dr. Harry Stevens, who last year was a member of the faculty of the University of Cincinnati, has joined the staff of Duke University as an instructor in history.

Miss Alice K. Reek of Winterthur, Delaware, a graduate of Maryville College, has joined the staff as instructor in history at Mars Hill College.

A portrait of William Rufus King, a native of Sampson County, N. C., Vice President of the United States and Minister to France, has been sent to Paris, France, where it will hang in the American Embassy. This portrait was painted by Mrs. Mary de B. Graves of Chapel Hill.

On September 11 the Greensboro Historical Museum at the Civic Center formerly opened the O. Henry Memorial Room, commemorating the birth of O. Henry (William Sidney Porter). The drug store in which O. Henry served the public has been reconstructed as a part of the museum. Mr. D. L. Corbitt, Mr. William F. Burton, Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Miss Manora Mewborn, and Mrs. Julia C. Meconnahey of the State Department of Archives and History attended the formal opening.

An original copy of the King James Version of the Bible, printed in 1611, has been added to the library of the Historical Foundation, Montreat, N. C. This volume was discovered in Concord, N. C. Sketches and photographs of every man and woman associated with the Presbyterian Church in the United States (Southern) who lost their lives in the late war are being assembled in the Foundation. This is made possible through the cooperation of the local historians of the Woman's Auxiliary of the church, working under the supervision of regional historians.

Dr. I. B. Holley and Dr. Walter Givan, graduates of Yale University, have joined the staff of Duke University as instructors in history.

Mr. Joel Cotton, who is a candidate for the doctor's degree at Columbia University, has been added to the staff of Duke University as an instructor in history.

Dr. William B. Hamilton has been promoted from assistant professor to associate professor of history at Duke University.

Dr. Richard L. Watson, Jr., and Dr. Arthur B. Ferguson of Duke University have been promoted from instructors to assistant professors of history.

Dr. Joseph C. Roberts of Duke University has been granted a sabbatical leave for the first term of the year 1947-1948.

The North Carolina Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy on October 7-8 held a convention in Rocky Mount. On October 7 Mr. Thomas J. Pearsall of Nashville delivered an address entitled "Now is the Time." Miss Gertrude S. Carraway of New Bern appeared on the morning program on October 8 and former governor J. Melville Broughton spoke at the evening meeting. New officers elected for the year are as follows: Mrs. Albert Lee Thompson of Greensboro, president; Mrs. W. L. Johnson of La Grange, vice-president; Mrs. R. P. Reece, of Winston-Salem, vice-president; Mrs. P. A. Rothrock of Mount Airy, vice-president; Mrs. Paul Fitzgerald of Pelham, recording secretary; Mrs. W. A. Balsley of Greensboro, corresponding secretary; Mrs. P. P. Thomas of Asheville, treasurer; Miss Jeannette Biggs of Oxford, registrar; Mrs. A. T. St. Amand of Wilmington, historian; and Mrs. Grady Ross of Charlotte, recorder of crosses.

Dr. Thomas P. Johnston, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Kingsport, Tennessee, has been elected chairman of the Executive Committee of the Historical Foundation at Montreat. Dr. Johnston succeeds Dr. R. F. Campbell. Dr. C. E.

Mount of Clarkesdale, Mississippi, Mrs. W. I. Fowler of Lexington, Kentucky, and Mr. William H. Barnhill of Charlotte, N. C., have been appointed a committee to promote the interest of the foundation throughout the church. Dr. Johnston, Dr. H. B. Dendy of Weaverville, N. C., and Mrs. Charles D. Parker of Asheville were appointed a special committee of finance whose duties include among other things the authorization of the construction of a new building for the Foundation. Plans for the building have been prepared by Alfred Morton Gethens of New York.

Books received include Vernon Lane Wharton, *The Negro in Mississippi, 1865-1890* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1947); Gilbert E. Govan and James W. Livingood, *The University of Chattanooga: Sixty Years* (Chattanooga, Tennessee: The University of Chattanooga Press, 1947); Frank J. Klingberg, *A Free Church in a Free State, America's Unique Contribution* (Indianapolis, Indiana: National Foundation Press, 1947); Louis B. Wright, *The Atlantic Frontier: Colonial American Civilization 1607-1763* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1947); Otto Eisenschiml and Ralph Newman, *The American Iliad, The Epic Story of the Civil War* (Indianapolis, Indiana: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1947); Evarts B. Greene, *Church and State,* (Indianapolis, Indiana: National Foundation Press, 1947); Louis R. Wilson, *The Chronicles of the Sesquicentennial* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1947); John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of American Negroes* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1947); Stanley F. Horn, *Gallant Rebel: The Fabulous Cruise of the Shenandoah* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1947); Nannie M. Tilley and Noma Lee Goodwin, *Guide to the Manuscript Collections in the Duke University Library* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1947); E. Merton Coulter, *The South During Reconstruction, 1865-1877* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1947); Henry Louis Smith, *This Troubled Century* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1947); Francis R. Flournoy, *Benjamin Mosby Smith, 1811-1893* (Richmond, Virginia: Richmond Press, Inc., 1947); Frank E. Vandiver, *The Civil War Diary of General*

Josiah Gorgas (University, Alabama: The University of Alabama Press, 1947); Boyce House, *Cub Reporter, Being Mainly About Mr. Mooney and the Commercial Appeal* (Dallas, Texas: Hightower Press, 1947); Gerald W. Johnson, *The First Captain: The Story of John Paul Jones* (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1947); Edgar W. Knight, *Henry Harrisse on Collegiate Education* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1947); Peirson Ricks, *The Hunter's Horn* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1947); Paul W. Wager, *North Carolina: The State and its Government* (New York: Oxford Book Company, 1947); Walter L. Lingle, *Memories of Davidson College* (Richmond, Virginia: John Knox Press, 1947); S. H. Hobbs, Jr., and Marjorie N. Bond, *North Carolina Today* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1947).

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

Mr. Jason B. Deyton is superintendent of the Mitchell County Public Schools, Bakersville, N. C.

Dr. Charles W. Turner is an instructor in history in Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Virginia.

Dr. Nancy Jane Lucas is an instructor in history in Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

Dr. Nannie May Tilley is a professor of history at East Texas State Teachers College, Commerce, Texas.

Mr. A. Laurence Aydlett is the director of information service of the State Board of Public Welfare, Raleigh, N. C.

Dr. Charles W. Turner is an instructor of history in Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Virginia.

Dr. Edgar W. Knight is Kenan professor of education at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

Mrs. Willie Grier Todd's address is Buford, Georgia.

Mr. Tinsley Lee Spraggins is professor of history at St. Augustine's College, Raleigh, N. C.

Mrs. Ernest A. Branch is acting secretary of the State Literary and Historical Association, Raleigh, N. C.

Dr. Robert Burton House is chancellor of The University in Chapel Hill, and vice-president of The University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dr. Nannie May Tilley is a professor of history at East Texas State Teachers College, Commerce, Texas.

Mr. LeGette Blythe is an editorial and feature writer of *The Charlotte Observer,* Charlotte, N. C.

Dr. Edwin Mims is professor emeritus of English at Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee.

Dr. James A. Padgett is an archivist, United States Department of Commerce, Division of Liquidation, Washington, D. C.

Miss Mary Lindsay Thornton is in charge of the North Carolina Collection of the Library of The University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

Dr. Ruth Ketring Nuermberger, formerly with the library at Duke University, Durham, lives at apartment B-215,2713—29th Street, S. E., Washington 20, D. C.

Mr. William P. Roberts is an instructor in history at the University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.

Mr. Jason B. Deyton is superintendent of the Mitchell County Public Schools, Bakersville, North Carolina.

Dr. Nancy Jane Lucas is an instructor in history in Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

INDEX TO VOLUME XXIV

1947

A

Abolitionists, not satisfied with Kansas-Nebraska Act, 153.

Abraham Lincoln Association, solicits information concerning Lincoln material, 42.

Act to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes, 191.

Action, Joseph, testifies about Bullock, 334.

Adams, Agatha Boyd, her book received, 279.

Adams, Charles Francis, asks that vessels be seized by the British government, 336; assigned to the Court of Saint James's, 319; complains about Confederate vessel being built in England, 327; makes no further efforts to prove destination of ship, 324; requests ship be detained, 328.

Adams, John Quincy, chosen on first ballot, 296; describes the removal of office holders, 297; eulogized, 294; invited to make annual address, 295; meeting notes death of, 294; president of Columbian Institute, 293; toast to, 487.

Adams, Raymond, elected secretary-treasurer, 129.

Adams, Samuel C., organizes Virginia tobacco growers, 222.

Adams, Stephen, opens academy, 450.

Adlam, Samuel, introduces subject, 141.

Advancing South, published, 238.

Advisory Board of Paroles, members of, 27.

A Free Church in a Free State, America's Unique Contribution, received, 559.

"Agitation against the American Tobacco Company in North Carolina, 1890-1911," article by Nannie May Tilley, 207-223; paper read, 198; subject of paper read, 127.

Agricultural fund, created, 495.

Agricultural Society of Surry County, constitution of, 502, 503; rules for procedure of business of, 505.

A Guide to Manuscripts Relating to American History in British Depositories Reproduced for the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress, received, 131; reviewed, 414.

A History of Printing in North Carolina, A Detailed Account of the Pioneer Printers, 1749-1800, and of the Edwards Broughton Company, 1871-1946, including a Brief Account of the Connecting Period, received, 131; reviewed, 534.

A History of the South, comes from the press, 277.

Alabama, put in command of Raphael Semmes, 330; the most renowned Confederate cruiser, 321; sunk, 365.

Alabama Baptist State Convention, communication from, 147.

Alabama convention, resolves to know the position of the several unions, 145.

"A Layman's View of the Book Business," subject of talk made, 198.

Alderman, Edwin A., elected president of the University, 242; mentioned, 235.

Alexander I, brief sketch of, 374*n*.

Alexander, John McKnitt, secures land grant, 431.

Alexander County, celebrates centennial, 275, 419.

Alexander County Historical Association, sponsors Alexander County centennial celebration, 275.

Alexandra, name changed to *Mary*, 335.

"Alfred Mordecai's Observations of European Life One Hundred Years Ago," edited by James A. Padgett, 367-402.

Allcott, John, elected vice-president, 130.

Allen, V. J., participates in program, 122.

Allen and Ginter, establish plant at Henderson, 213.

Alliancemen, organized to fight tobacco monopoly, 216.

All These People, entered in contest, 228.

American Anti-Slavery Society, resolution of, 154.

American Baptist Foreign Mission Board, meets in Providence, 147; remains silent, 146; writes about slavery, 145.

American Baptist Home Mission Board, application made to, 142; attitude on appointment of Reeves, 143; rejects application, 145.
American Baptist Home Mission Society, convenes between sessions, 140; meets in Providence, 147.
American Colonization Society, sends emancipated slaves to Liberia, 455.
American Council of Education, publishes report, 253.
American Iliad, The Epic Story of the Civil War, received, 559.
American independence, semi-centennial celebrated, 296.
American Indian in North Carolina, received, 279; reviewed, 532.
American Magazine, first publication issued, 283.
American Missionary Association, organizes day school, 185.
American Tobacco Company, condemned, 217; controls market, 215; cuts Ferrell's profits, 209; development of, 207; dissolves, 223; formed, 209; gets controlling interest in Reynolds Company, 220; many politicians against, 222; organized, 213; signs agreement of action, 220.
American University, offers summer training course, 278.
"Ancient Albemarle," subject of address, 128.
Anderson, James, descendants settle in Yancey County, 455.
Andrews, Charles M., mentioned, 415.
An Essay on the Literary Institution Best Adapted to the Present Wants and Interests of our Country, published, 61.
An Essay Upon the Government of the English Plantations on the Continent of America, 1701, reviewed, 413.
Anglin, Isaac, member of the twelfth company, 434.
An Honorable Titan, mentioned, 535.
Antislavery Baptist Convention, holds meeting, 136.
Archaeological Society of North Carolina, holds annual meeting, 129, 198.
Arnett, A. M., co-authors *The South Looks at its Past*, 121.
Arnot, Hugo, dies, 286; his daughter marries, 285.
Arnot, Lillias, marries, 285.
A Romance of Education, reviewed, 406.
Arrington, Katherine Pendleton, brings greetings, 129; elected president, 130.
Arthur, Gabriel, explores region of Cherokee Indians, 429.
Asbury, Francis, designates friend to assist Dickins in conducting business, 283; marker unveiled to memory of, 123; preaches at Bell's meeting house, 122; sends Dickins to New York, 282.
"Asbury Dickins (1780-1861): A Career in Government Service," article by Ruth Ketring Nuermberger, 281-314.
"A Semi-Centennial Survey of North Carolina's Intellectual Progress," an address by Edwin Mims, 235-257.
Ashe, W. S., appointed Myer's assistant, 471.
A Straw Flute, entered in contest, 231.
A Syllabus of the History of Civilization, published, 555.
Atkins, Emmet D., his book received, 279.
Atkins, James W., his book received, 279.
Atlantic Frontier: Colonial American Civilization, 1607-1763, received, 559.
"Aunt Charlotte," *Harper's Weekly* includes item about, 188.
Avery, Ervin, brilliant writer, 247; mentioned, 235.
Avery, Waightstill, gets land grants, 435; practices law, 432.
Avery County, part of Toe River Valley, 424.
Aycock, Charles B., elected governor, 244; mentioned, 235, 242; reads Page's letters, 237.
Aydlett, A. Laurence, writes article, "The North Carolina State Board of Public Welfare," 1-33.
Ayler, James T., selling produce to Confederates, 166.

B

Bagby, Wesley M., continues as instructor in history, 555.
Bailey, J. W., writes on subjects not religious, 248.
Bailey, Levi, appointed commissioner, 440.
Bailey, Lewis, first child bound out, 447.

Bailey, Nathan, brief note about, 84; identified, 84*n*.
Bailey, Polly E., bound out, 447.
Bailey, Priscilla, appointed instructor in history, 555.
Bailey, Willie C., Lewis Bailey bound to, 447.
Baker, Thomas, appointed commissioner, 440.
Baker, William, road built from home of, 445.
Bald Creek, mentioned, 425.
Baldwin, Alice M., delivers presidential address, 123.
Balsley, Mrs. W. A., elected corresponding secretary, 558.
Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, extends its lines, 36; requests charter in Virginia, 35.
Bank of Durham, fails, 211.
Bank of Virginia, stocks accumulate in, 36.
Baptist Antislavery Convention, appoints a committee, 139; declaration of non-fellowship, 137.
Baptist Board of Foreign Missions for the United States, elected, 136.
"Baptists and Reconstruction in South Carolina, 1865-1876," article published, 125.
Baptists of North Carolina, committee bring protest from, 142; contribute money for army colportage, 139; move slowly, 149. pass resolutions concerning the activities of the Baptist abolitionists of the North, 136.
Barbour, James, favors extending railroad, 43.
Bardolph, Richard, publishes article, 127.
Barker, David D., appointed member of building commission, 442; granted license to retail spirits, 442; appointed commissioner to survey road, 443; road built to home of, 445.
Barker, Robert, member of the twelfth company, 434.
Barlow, Samuel L. M., Harrisse makes friends with, 59.
Barnes, D. Colin, appointed on board, 24; resigns from board, 24.
Barnhill, William H., appointed on committee, 559.
Barnwell, Robert W., appointed professor of history and head of history department, 555; brief note about, 90*n*.
Barron, Samuel, consulted about sale of vessels, 350; decides it best to sell the ship *Georgia*, 360; takes charge of the gunboat *Rappahannock*, 361.
Barrow, William, named on first Board of Public Charities, 4.
Bartlett, William Holmes, brief sketch of, 397*n*.
Bassett, John Spencer, edits new journal, 249; mentioned, 235.
Bates, Edwin, his remarks about act of Congress dealing with use of contrabands, 191.
Battle, A. J., attends convention, 148.
Battle, Kemp Plummer, his book mentioned, 203; *Memories of an Old Time Tar Heel*, mentioned, 58*n*; received, 131; reviewed, 407.
Battle, William James, his book entered in contest, 232; *Memories of an Old Time Tar Heel*, reviewed, 407.
Bayard, Thomas Francis, member of committee, 308.
Beach, Rex, appointed instructor in history, 555.
Beale, Howard K., writes on causes of the Civil War, 119.
Bear Creek, mentioned, 425.
Beard, Charles A., on committee, 118; writes first chapter in book, 118.
Beasley, Reuben Gaunt, appointed U. S. Consul, 287; short sketch of, 287*n*.
Beasley, Roland F., first Commissioner of Public Welfare, 19.
Beaufort County, agricultural society in, 494.
"Beginnings of the Ecclesiastical Tithe in Italy," article published, 127.
Bell, William, church named in honor of, 122.
Beluche, Renato, mentioned, 490.
Benedict, David, talks about disputes concerning slavery, 148.
Benjamin, Judah P., Harrisse asks advice of, 59; James Dunwoody Bulloch offers his services to, 316.
Benjamin F. Perry, South Carolina Unionist, received 131; reviewed, 542.
Benjamin Mosby Smith, 1811-1893, received, 560.
Bennett, Margaret, left with eight children, 286.
Berkeley, William, sends explorers to North Carolina, 429.
Bernard, Simon, mentioned, 490.
Bernett, James, member of the twelfth company, 434.

Bethel Church, celebrates anniversary, 420.
Betts, Harlon and Hollingsworth, letter to, 50.
Beulah Association, explains its position, 142.
Bible, King James Version, added to library of Historical Foundation, 557.
Biddle, Nicholas, depends on Dickins, 298; probably member of club, 285.
Bienville, James Dunwoody Bulloch in command of, 315; returned to owners in New York, 316.
Bigelow, John, assumes duties as minister, 354; convinced vessels being built for Confederate navy, 347; matter of Confederate vessels referred to, 347; protests to French government about ships, 354.
Biggs, Miss Jeanette, elected registrar, 120, 558.
Billups, E. P., participates in program, 123.
Binney, Horace, probably member of club, 285.
Bird, F. W., on committee on arrangements, 154.
Bird, H. D., superintendent of transportation on railroad, 470.
Bishop, Julien, refreshments served at home of, 276.
Black Warrior, seized, 315.
Blacknall, G. W., named on first Board of Public Charities, 5; visits many institutions, 5.
Blackwell, W. T.; establishes Bank of Durham, 211.
Blair, Marion, directs editorial work, 275.
Blair, William A., appointed on Board, 10; named chairman, 14; named on committee to draft legislation, 10.
Blalock, Tilman, appointed member of building commission, 442; marches Yancey Rangers, 460.
Blanco, José Félix, mentioned, 490.
Blount, John Gray, gets land grant, 435; papers of, being edited, 420; receives land by will, 435.
Blount, William, gets land grant, 435.
Blue Ridge Mountains, elevation of, 426.
Blythe, LeGette, "North Carolina Books and Authors of the Year: A Review," 224-234; reviews books, 128, 198, 547.
Board of Charities and Public Welfare, certifies applicants, 26; duties of, 18, 19; name changed, 31; new name, 18.
Board of Corrections and Training, Negro girls school put under care of, 30.
Board of Managers of the Triennial Convention, declares its position to be neutral, 138.
Board of Public Charities, law establishing ratified by the General Assembly, 4; makes report to General Assembly, 7; members of first Board of, 4, 5; name changed, 18; recommends Legislative Reference Library, 16; terms of office of members of, 5; urges establishment of reform school, 10; works for parole system in the Penitentiary, 13.
Board of Public Works, authorizes railroads to increase fares, 482; created to supervise internal improvements, 36; members of, own stock in railroad, 38; Virginia railroads turned over to, 47*n*.
Bobbitt, W. A., appointed on Board, 8; resigns from Board, 10.
Bogart, Harriet, wins third prize, 130.
Bohn, Henry George, brief note about, 78*n*; identified, 78*n*; mentioned, 78.
Bolivar, Simon, mentioned, 490; struggles to free neighbors, 486.
Bonaparte, Charles Louis Napoleon, brief sketch of, 388*n*.
Bond, Marjorie N., her book received, 560.
Books From Chapel Hill, A Complete Catalogue, 1923-1945, received, 279; reviewed, 536.
Boon, Amos, bound to James Boon, 447.
Boon, James, Amos Boon bound to, 447.
Boothe, Hugh, fined, 521; reports on books of the society, 527; subscribes to the constitution of the society, 503.
Bossuet, Jacques Benigne, brief note about, 92*n*.
Bost, Mrs. W. T., appointed commissioner, 25; resigns, 31.
Bost, W. T., editorial and column writer, 248.
Bowman, Jacob W., secures passage of law creating Mitchell County, 459.
Boyd, Catherine E., accepts position, 274; accepts position as associate professor of history, 554; publishes article, 127.

Boyd, James, writes romances, 253.
Boyd, William K., mentioned, 235.
Bradley, G. W., signs report, 4.
Bradley, Stephen Row, mentioned, 286*n*.
Bragg, Thomas, letter from, 70; writes concerning essay, 63.
Branch, Mrs. Ernest A., elected acting secretary, 128; elected acting secretary-treasurer, 199; elected secretary-treasurer, 129; writes introduction, 198-199.
Brewster, Lawrence Fay, his book received, 279; publishes his book, 554.
Bridges, B. H., presents surgical instruments to Hall of History, 421.
Brigham, Clarence S., *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820*, reviewed, 559.
Bright, Jesse Davis, brief sketch of, 307*n*.
Bright, Samuel, gets land grant, 433; member of tenth company, 434.
Bright's Trace, mentioned, 430.
British Development of West Florida, 1763-1769, received, 279.
British government, fails to seize the *Alabama*, 333; purchases Confederate rams, 339; seizes Confederate vessel *Mary*, 335; willing to pay large sums for cotton, 340.
Brooks, E. C., mentioned, 235.
Brougham, Lord Henry Peter, mentioned, 490.
Broughton, J. Melville, delivers address, 558.
Broughton, Needham Bryant, biography of, mentioned, 535.
Brown, Charles Brockden, probably member of club, 285.
Brown, Dixon B., appointed on committee, 278.
Brown, John, captured, 55.
Brown, Mrs. Joseph A., appointed on Board, 23.
Brown, Joseph G., accepts another office, 16; appointed on Board, 15.
Brown, Olando, report mentioned, 186; reports on Negroes receiving government assistance, 184; reports on number of Negroes who can read, 185.
Brown, William, Jr., appointed commissioner to lay off a road, 444.
Brown, W. A. G., first president of Mars Hill College, 124.
Brummett's Creek, mentioned, 425.
Brush Creek, mentioned, 425.
Bryant, Mrs. Charles S., elected deputy governor general, 123.
Bryant, H. E. C., brilliant writer, 247.
Buck Creek Gap, mentioned, 431.
Buford, A. S., president of railroad, 469.
Bullock, Archibald, Revolutionary governor of Georgia, 315.
Bullock, James Dunwoody, arranges for fictitious sale of vessels, 350; arranges for construction of second vessel, 320; arrives in Liverpool, 319; birthplace, 315; brings *Fingal* into port of Savannah, 321; commands second vessel for Confederacy, 326; contracts for several vessels to be built in France, 343; contracts for two ironclad vessels, 331; casts his lot with his native state, 316; decides to sell Confederate rams, 339; desires to become commander of Confederate cruiser, 325; displays skill and ability, 366; employs F. S. Hull to guide him, 322; financial agent for the Confederacy in England and Europe, 339; given rank of commander, 325; helps design vessels, 332; instructed to secure vessels, 317; joins United States Navy, 315; known to be a Confederate agent, 327; names of vessels purchased by, 357; offers his services to cause of the South, 316; plans to put vessels in Confederate service, 351; purchases steamer, *Coquette*, 356; receives orders for many kinds of supplies, 355; returns to England, 322; sails for Europe, 317; selected to command new vessel, 330; sells Confederate vessels, 350; sells the *Georgia*, 360; sent to Europe, 315; signs contracts for two rams, 344; takes charge of outfitting vessel, 356.
Bullock, James Stephen, member of company interested in the *Savannah*, 315.
Bundy, Alice Ann, publishes article on Bundy family, 121.
Burgwyn, W. H. S., accepts portrait, 419.
Burke County, Toe River Valley part of, 438.
Burleson, Aaron, massacred, 437.
Burleson, Albert S., mentioned, 437.
Burnside, requisitions Negro laborers, 196.

Burnsville, named in honor of Otway Burns, 440.
Burnsville Academy, renders service, 450.
Burt, Katherine Newlin, her book entered in contest, 228.
Burt, Struthers, awards prizes to student winners, 276.
Burton, Hutchins Gordon, recommends Williamson, 486.
Burton, William F., Jr., attends O. Henry Memorial Room opening, 557; joins staff of Department of Archives and History, 417.
Butcher, Matthew, Jr., sails vessel to the Azores, 327.
Butler, B. G., his contraband policy legalized, 191; his position approved by War Department, 182; his position endorsed by the press, 182; questions Negroes, 177; recognizes value of civilian laborers, 161; writes about using Negro laborers in military activities, 181.
Butler, Samuel, mentioned, 254.
Buttrick, Wallace, cooperates with ideas and financial resources, 246.
Byerly, Mrs. Thomas J., reelected, 123.
Bynum, Mrs. Curtis, reelected, 123.
Bynum, Jessie Sue, accepts position at Queen's College, 127.
Byrd, Samuel, elected sheriff, 441; fined by court, 442.

C

Cadwalader, Thomas, probably member of club, 285.
Caldwell, Joseph P., advocates industrial progress, 247; mentioned, 235.
Caldwell, Wallace E., reelected, 123.
Calhoun, John C., his enmity toward Crawford, 295; mentioned, 543.
Call Home the Heart, mentioned, 253.
Cameron, James Don, advises Butler not to return slaves, 182.
Cameron, Mary Lou, wins in contest, 276.
Cameron, Simon, realizes importance of Negro labor, 194.
Campbell, Carlyle, elected president, 128, 199.
Can A Man Be A Christian Today, series of lectures, published, 251.
Cane Creek, mentioned, 425.
Cane Creek Mountains, mentioned, 426.
Caney River, mentioned, 425.
Caney River Mountains, mentioned, 426.
Cannon, Mrs. Charles A., brings presidential greetings, 128.
Cape Fear Chapter, U. D. C., wins award, 120.
"Caracas Exile," article by Nancy Jane Lucas, 485-593.
Carey, M. B., holds conference with B. F. Butler, 177.
Carlton College, Catherine E. Boyd accepts position at, 274.
Carolina Chronicle, The Papers of Commissary Gideon Johnston, 1707-1716, reviewed, 116.
Carolina Playmakers, mentioned, 253.
"Carpenter," a picture, wins first prize, 130.
Carraway, Gertrude S., appears on program, 558.
Carson, W. W., granted license to retail spirits, 442.
Carter, Daniel, appointed member of building commission, 442; Thomas Sawyer bound to, 447.
Carter, Robert R., takes command of steamer *Coquette*, 356; selected to be second in command of vessel, 353.
Carujo, Pedro, mentioned, 490.
Carver's Gap, mentioned, 431.
Cass, Lewis, brief sketch of, 397*n*, member of committee, 308.
Catawbas, hold land to crest of the Blue Ridge Mountains, 436.
Cathcart, William, gets land grants, 436.
Chambers, Samuel, deserts Sevier's men, 430.
Chamier, Frederick, mentioned, 490.
Chandler, Alfred N., his book received, 279.
Chapman, Nathaniel, probably member of club, 285.
"Charles Y. Kimbrough," name of locomotive, 52.
Charles XIII, brief sketch of, 368*n*.
Chase, Harry W., expresses academic freedom, 251; one of the organizers of University of North Carolina Press, 537.
Chatham County, agricultural society in, 494.
Cherokees, hold land west of Blue Ridge Mountains, 436.
Cherry, R. Gregg, elected honorary president, 130; placque presented to, 122.
Chew, William White, brief sketch of, 377*n*.
Child Welfare Services, established, 26.
Chowan Association, passes resolutions, 157.

Chronicles of the Sesquicentennial, received, 559.
Church, Morton LaBaron, elected deputy governor, 122.
Church and State, received, 559.
"Citizen and the Social Services," article published, 127.
City of Richmond, sails for England, 353.
Civilian Conservation Corps, applicants certified to, 26.
Civil War, interferes with road construction, 444; location of the most spectacular hostilities in, 162; railroads important factor in, 467.
Civil War Diary of General Josiah Gorgas, received, 560.
Clarissa Mines, mentioned, 428.
Clark, Elmer T., participates in program, 123.
Clark, J. D., elected president, 130.
Clark, Roscoe Collins, *Three Score Years and Ten, A Narrative of the First Seventy Years of Eli Lilly and Company, 1876-1946*, received, 132; reviewed, 273.
Clay, Henry, mentioned, 440, 490.
Clayton, John Middleton, member of committee, 308.
Clingman, Thomas L., observes timber in Sink Hole mines, 428.
Cloud, Martin, makes nomination, 513; subscribes to society, 503.
Clough, Shepard B., on committee, 118.
Clubb, William, Dickins states position of, 309.
Clyde, Paul H., granted sabbatical leave, 126.
Cobb, Collier, mentioned, 203.
Cobb, John Blackwell, career of, 210.
Cobbett, William, mentioned, 285.
Cobrett, G. H., commands *Sea King*, 362.
Cochran, Thomas C., on committee, 118.
Cochrane, Archibald, mentioned, 288*n*.
Codazzi, Augustin, mentioned, 490.
Coit, Ralph Bolles, elected governor, 122; presents Mayflower Society award, 128, 199.
Coke, Thomas, comes to America, 282.
Coker, W. C., mentioned as writer, 252; one of organizers of University of North Carolina Press, 537.
Cokesbury College, moves to Baltimore, 282; opens for students, 282.
Colburn, Burnham S., elected member of general board, 123; elected historian, 122.
Coleman, H. A., becomes associate professor of history, 554.
Collier, R. P., evidence submitted to, 328.
Collis, Stephen, succeeds Stephen Morgan, 456.
Colonial Inn, restored by Paul Henderson, 419.
Columbian Institute, chartered, 292.
Colver, Nathaniel, makes report, 147.
Commissioner of Public Welfare, qualifications for, 18.
Committee report becomes basis for Article XI of state constitution, 2.
Cone, Spencer, president of Triennial Convention, 138; writes paper on course of abolitionists, 138.
Confederacy, Bulloch convinced cannot win war, 352; cut off from military supplies, 164; efforts to procure vessels for, 319; Negroes pay roll tax in, 161; not recognized by Great Britain, 318; sends no funds for Bulloch, 319; ships tobacco to pay for provisions and clothing, 340; supplies and materials continue to get through Federal blockade to, 355.
Confederate, armies use Negro laborers, 169; armies superior in the field, 349; Congress, exempts skilled labor for railroad duty, 471; Congress, passes legislation to use Negroes in military service, 161; leaders need Navy, 315; Navy acquires the *Sea King*, 361; Navy Department, difficulty of getting vessels from British ports, 335; Navy, receives offers from shipbuilders, 359; officials, not satisfied with their raiders, 359; railroads, total assets of, 468; resistance comes to an end, 364; Secretary of War, given authority to control railroads, 472; states, authorize hiring of Negro laborers, 170; states, Negroes valuable to, 160; States of America, organized, 155; vessels permitted to sail under French flag, 343; veterans paid less in North Carolina, 12; War, importance of blockade running in, 356.
Confederates, Negroes a source of strength to, 191.
Congressional Career of Thomas Francis Bayard, 1865-1885, reviewed, 546.
Connor, R. D. W., addresses faculty

and students, 125; mentioned, 235; reviews *The New World: The First Pictures of America*, 403.
"Contribution of Some Georgians to the History of the Southwest," subject of address, 274.
Constitution, makes no provision for underprivileged citizens, 1.
Constitutional convention, meets in North Carolina, 1.
Cook, Ansell, elected entry-taker, 441.
Cooper, Ezekiel, to assist in conducting business, 283.
Corbitt, D. L., attends O. Henry Memorial Room opening, 557; compiles papers and letters of J. Melville Broughton, 418; reviews *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820*, 550.
Cordon, Betsey London, elected treasurer, 130.
Correspondence of Thomas Jefferson and Francis Walker Gilmer, 1814-1826, reviewed, 112.
Cotton, Joel, becomes instructor in history, 558.
Couch, W. T., mentioned, 276; responsibility in success of University of North Carolina Press, 537.
Coulter, E. Merton, his book received, 279, 559; writes history, 277.
Country Club, history teachers have dinner at, 275.
Cousin, Victor, brief note about, 74*n*; identified, 74*n*.
Covington, W. H., elected vice president, 121; lunch served at springs of, 121.
Cox, David, appointed commissioner to lay off road, 443.
Cox, T. L. L., signs report, 4.
Cozzens, Frederick Swartwout, brief sketch of, 401*n*.
Crabtree Creek, mentioned, 425.
Craig, William F., appointed on Board, 13; dies, 15.
Cramer, Mrs. Stuart W., elected assistant deputy general, 123.
Cramwell, William, on committee to study wants of Negro refugees, 184.
Cranch, William, delivers eulogy, 294.
Craven, Braxton, essays to be sent to, 63; letter from, 70; writes about essay, 64.
Crawford, James, deserts Sevier's men, 430.
Crawford, William Harris, Dickins's chief, 290; Dickins makes acquaintance of, 289; exonerated, 295; his enmity toward Calhoun, 295; his party goes over to Jackson, 297; writes about Dickins, 286.
Crenshaw, Ollinger, *The Slave States in the Presidential Election of 1860*, received, 132; reviewed, 411.
Crenshaw, William G., lends vessel to carry guns and supplies, 353.
Crisp, Lucy Cherry, elected vice president, 130.
Crittenden, Christopher, attends annual convention, 124; attends Henderson County celebration, 556; presides at a discussion group, 125; returns to his position, 417; reviews *A Guide to Manuscripts Relating to American History in British Depositories Reproduced for the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress*, 414.
Crittenden, John J., leads border states' men, 191.
Crowell, Mrs. Walter C., appointed on Board, 24.
Crozet, Claudius, makes report, 52.
Cub Reporter, Being Mainly About Mr. Mooney and the Commercial Appeal, received, 560.
Cumberland County, agricultural society in, 494.
Cunningham, H. A., resigns his position, 555.
Cunningham, John S., uses Tobacco Growers' Protective Association, 222.
Curti, Merle, chairman of committee, 118.
Curtiss, John S., granted leave of absence, 556.
Cutliff, J. M., elected to executive committee, 129.
Cutten, George B., gives lecture on old silver, 276.

D

Dagg, John L., Basil Manly confers with, 137.
Dallas, George Mifflin, surprised over payment of mileage, 311.
Daniel, Carolyn, appointed instructor in history, 554.
Daniel, Willie, signs report, 4.
"Daniel Lee and Scientific Agriculture in the South," paper read, 124.
Daniels, Jonathan, *Frontier on the*

Potomac, received, 131; reviewed, 547; his book mentioned, 234.
Daniels, Josephus, aids in educational progress, 246; his book entered in contest, 227; his book received, 279; mentioned, 203; 235, 242; participates in program, 122; reads paper, 129; *Shirt-Sleeve Diplomat,* reviewed, 539; *The Wilson Era: Years of War and After, 1917-1923,* reviewed, 408; writes books, editorials, and articles, 247.
Danish War, ends before ram delivered, 352.
Danville, auction sale of tobacco originates in, 209.
Danville Tobacco Association, exerts pressure on members, 214; Jordan becomes president of, 210; mentioned, 209.
Dargan, Olive Tilford, mentioned, 242; writes poems and novel, 253.
Davenport, Martin, member of the tenth company, 434.
Davenport, William, gets land grant, 433; owns first slaves, 434.
Davidson, Hunter, sails for England, 353.
Davies, Charles, identified, 83*n;* mentioned, 83.
Davis, Ann, wins in contest, 276.
Davis, Evan, member of the society, 503; recommended for membership in society, 507.
Davis, Jefferson, authorized to use railroad property for war purposes, 480; favors extension of railroad, 473; his administration limits shipment of cotton, 340; issues letter-of-marque, 364; must sign passport, 483; sends requisition for slaves, 173.
Davis, John, member of society, 503; observes literary scene in Philadelphia, 284.
Davis, Mathew, Sr., appointed on committee, 525; member of society, 503; presides at meeting, 527, 529, 530; serves as private in Surry regiments, 502.
Davis, Richard Beale, his *Correspondence of Thomas Jefferson and Francis Walker Gilmer, 1814-1826,* reviewed, 112.
Davis, William, gets land grant, 433.
Dayton, William, dies, 354; Peterman calls upon, with information about Confederate vessels, 347.
Deaton, Nathan, member of the tenth company, 434.
de Beauharnais, Eugène, brief sketch of, 368*n.*
de Lhuys, Drouyn, documents sent to, 348.
Denmark, gives Confederates chance to get ship, 352.
Dennie, Joseph, heads literary circle, 284.
Dennie and Dickins, dissolve partnership, 285.
Dennis, Joseph F., appointed secretary to committee, 278.
Denny, S. B., publishes pamphlet, 556.
Denson, C. B., dies, 13; elected secretary, 8; named on committee to draft legislation, 10.
Denson, Daisy, named secretary, 13; resigns as secretary, 19.
Department of Conservation and Development, resumes highway marker program, 417.
Department of North Carolina, territory transferred to, 163.
Department of Northeast Virginia, created, 162.
Department of the Potomac, merged with Department of Northeast Virginia, 162.
Department of the Rappahannock, established, 162.
Department of Virginia, changed to Department of Virginia and North Carolina, 163; created, 163.
Department of Virginia and North Carolina, encourages Negroes to work for themselves, 184; headquarters of, 164; Negroes employed in, 197; number of free Negroes in, 186; organization of, 164; population of Negroes in districts of, 188; purpose of, 163.
Destiny of Man, mentioned, 251.
Deyton, Jason Basil, article, "The Toe River Valley to 1865," 423-466.
Dibrell, R. Louis, criticises farmers' organization, 223.
Dickins, Amelia J., does not marry, 292.
Dickins, Asbury, accused of discrepancies, 310; a manager for the inaugural ball, 292; amount of his salary, 305; and family go to Paris, 288; and family sail for United States, 289; appears at cabinet meetings, 296; applies for position, 286; appointed "Chancellor" in consul's office, London, 286; attends Cokesbury College,

282; becomes chief clerk in Secretary of State's office, 300; becomes civil servant in Washington, 290; becomes head of the family, 283; becomes secretary of Columbian Institute, 293; becomes secretary to United States Senate, 300; born in Halifax County, N. C., 282; contends that Jefferson was not a Christian, 284; continues father's business, 283; delivers Fourth of July oration, 296; dies, 292, 313; elected to clerkship, 302; enters business arrangements with Cochrane, 288; given clerkship, 290; his duties listed, 309; his term of office, 306; left without job, 288; makes venture in literature, 283; marries, 285; number of children in family of, 291; on friendly terms with Southern senators, 307; prepares Crawford's defense, 295; protects American citizens and seamen, 287; publishes book, 284; publishes articles in *Political Register*, 286; receives 18 votes, 301; resigns, 300; serves as acting Secretary of State, 300; states the case of his office, 308; strongly supports the Second Bank of the United States, 298; transferred to State Department, 299; voted years salary, 313; writes across expunging resolution, 302.

Dickins, Edward Arnot, dies unmarried, 292.

Dickins, Elizabeth, her name replaces that of her brothers, 285.

Dickins, Eloisa C., does not marry, 292.

Dickins, Francis Asbury, becomes claim agent, 291; marries, 291; tries to maintain personal neutrality, 313.

Dickins, Hugo Lawrence, becomes an engineer, 291.

Dickins, James J., practices law, 291.

Dickins, John, advances idea of founding Methodist school, 282; becomes itinerant preacher, 281; birth of, 281; comes to America, 281; dies, 283; education of, 281; founds *Methodist Magazine*, 283; goes to New York, 282; joins Methodist Society in Virginia, 281; manages Methodist Book Concern, 283; marries, 282; proposes official name — Methodist Episcopal Church, 282; returns to North Carolina, 282.

Dickins, Lilia E., marries, 291.

Dickins, Maria M., does not marry, 292.

Dickins, Thomas W., becomes department store clerk, 291; moves to California, 291.

District of Norfolk, Negro population of, 188.

Division of Public Assistance, established, 28.

Division of School Attendance, created, 24.

Dix, offers proposition to get supply to Baltimore, 190.

Dixon, William, appointed commissioner to survey road, 443; elected treasurer of public buildings, 441.

Dobson, Alex, appointed on committee, 523; fined for not attending meeting, 522; reports on the books of the society, 527; subscribes to the society, 503.

Dockery, Alfred, his mansion visited by county historians, 121.

Dockery, Henry C., appointed on Board, 15; dies, 16.

Dodamead, Thomas, superintendent of transportation on railroad, 470.

Dodd, Dorothy, reviews *Recommended Readings on Florida*, 272.

Doershuk, H. M., elected vice president, 129.

Doub, Peter, biographical data about, located, 406.

Douglas, Stephen A., influences Harrisse, 59.

Douglass, Frederick, calls idea "political suicide," 194.

Dowel, Peter, members of society own property in district of, 498.

Dozier, H. D., work cited, 37*n*.

DuBose, L. T., delivers placque to the state, 122.

Duckworth, J. H., signs report, 4.

Dudley, Randsom, subscribes to the society, 503.

Dudley, Thomas H., submits evidence about Confederate vessel, 328; watches vessel to prevent its sailing, 324.

Duffy, Charles, Jr., appointed on Board, 8; resigns from the Board, 10, 14.

Duke, James B., organizes American Tobacco Company, 219.

Duke Endowment Year Book No. 14, Including Annual Reports of the Hospital and Orphan Sections, received, 131.

Duncan, James H., member of select committee, 147.

Duplin County, agricultural society in, 494.

Durham, Charles H., appointed on Board, 23; resigns from Board, 24.
Durham, developed into a tobacco market, 207.
Dyer, Brainerd, *Zachary Taylor*, received, 132; reviewed, 269.

E

"Early American Silver," subject of lecture, 276.
Easley, William, member of the society, 503; recommended for membership in the society, 512.
Eastern Carolina Training School, established, 22.
Eddy, Henry Howard, attends Henderson County celebration, 556; returns to his position as head of archives, 417.
Edgecombe County, agricultural society in, 494.
Edsall, Preston W., promoted, 555.
Edwards, Cornelius Bryant, biography of, mentioned, 535.
Edwards, John, appointed member of building commission, 442; member of twelfth company, 434.
Edwards, Ninian, accuses Crawford of malfeasance of public funds, 295.
Ehringhaus, J. C. B., presides at meeting, 129; reads paper, 128.
Eisenschiml Otto, his book received, 559.
Ella Lyman Cabot Trust, award made from funds of, 274.
Ellis, John W., refuses to send troops, 157.
Elswick Works of Sir William Armstrong, makes guns for vessels, 345.
Emancipation Proclamation, issued, 193.
Emergency Relief Administration, liquidated, 26.
English, William Francis, his book received, 279.
English people, opposed to slavery, 318.
Enrica, sails from Liverpool, 329.
Entrekin, William F., Jr., resigns position, 555.
Erlanger and Company, handles Confederate payments for vessels, 345.
Ervin, Samuel J., Jr., elected counselor, 123.
Essay, "On the Organization, Regulation and Management of a Literary Institution Best Adapted to the Wants and Interests of North Carolina," 71-111.
Europe Since 1815, published, 274.
Eustis, Abraham, brief sketch of, 385*n*.
Eustis, William, brief sketch of, 385*n*.
Evett, Kenneth, wins first prize, 130.
Ewing, Samuel, probably member of club, 285.
Extracts from the Diary of Benjamin Elberfield Atkins: A Teacher of the Old School, 1848-1909, received, 279.

F

Farm Colony for Women, established, 24.
Farmers' Alliance, attempts to lower selling charges, 214; committed to war on monopoly, 215; supports efforts to establish a reform school, 11.
Farmers' Bank of Virginia, Louisa Railroad deposits funds in, 46.
Farrago, or Essays Gay and Grave, mentioned, 284.
Fawcett, Preston, and Company, agrees to build a wooden vessel, 320; sublets contract for vessel, 320.
Fay, Theodore Sedgwick, brief sketch of, 384*n*.
Federal camps, a place of refuge, 176.
Federal government, changes from slave labor to free labor, 161; controls railroads, 472.
Federal troops, destroy railroads, 481.
Federation of Negro Women's Clubs, opens Efland Home, 24.
Ferguson, Arthur B., promoted to assistant professor, 558; returns to Duke University, 125.
Ferrell, Peter W., develops large tobacco business, 209; serves as president, 209.
Fesperman, Harvey, delivers sermon, 276.
Few, William P., mentioned, 235; praised, 252.
Finch, J. J., reports to North Carolina state convention, 138.
Findley, William, protests Monroe's nomination, 300.
Fingal, purchased, by Bulloch, 321.
Finley, John H., his opinion of Alderman, 243.
First Captain: The Story of John Paul Jones, received, 560.
"First Friends in New Garden in North Carolina," article published, 126.

First Methodist Church of Lenoir, observes anniversary, 127.
Fisher Resolutions, Williamson speaks in behalf of, 486.
Fiske, John, his work mentioned, 251.
Fitzgerald, Mrs. Paul, elected recording secretary, 120, 558.
Fleming, Mordecai, appointed on committee, 506, 525; elected treasurer, 523; serves as private in Surry regiments, 502; subscribes to the society, 503.
Fleming, Walter Lynwood, his essays published, 113.
Fletcher, Mrs. Inglis, reads paper, 129; writes charming romances, 253.
Florida, first known as *Oreto*, 320.
Florida Becomes a State, reviewed, 552.
Flournoy, Francis R., his book received, 559.
Flowers Collection of Duke University, report made on, 275.
Flue-cured tobacco, developed, 207.
Foerster, Norman, his book entered in contest, 229.
Fontaine, Edmund, letter from, 51; serves as president of railroad, 39.
Fore, Viola, wins in contest, 276.
Foreign Enlistment Act, British deny authority to act under, 324.
Foreign Mission Board, declares its position to be neutral, 142.
Forever Growing, entered in contest, 229.
"Forgotten Man," address delivered, 243.
Forkner, Micajah, members of society own property in district of, 498; member of society, 503.
Forkner, Thomas, appointed on committee, 511, 515; subscribes to the society, 503.
Forkner's Meeting House, meeting place of the society, 506.
Forney, John W., elected secretary, 313.
Forsyth, John, becomes acting Secretary of State, 300.
Forsyth, Sam D., mentioned, 490.
Fort Macon, opens for reception of tourists, 419.
Fortress Monroe, Negroes come into, 177; number of Negroes at, 178.
"Founding and Development of the University of North Carolina," subject of address, 125.
Fourteenth Amendment and the Negro since 1920, reviewed, 544.
Fourth General Assembly of the Pan-American Institute of Geography and History, holds meeting, 420.
Fowle, Daniel G., fills vacancies on Board of Public Charities, 8.
Fowler, Malcolm, delivers address, 120.
Fowler, Mrs. W. I., appointed on committee, 559.
France, not acting as a neutral nation, 351.
Franklin, Benjamin, fined for not attending meeting, 525; member of the society, 503; presides at meeting, 524; quotation from writings of, 202; voted a member of the society, 512.
Franklin, James, member of the society, 503; recommended for membership in the society, 512.
Franklin, John Hope, his book received, 559.
Franklin, Meshack, appointed on committee, 511, 517, 529; discourses on farming system, 499; furnishes drives for ideas, 502; member of the society, 503.
Franklin and Marshall College, identified, 83*n*.
Franklin College, mentioned, 83.
Fraser, Trenholm, and Company, cordially receives Bulloch, 319; plans to give Confederacy a steamer, 334.
Frederick, J. F., comments on *All These People*, 229.
"Frederick Harris," name of locomotive, 52.
Fredericksburg and Potomac Railroad, chartered, 36.
Freeman, Douglas, his opinion of importance of railroads, 484.
Freemen Inquiry Commission, appointed, 195; makes report, 196.
"Free Negro," subject of discussion group, 125.
Free Negroes, decline proposal to go to other countries, 194; efforts to use in military services, 171.
Fremont, John C., his policy differs from Gen. Butler's, 190.
French, Benjamin Brown, seeks position of secretary of Senate, 306.
French Broad Baptist Institute, college opened by that name, 124.
French Broad-Holston Country, A History of Knox County, Tennessee, received, 279.
French government, orders vessels to be sold, 351.

Fries, Adelaide L., reads paper, 123.
From Slavery to Freedom: A History of American Negroes, received, 559.
Frontier on the Potomac, mentioned, 234; received, 131; reviewed, 547.
F. S. Kinney Tobacco Company, owns large storage plant, 231.
Fuller, Richard, amends resolution, 141.
Furman, Richard, chosen president, 136; elected president, 135.
"Furniture of the 18th Century," subject of paper read, 129.
Fussler, Karl L., presents covered wagon to Hall of History, 421.

G

Gahagan, George W., named on first Board of Public Charities, 5.
Gaines, Edmund P., his presence on Texan border protested, 300.
Gaither, Burgess S., elected solicitor, 441.
Gales, Joseph, brief note about, 92*n*; identified, 92*n*.
Gallant Rebel: The Fabulous Cruise of the Shenandoah, received, 559.
Galusha, Elon, president of convention, 136.
Gap Creek, mentioned, 430.
Garland, Guthridge, elected county trustee, 441.
Garland, J. W., elected processioner, 441.
Garrett, M. B., book published, 274.
Garrison, William Lloyd, on committee on arrangements, 154.
Gaston, Alexander F., appointed commissioner to lay off road, 443.
General Assembly of North Carolina, authorizes new capitol, 42; Board of Public Charities makes report to, 7: establishes Board of Public Charities, 4; passes act calling for constitutional convention, 9; passes eugenical sterilization law for mental defectives, 24; sets up funds for boarding children, 25.
General Assembly of Virginia, passes bill allowing Richmond, Fredericksburg, and Potomac Railroad to use Louisa line, 40.
General Education Board, develops from conference, 246.
General Missionary Convention, formed, 135.
Georgia, secedes from Union, 315; supplies obtained in, 453.
Georgia: A Short History, received, 279.
Georgia Baptist Convention, makes application for appointment of James E. Reeves, 142.
Gettysburg, Confederacy's outlook darker afterward, 349.
Gibson, G. W., appointed on committee, 278.
Gilbert, Dorothy Lloyd, publishes articles, 126.
Gill, E. H., inspects damages of Richmond and Danville Railroad, 481; superintendent of transportation on railroad, 470.
Gillan, John, elected president, 129.
Gillespie Gap, mentioned, 427.
Gillispie, William, appointed commissioner to lay off road, 443.
Gilmer, Francis Walker, his quest for knowledge, 112.
Gilmer, J. F., requisitions Negro laborers, 171.
Givan, Walter, becomes instructor in history, 558.
Glover, Andrew J., signs report, 4.
Gobbel, Luther L., mentioned, 406.
Godbey, Earl, editorial writer, 248.
Godfrey, J. L., book published, 274.
Goldsmith, Malinda, bound to Reuben Keith, 447.
Goodrich, Lloyd, delivers lecture, 129.
Goodwin, Noma Lee, her book received, 559.
Gordon, Samuel, subscribes to the society, 503.
Gottschalk, Louis, on committee, 118.
Gouge, John, member of the tenth company, 434.
Govan, Gilbert E., his book received, 559.
Government, to pay passage of Negroes to other countries, 193.
Graduate School Research and Publications, received, 278.
Graham, Edward K., mentioned, 235; praised, 252.
Graham, Frank, his views on race and labor problems, 251.
Graham, John W., reads paper before the Society for the Preservation of Antiquities, 129.
Grange, attacks auction sales system, 214.
Grant, U. S., plans to cut railroad lines at vital points, 481.
Grassey Creek, mentioned, 425.
Grassey Creek Baptist Church, mentioned, 437.
Graveley, J. O. W., becomes an official lecturer, 222.
Graves, Louis, one of organizers the University of North Carolina Press, 537.

Graves, Mary de B., paints portrait, 557.
Graves, Solomon, appointed on committee, 506; members of society own property in district of, 498; serves as secretary, 506, 519; subscribes to the society, 503.
Graves, William P., eliminated from business, 214.
Great Britain, railroad experiments in, 35; refuses to recognize the Confederacy, 318.
Great Promise, entered in contest, 232.
Green, Charlotte Hilton, elected vice president, 128, 199.
Green, C. Sylvester, elected to executive committee, 129.
Green, Duff, attacks Dickins, 297.
Green, Fletcher M., attends annual convention, 124; delivers address, 274; reviews *The Congressional Career of Thomas Francis Bayard, 1865-1885*, 546.
Green, Paul, his book entered in contest, 229; his book mentioned, 234; his criticism of creative art, 253; his symphonic drama produced at Fort Raleigh, 419; mentioned, 240, 252; presents life membership certificates, 128.
Green, Philip J., teaches in summer school, 274.
Green Mountain, mentioned, 426.
Greene, Evarts B., his book received, 559.
Greenlaw, Edwin, mentioned, 549; one of organizers the University of North Carolina Press, 537.
Greenlee, James H., appointed commissioner to lay off road, 443; land selected near home of, 440.
Greensboro College, mentioned, 406.
Greensboro Council of Garden Clubs, sponsors contest in schools, 277.
Greensboro Female College, mentioned, 406.
Greensboro Historical Museum, opens O. Henry Memorial Room, 557.
Greenville, developed into a tobacco market, 207.
Gregory, Ambrose J., fined for not attending meeting, 522; member of the society, 503; members of society own property in district of, 498; recommended for membership, 507.
Griffin, Grace Gardner, *A Guide to Manuscripts Relating to American History in British Depositories Reproduced for the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress*, received, 131; reviewed, 414.
Grimes, J. Bryan, uses Tobacco Grower's Protective Association, 222.
Grissom, Eugene, named on first Board of Public Charities, 4.
Guide to the Manuscript Collections in the Duke University Library, received, 559.
Guilford County, agricultural society in, 494.
Gustavus III, brief sketch of, 368*n*.
Gwin, William McKendree, mileage and pay refused, 313.

H

Hacker, L. M., collaborates in writing history, 121.
Haines, George, IV, co-author of chapter in book, 118.
Halifax County, agricultural society in, 494.
Hall, Basil, entertained by Dickinses, 292.
Hall of History, recent accessions to, 421.
Hamilton, Alexander, Gilbert L. Lycan doing research work on, 421.
Hamilton, J. G. de Roulhac, one of organizers the University of North Carolina Press, 537; reviews *Lincoln and the South*, 113.
Hamilton, John R., directs the building of the *Alexandra*, 334.
Hamilton, Philip, probably member of the club, 285.
Hamilton, William, defends opinion, 78; identified, 72*n;* mentioned, 94, 105.
Hamilton, William B., granted sabbatical leave, 554; promoted to associate professor, 558.
Hamlin, C. H., his book entered in contest, 232.
Hammer, Carl, Jr., publishes article, 421.
Hammock, Bartlett, member of the society, 503; recommended for membership in the society, 512.
Hammock, Robert, member of the society, 503; received as member of the society, 528.
Hampton, Wade, defends Southside Railroad, 481.
Hampton Institute, foundation laid for, 185.
Hanna, A. J., *Recommended Readings on Florida*, received, 131; reviewed, 271.
Hardin, John, gives talk, 276.

Harmon, Frances, joins staff of Department of Archives and History, 130.
Harper's Weekly, writes about "Aunt Charlotte," 188.
Harris, Bernice Kelly, gives a talk, 128, 198; enters her book in contest, 226.
Harris, Frederick, appeals to stockholders to extend railroad, 43; calls meeting of stockholders, 42; chosen president, 36; introduces bill to establish railroad, 38.
Harris, Mrs. Hilda Pate, assists in compiling letters and papers, 418.
Harris, Malcolm, work cited, 39*n*.
Harrington, William Henry, his estate visited by county historians, 121.
Harrisse, Henry, becomes instructor, 59; birth, 58; his distinguished work, 58; his essay on "Organization Regulation and Management of A Literary Institution Best Adapted to the Wants and Interests of North Carolina," 71-111. his service to American scholarship, 60; letter from, 60, 66; letter to 67; publishes essay, 61.
Hart, Thomas, article about, 420.
Hartwell, Jesse, written to about action of Foreign Mission Board, 145.
Harvie, Lewis E., president of railroad, 469.
Haughton, Edgar L., appointed on Board, 13; dies, 15.
Haughton, Lawrence I., appointed on Board, 8; dies, 12; named on committee to draft legislation, 10.
Hays, Louisa Frederick, *Hero of Hornet's Nest, A Biography of Elijah Clark, 1733-1799*, received, 131; reviewed, 266.
Haywood, E. Burke, appointed on Board, 8; his surgical instruments presented to Hall of History, 421; resigns from Board, 10.
Hedrick, Benjamin, letter to, 70.
Henderson, Archibald, delivers address, 420; elected president, 123; mentioned, 235, 252; presides at meeting, 275; publishes series of articles, 420; reviews *A History of Printing in North Carolina. A Detailed Account of the Pioneer Printers, 1749-1800, and of the Edwards & Broughton Company, 1871-1946*, 533.
Henderson, Paul, restores Colonial Inn at Hillsboro, 419.
Henderson, redrying and storage plant established at, 213.
Henderson County, celebrates its centennial, 556.
Henderson County Historical Society, presents photograph of Leonard Henderson, 556.
Hendrick, Burton J., publishes book on Walter Hines Page, 236.
Henley, John, elected chairman of county court, 441.
"Henry Harrisse on Collegiate Education," document edited by Edgar W. Knight, 58-111.
Henry Harrisse on Collegiate Education, received, 560.
Hensley, James, member of twelfth company, 434.
Henson's Creek, mentioned, 425.
Hermes, Georg, identified, 93*n*.
Hero of Hornet's Nest, A Biography of Elijah Clark, 1733-1799, by Louisa Frederick Hays, received, 131; reviewed, 266.
Hexner, Ervin, his book entered in contest, 228.
Hibbard, Addison, mentioned, 242.
Hickey, William, brief sketch of, 307*n*.
Higgins, Holland, member of twelfth company, 434.
Higginson, T. Wentworth, on committee on arrangements, 154.
Hill, Mrs. J. F., appointed on Board, 18; declines appointment, 18.
Hill, Silas, offers his services, 301.
Hire, Annie Maude, returns to teaching in High Point, 417.
Historical Society of North Carolina, holds meeting, 123, 275.
History and Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820, reviewed, 550.
History of Journalism in North Carolina, mentioned, 535.
History of Louisa County, cited, 39*n*.
History of the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad, cited, 37*n*.
History of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad Company, cited, 41*n*.
Hixson, Ivy, directs editorial work, 275.
Hobbs, Milton, signs report, 4.
Hobbs, S. H., Jr., his book received, 560.
Hobson, S. M., establishes Planter's Warehouse, 211.
Hogg, James, article on, 420.
Holden, W. W., his book mentioned, 535.
Holley, I. B., becomes instructor in history, 558.

Hollifield, Daniel, member of tenth company, 434.
Hollifield, Jacob, appointed commissioner to lay off road, 443.
Holmes, Oliver W., teaches summer training course, 278.
Home Mission Board, Virginia makes application to, 143.
Home Mission Society, committee to consider dissolving, 142; its attitude toward action of convention, 142.
Hoover, Calvin B., mentioned as writer, 252.
Hopkins, Edward, brief note about, 110*n*.
Hopkins, John H., appointed chief engineer, 39.
Hopkin's Foundation, mentioned, 110.
Hopkinson, Joseph, probably member of club, 285.
Horn, Stanley F., his book received, 559.
Horne, Charles W., appointed on Board, 17; resigns from Board, 18.
Hospitals Board of Control, established, 30.
House, Boyce, his book received, 560.
House, Robert Burton, article, "On Autobiography," 200-206; delivers presidential address, 128, 199; presides over meeting, 198.
"House of the Horseshoe," historical pilgrimage made to, 276.
Houston, Noel, his book entered in contest, 232.
Howard, Clinton N., his book received, 279.
Howland, Joseph A., on committee on arrangements, 154.
Hubbard, C. M., brings possibility of using free Negroes to attention of governor, 171.
Hubbard, F. J., letter to, 70; written to about essay, 63.
Hudson, A. P., elected secretary-treasurer, 130; reads paper, 130.
Hudspeth, James, members in society own property in district of, 498.
Hufham, J. D., says North Carolina presents "strange contrast," 156; writes about administration at Washington, 156.
Hughes, John A., notice to attend meeting issued, 516; subscribes to the society, 503.
Hull, F. S., employed to guide Bulloch, 322.
Humanities and the Common Man, entered in contest, 229.
Humor and Humanity, entered in contest, 232.
Hunter, Carey J., appointed on Board, 14; dies, 23.
Hunter, David, his policy differs from General Butler's, 190.
Hunter's Horn, received, 560.
Huse, H. R., his book entered in contest, 228.
Huse and Anderson, buy supplies in England, 321.
Hutchins, W. L., appointed on Board, 23.

I

Ibarra, Andrés, mentioned, 490.
Ibarra, Diego, mentioned, 490.
Ide, George B., introduces resolution, 140.
Imperial Tobacco Company of Great Britain, signs agreement of action, 220.
Ingersoll, Charles Jared, probably member of club, 285.
Inglefield, E. A., assigned job of watching rams, 337.
"Inheritors," subject of address, 129.
Institute of Early American History and Culture, announces grants-in-aid, 131.
Internal Improvements Fund, state buys stock with money in, 46.
International Cartels, entered in contest, 228.
"In the Beginning," subject of paper read, 129.
Iron Mountain, mentioned, 431.
Iroquois: A Study in Cultural Evolution, The, received, 131; reviewed, 270.
Ivey, George F., his book entered in contest, 232.
Ivey, J. B., mentioned, 232.

J

"Jack Tales," subject of paper read, 130.
Jack's Creek, mentioned, 425.
Jackson, Andrew, member of Columbian Institute, 293; mentioned, 490; suggests non-partisan cabinet, 300; wants to reward Williamson, 489; William H. Crawford's party goes over to, 297.
Jackson, Ruel, expelled from society, 523; fined for not attending meeting, 522; member of the society, 503; recommended for membership in the society, 512.
Jackson, Stonewall, uses Louisa Railroad, 55.
Jackson, William A., used to good society, 189.

James, A. H., appointed on Board, 24.
James, J. J., writes about "Politico-religious fanatical movement," 152.
James, Mrs. Margaret Caldwell, awarded fellowship, 419.
"James Dunwoody Bulloch and the Confederate Navy," article by William P. Roberts, 315-366.
James River and Kanawha Canal, mentioned, 469.
Janey Jeems, entered in contest, 226.
Jefferson, Thomas, eulogized, 294; meeting notes death of, 294; quoted on freedom, 250.
Jente, Richard, elected vice president, 130.
Jervis, Abner, elected surveyor, 441; Polly E. Bailey bound to, 447.
Jervis, Joel E., elected processioner, 441.
Johns, C. D., appointed head of the department of history and political science, 554.
Johnson, Cecil, elected secretary-treasurer, 123; promoted, 125; reviews *Florida Becomes a State*, 552.
Johnson, Gerald W., editorial writer, 248; his book mentioned, 535; his book received, 560.
Johnson, Guion Griffis, her book mentioned, 535.
Johnson, Kate Burr, becomes Commissioner of Public Welfare, 20; heads Division of Child Welfare, 20; resigns, 25.
Johnson, Livingston, appointed on Board, 18.
Johnson, Mrs. R. Glenn, chairman of committee, 277.
Johnson, Reverdy, upholds Dickins's arguments, 312.
Johnson, William A., quoted about coming of Union army, 177.
Johnson, Mrs. W. L., elected vice president, 120, 558.
Johnston, Frontis W., edits papers for publication, 421.
Johnston, Thomas P., elected chairman of executive committee, 559.
Jones, B. M., inspects railroads, 52; makes report on value of land, 55.
Jones, Samuel, his request for impressment of slaves refused, 175.
Jones, Wesley N., appointed on Board, 10; named on committee to draft legislation, 10; resigns from Board, 14.
Jordan, James F., tries to corner tobacco market, 219.
Jordan, Joye E., attends Henderson County celebration, 556; attends O. Henry Memorial Room opening, 557.
Jordan, Matthew P., becomes president, 210; serves as clerk in mercantile house, 209.
"Joseph Hughes, the Signer," subject of address, 129.
Journal of Social Forces, recognized as best journal, 240.
"Journal of the Surry County (N. C.) Agricultural Society," edited by Nannie May Tilley, 495-531.
Joyce, James, mentioned, 254.
Julius Rosenwald Fund, awards fellowship, 419.

K

Kames, Lord Henry Home, identified, 94*n*.
Kansas-Nebraska question, mentioned, 152.
Keith, Alice Barnwell, edits papers of John Gray Blount, 420; promoted to associate professor, 125; publishes article, 125; publishes syllabus, 125, 555; reviews *Three Score Years and Ten, A Narrative of the First Seventy Years of Eli Lilly and Company, 1876-1946*, 273.
Keith, Reuben, fined by the court, 442; girl bound to, 447.
Kellenberger, Mrs. John A., serves on committee, 277.
Kendall, Amos, comments on Dickins's social life, 292.
Kendrick, Benjamin Burks, dies, 120, 554.
Kennett, P. S., participates in program, 123.
Kesler, M. L., member of Board, 19.
Kibler, Lillian Adele, *Benjamin F. Perry, South Carolina Unionist*, received, 131; reviewed, 542.
Kilgo, John K., mentioned, 235.
Kimball Tobacco Company, establishes plant at Oxford, 273.
Kimbrough, Charles Y., chosen president of railroad, 39.
King, Mitchell, photograph of presented to Rosa Edwards Elementary School, 556.
King, William Rufus, portrait sent to France, 557.
"King's Justice and Colonial Law (as administered in Chowan County Court House)," subject of address before the Society of the Preservation of Antiquities, 129.
Kirk, George W., draws Union

sympathizers into his regiment, 465; Toe River Valley pillaged by, 465.
Klingberg, Frank J., *Carolina Chronicle, The Papers of Commissary Gideon Johnston, 1707-1716*, received, 559; reviewed, 116.
Knight, Edgar W., edits "Henry Harrisse on Collegiate Education," 58-111; his book received, 279, 560; mentioned as writer, 252.
Knight, Thomas, Jr., member of tenth company, 434.
Knight, Thomas, Sr., member of tenth company, 434.
Knox, Vicesimus, identified, 98*n*.
Kolb, Charles Melver, appointed instructor in history, 555.
Kuper, William A., makes survey of routes, 44.

L

Lady in the Tower, entered in contest, 228.
Laird Brothers, to build vessel, 320.
Land Title Origins, a Tale of Force and Fraud, received, 279.
Lane, Lunsford, quoted, 194; serves political leaders, 177.
Laplace, Marquis de Pierre Simon, brief note about, 77*n*.
Latham, Mrs. James E., elected vice-president, 130.
Latham, Mrs. R. H., appointed on Board, 29.
Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Fund, aids work, 24; gives grant, 23.
Laurel Turnpike Company, chartered, 444; tolls to be charged on, 445.
"Layman's View of the Book Business, A," subject of talk, 128.
Lay Preacher, mentioned, 284.
Lederer, John, explores the Carolinas, 429.
Lee, Bryant, signs report, 4.
Lee, Fitzhugh, defends Southside Railroad, 481.
Lee, Robert E., defends Southside Railroad, 481; letter from, quoted, 167; mentioned, 249.
Lefler, High T., attends annual convention, 124; attends meeting of historians, 274; leads discussion, 275; reads paper, 124.
Legare, Hugh Swinton, brief note about, 77*n*.
Lemmon, Sarah, becomes assistant professor of history, 418.
Leopard, mentioned, 440.
Lewis, Nell Battle, debunks North Carolina, 247; writes liberal column, 246.
Lewis, T. M. N., reads paper before the Archaeological Society, 129.
Lewis, W. L., appointed member of building commission, 442.
"Lewis Thompson, Carolinian, and his Louisiana Plantation of 1848-1888: A Study in Absentee Ownership," paper read before the Southern Historical Association, 124.
"Life and Labors of Lewis David de Schweinitz, a minister of the Moravian Church," paper read before North Carolina Historical Society, 123.
Life and Letters of Walter Hines Page, published, 236.
Life and Speeches of Charles B. Aycock, mentioned, 244.
"Life of Dolly Madison, The," subject of essay contest, 277.
Lincoln, Abraham, accepts border states' attitude, 193.
Lincoln and the South, reviewed, 113.
Lincoln County, agricultural society in, 494.
Lingle, Mrs. Thomas W., appointed on Board, 18.
Lingle, Walter L., his book received, 560.
Link, Arthur S., his book received, 279.
Linn, John Blair, probably member of club, 285.
Linnaeus, Carolus, brief sketch of, 367*n*.
Little Toe River, mentioned, 430.
Little Rock Creek, mentioned, 431.
Livingood, James W., his book received, 559.
Lockhart, John S., manufactures smoking tobacco, 211.
Lockwood, L. C., speaks about the capabilities of Negroes, 184.
London, Mrs. Henry M., elected executive secretary, 130.
Long, Henry A., appointed on Board, 24.
Long, R. T., signs report, 4.
Long Island of Holston, treaty made with Indians at, 432.
Look Homeward Angel, novel, mentioned, 253.
Lorant, Stefan, *The New World: The First Pictures of America*, received, 131; reviewed, 403.
Lost Cave, mentioned, 431.

"Lost Colony," drama produced at Fort Raleigh, 419.
Lost Colony, Croatan Indians friendly towards, 533.
"Louisa Railroad, 1863-1850," article by Charles W. Turner, 35-57.
Louisa Railroad, administrative costs listed, 48; bill introduced in General Assembly to establish, 38; capital stock subscribed to, 47; dividends paid by, 50; economic development along, 56; estimated cost of roadbed, 37; freight rates listed, 53, 54; granted privilege of entering private property, 40; name changed, 45; officers of, specified in charter, 38; passenger fares listed, 53; provisions of charter, 38; purposes served by establishment, 37; receives aid, 37; starts in Louisa County, 37; Stonewall Jackson uses, 55; works with Richmond, Fredericksburg, and Potomac Railroad, 41.
Louis Philippe, brief sketch of, 398*n*.
Love, James R., land transferred to, 435.
Love, Robert, becomes agent for executors, 435; land transferred to, 435.
Low, James, a passenger on the *Manassas*, 323.
Lowell, R. L., participates in program, 122.
Lowrie, Walter, protests Monroe's nomination, 300; receives 23 votes, 301.
Lowry, Robert K., serves as consul, 486.
Lucas, Nancy Jane, article, "Caracas Exile," 485-493.
Lycan, Gilbert L., does research work on Alexander Hamilton, 421; heads department of history and political science, 126.
Lyman, William, dies, 286; U. S. consul in London, 286.

M

Mabry, William Alexander, reviews *A Romance of Education*, 406.
McAlister, A. C., appointed on Board, 14; dies, 17.
McAlister, A. W., appointed on Board, 17; resigns from Board, 17.
McAulay, J. A., appointed on Board, 16.
McCanles, David D., elected processioner, 441.
McCauley, Charles Stewart, marries, 291.
McCracken, David, member of tenth company.
MCraw, Jacob A., appointed on committee, 529; fined for not attending meeting, 521; subscribes to the society, 503.
MCraw, James, appointed on committee, 506, 520; member of the society, 503.
MCraw, Jas. W., subscribes to the society, 503.
MCraw, William, admitted as member of the society, 507; appointed on committee, 508, 511, 515; member of the society, 503; presides at meeting, 512, 513; serves as captain in Surry regiment, 502; serves as secretary, 523.
McCue, J. Marshall, Virginia gives permission to carry free Negroes out of state, 166.
McCurdy, Harold Grier, his book entered in contest, 231.
McDaniel, M., elected delegate, 148.
MacDougal, William, mentioned as writer, 252.
McDowell and Yancey Turnpike Company, tolls to be charged on, 445.
McElroy, John, appointed commissioner, 440.
McElroy, J. W., given authority to call out county militia, 465.
McFarland, W. F., makes speech, 42.
McFarland, W. G., participates in program, 123.
McFayden, Christiana, awarded fellowship, 274; granted leave of absence, 554.
McGehee, L. P., one of organizers the University of North Carolina Press, 537.
McGinnis, John S., proposes resolution, 141.
Machen, Lewis H., his salary as principal clerk, 305.
McIver, Charles D., mentioned, 235, 242.
McKeithan, Leland, president of Moore County Historical Association, 120.
McKelvey, Blake, *The Rochester Historical Society Publication Fund Series*, XXIII: Part I—*The Life and Work of Jane Marsh Parker*, Part II—*Water Power Documents*, received, 132.
McKenney, Thomas, member of tenth company, 434.
MacKinney, L. C., attends annual convention, 124; reads paper be-

fore the Southern Historical Association, 124.
McKinney, William, member of the tenth company, 434.
McKinney Gap, mentioned, 427.
McLane, Louis, becomes Secretary of State, 300; recommends renewal of bank charter, 299.
McLean, Angus W., appoints members of Board, 23.
McLean, Carrie, appointed on Board, 29.
MacNeill, John Charles, brilliant writer, 247; mentioned, 235.
MacNider, W. B., mentioned as writer, 252.
McNab, R., attends meeting, 148.
McRae, Colin J., buys a steamer, 356; sent to sell bonds and to secure loans, 341.
Madan, Augustine, serves as consul, 486.
Madison County, part of Yancey added to, 452.
Madison, James, appoints Dickins U. S. consul in London, 290; president of William and Mary College, 112.
Maffit, James N., the *Manassas* turned over to, 323.
Maginnis, John S., member of select committee, 147.
Mahone, William, defends Southside Railroad, 481; president of railroad, 469.
Mallory, Charles, employs Negroes to build batteries, 177.
Mallory, Stephen R., instructs Bulloch in type of vessels to purchase, 317; sends Bulloch abroad, 317.
Manassas, sails as merchant vessel, 323.
Mangum, Willie Person, papers of, being edited for publication, 420; his friendship with Dickins, 307; introduces resolution, 305.
Manly, Basil, calls convention, 137.
Mann, A. Dudley, sent to England, 318.
Mann, Daniel, on committee on arrangements, 154.
Manning, Thad R., urges defeat of American Tobacco Company's efforts to control market, 215.
Man Viewed in the Light of His Origin, mentioned, 251.
Mars Hill College, celebrates Founders' Day, 124; chartered, 124; established, 450.
Martin, James, appointed on committee, 508; elected treasurer, 506; fined for not attending meeting, 521; serves as first treasurer, 502; subscribes to the society, 503.
Martin, John, appointed on committee, 520; serves as private in Surry regiment, 502; subscribes to the society, 503.
Maryland Hall of Records, cooperates in offering summer training course, 278.
Mason, James Murray, introduces resolution, 308; member of committee, 308; reports for select committee, 309.
Maury, Matthew Fontaine, arrives in Europe, 344; purchases the *Japan*, 360; urges construction of railroad, 469; vessels built under direction of, 339.
Mayberry's Iron Foundry, double track for benefit of, 48.
Mecklenburg County, agricultural society in, 494.
Meconnahey, Julia C., at O. Henry Memorial Room opening, 557.
Medlock, Reid, member of the tenth company, 434.
Meigs, M. C., believes in employing Negro laborers, 195; quoted about importance of Negro laborers, 176.
Melton and Hunter, contracts to build extension to road, 48.
Memories of an Old-Time Tar Heel, entered in contest, 232; mentioned, 203; received, 131; reviewed, 407.
Memories of Davidson College, received, 560.
Meredith, Thomas, agrees with Georgia committee, 144; believes the Alabama resolutions "uncalled for," 146; comments on resolution, 140; expresses opinion of North Carolina Baptists, 150; his opinion of Congress, 151; his opinion of the action of the Triennial Convention, 139; prints circular in the *Recorder*, 140; refrains from remarks, 139; refuses to print address, 137; thinks convention projected in haste, 149; thinks Home Mission Board acted well, 144; voices opinion of North Carolina Baptists, 151; writes about Reeves, 143.
Meredith, William, probably member of club, 285.
Meredith College, host to history teachers, 275.
Merit System Council, established, 30.

Merrimon, A. S., speaks against prevalence of drinking, 458.
Methodist Episcopal Church, supports efforts to establish reform school, 11.
Methodist Magazine, founded, 283.
Mewborn, Manora, attends O. Henry Memorial Room opening, 557.
Mexican Village, awarded Mayflower Society cup, 199; entered in conest, 232; wins Mayflower Society award, 128.
Michaux, F. A., crosses Iron Mountain, 431.
Michelena, Santos, mentioned, 490.
Military District of Fortress Monroe, number of Negroes in, 180; number of rations given to Negroes in, 183.
Military forces, have no authority to use Negroes in war efforts, 181.
Miller, William and Sons, subcontracts for vessel, 320; company's watchman testifies against Bulloch, 334.
Milling, C. J., his book mentioned 532.
Mims, Edwin, address, "A Semi-Centennial Survey of North Carolina's Intellectual Progress," 235-257; delivers address, 128, 199; teaches at Trinity College, 235; teaches at University of North Carolina, 235.
Mitchell County, annual value of timber in, 427; certain persons in, opposed to war, 461; citizens represented in Confederate Army, 461; created, 439, 459; hardships in, 465; part of Toe River Valley, 424; Union sympathizers in, 465; value of mineral production in, 426.
"Mobilization of Negro Labor for the Department of Virginia and North Carolina, 1861-1865," article, 160-197.
Monroe, James, nominates a Federalist, 300.
Moody, Robert E., reviews *An Essay Upon the Government of the English Plantations on the Continent of America, 1701*, 413.
Moore, Dempsey, daughter marries, 485.
Moore, Golihew, appointed on committee, 513, 515, 529; fined for not attending meeting, 522, 524; member of society, 503.
Moore County Historical Association, holds meeting, 276; opens museum, 120.
Mordecai, Alfred, letter from, 367, 373, 383, 389, 392, 394, 396, 398, 400, 401.
Mordecai, Mrs. Alfred, letter to, 367, 373, 383, 389, 392, 394, 396, 398, 400, 401.
Mordecai, Julia, brief sketch of, 396*n*.
Morehead, John M., speaks at convention, 473.
Morgan, Stephen, works earnestly among people, 456.
Morley, Margaret, makes study of people in western part of state, 434.
Morrison, Cameron, requests counties to abolish the lash, 23.
Morton, Richard L., reviews *Correspondence of Thomas Jefferson and Francis Walker Gilmer, 1814-1826*, 112.
Mount, C. E., appointed on committee, 559.
Mt. Hope Evangelical and Reformed Church, celebrates anniversary, 276.
"Mummy Letters," published, 236.
Murphey, Archibald D., brief note about, 83*n*.
Murphy, Walter, mentioned, 203.
Murphy, W. A. B., signs report, 4.
Murphy, William, Jr., appointed commissioner to survey road, 443.
Murray, Lindley, identified, 82*n*, 92*n*.
Murray, Paul, reviews *Hero of Hornet's Nest, A Biography of Elijah Clark, 1733-1799*, 266.
Muschett, James C., arrested and sentenced to prison, 168; operates store, 168.
"Muted Birds," picture, wins second prize, 130.
Mutual Protective Association of the Bright Tobacco Growers of Virginia and North Carolina, developed, 223.
Myers, A. C., railroad supervision placed under, 471.
My Memoirs, mentioned, 232.
"Mystery of Peter Ney," published, 121.

N

Napoleon III, his attitude toward Confederacy changes, 352; is sympathetic with Confederate cause, 342; offers shipbuilding facilities to the Confederacy, 342; publishes neutrality proclamation, 319; wants French empire in Gulf of Mexico, 342.

Nash, Susan H., reads paper before the Society for the Preservation of Antiquities, 129.
National Archives, cooperates in offering training course, 278.
National Youth Administration, applicants certified to, 26.
Naudain, Arnold, brief sketch of, 302*n*; defeated for clerkship, 302.
Nease, Edgar H., participates in program, 123.
Needham, James, explores region of Cherokee Indians, 429.
Needham, S. M., delivers sermon, 122.
Negroes, bring military information, 189; condition of on entering camp, 183; engaged in activities for the Confederates, 165; freedom "aid" and "relief" societies organized for, 185; hold public office, 218; impressment of, 172; leave for Union camps, 161; move into Federal lines, 177; part of the auxiliary force, 160; remain the property of the Federal government, 178; treated kindly upon entering Department of Virginia and North Carolina, 189; types of occupation employed in, 165; used in building and repairing railroads, 167; used in transportation and public work industries, 167.
Negro in Mississippi, 1865-1890, The, received, 559.
Negro laborers, importance of, to the Confederacy, 176.
Negro question, changes in attitude toward, 192.
Negro slaves, freed on captured plantations by President's proclamation, 187; methods of escaping to Fortress Monroe, 179.
Negro slave population, offered freedom, 161.
Nelson, Bernard H., *The Fourteenth Amendment and the Negro Since 1920*, reviewed, 544.
Nelson, Ernest W., attends annual convention, 124; reads paper before Southern Historical Association, 125.
Nelson, J. P., work cited, 41*n*.
New Bern, captured, 187.
Newlin, Algie I., granted leave of absence, 126; works with friends in Switzerland, 126.
Newman, Ralph, his book received, 559.
Newsome, A. R., reviews *Theory and Practices in Historical Study: A Report of the Committee on Historiography*, 118.
New World, The First Pictures of America, received, 131; reviewed, 403.
Ney Memorial Association, holds meeting, 123.
Nichols, Jeannette P., on committee, 118.
Niggli, Josephina, her book entered in contest, 232; presented Mayflower Society award, 128, 199; reads paper, 130.
Ninety Bits of North Carolina Biography, entered in contest, 232.
Noble, M. C. S., mentioned, 203.
Noblin, Stuart McGuire, appointed assistant professor of history, 555; becomes assistant professor of history, 418.
Normal College, trustees offer prize for essay, 62.
North, James H., protests Bulloch's promotion, 326; vessels built under the direction of, 339.
North, James N., has frigate built in Glasgow, 341; investigates possibilties of building ironclad vessels, 331.
Northampton County, agricultural society in, 494.
North Carolina, adopts ordinance of secession, 156; agricultural societies organized in, 494; best literary institution adopted for, 62; comes into national prominence, 245; Confederate veterans paid less in, 12; constitutional convention opens in, 1; constitution makes no provision for underprivileged citizens, 1; counties with full-time superintendents in, 22; debunked by Nell Battle Lewis, 247; divided into six districts, 24; dubbed the "Rip Van Winkle State," 495; economic and social life in, 1; economic conditions in, 495; insane patients in hospitals in, 12; her program for care of unfortunates receives attention, 13; loses one-third of population, 496; martial law in, 1; number of agricultural societies in, 494; number of insane persons confined in jails and poorhouses, 6; personnel engaged in welfare work in, 33; progress made in western part, 423; public roads in, 496; secedes from Union, 156; Union sentiment strongest in western part, 157.

North Carolina, her record on placque presented to state, 122; list of campaigns engaged in, 122.
North Carolina Baptist Convention, passes resolutions, 136.
North Carolina Baptists, believe in right of secession, 150, 155; believe in "justice" of the cause in the war, 159; interested in southern convention, 136; move slowly toward convention, 135, 149; protest plans of the committee, 142; take no action in controversy, 146; their opinion of their Northern brethren, 137.
"North Carolina Baptists and Slavery," article by Willie Grier Todd, 135-159.
"North Carolina Bibliography, 1945-1946," by Mary Lindsay Thornton, 258-265.
"North Carolina Books and Authors of the year: A Review," by LeGette Blythe, 224-234.
North Carolina Children's Home Society, established, 14.
North Carolina Department of Public Welfare, divisions and services of, 32.
North Carolina Division United Daughters of the Confederacy, holds convention, 120-558.
North Carolina farmers, shift from cotton to tobacco, 218.
North Carolina Folk-Lore Society, holds annual meeting, 130, 198.
North Carolina Highway and Public Works Commission, resumes highway marker program, 417.
North Carolina Orthopedic Hospital, established, 19.
North Carolina Sanatorium for the Treatment of Tuberculosis, established, 14.
North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities, holds annual meeting, 128, 198.
North Carolina Society of Colonial Dames, sponsors silver exhibit and lecture, 275.
North Carolina Society of County Historians, invited to attend meeting, 128, 198; makes tour, 121.
North Carolina Society of Mayflower Descendants, holds annual meeting, 122.
North Carolina Society of the Daughters of the American Colonists, holds fall business meeting, 124.
North Carolina Society of the Palatines, holds semiannual meeting, 127.
North Carolina Society, United States Daughters of 1812, holds fall business meeting, 124.
North Carolina State Art Society, holds annual meeting, 129, 198.
"North Carolina State Board of Public Welfare," article by A. Laurence Aydlett, 1-33.
North Carolina Symphony Society, holds annual meeting, 198.
North Carolina Teachers Assembly, supports efforts to establish reform school, 11.
North Carolina: The State and Its Government, received, 560.
North Carolina Today, received, 560.
Northcutt, Eileen, joins staff of State Department of Archives and History, 130.
Northern Baptists, indifferent to slavery, 136.
Northern troops, Negroes valuable to, 160.
North Toe River, mentioned, 430.
Norton, Zephaniah, elected coroner, 441.
Nuermberger, Ruth Ketring, article, "Asbury Dickins (1780-1861): A Career in Government Service," 281-314.

O

Oates, John A., appointed to Board, 29.
O'Brien, T. J., participates in program, 122.
Ochs, Adolph S., biography of, mentioned, 535.
Odum, Howard W., critic of conditions in North Carolina, 239; mentioned, 252; one of organizers of University of North Carolina Press, 537.
Of Time and the River, novel, mentioned, 253.
Ogden, Robert C., cooperates with ideas and financial resources, 246.
O. Henry Memorial, established, 277.
"Old Court House Speaks," subject of address before the Society for Preservation of Antiquities, 129.
"Old Richmond," picture, wins third prize, 130.
Old Union Methodist Church, celebrates anniversary, 121.
O'Leary, Daniel Florencio, mentioned, 490.
"On Autobiography," address by Robert Burton House, 200-206; subject of presidential address, 128, 199.

Orange County, agricultural society in, 494.
Orator, copies of, purchased for society, 502.
Oreto, rechristened C. S. S. *Florida*, 320.
"Organ Church and the Broken Key," article published, 421.
Orthodox Friends Society, appoints committee to study wants of Negro refugees, 184.
Owen, Robert T., president of railroad, 469.
Owsley, Frank L., on Confederate foreign policy, 340.
Oxford, storage plant established, 213.

P

Padgett, James A., edits "Alfred Mordecai's Observations of European Life One Hundred Years Ago," 367-402.
Pàez, José Antonia, **mentioned, 490.**
Page, Peyton Y., Dickins states position of, 309.
Page, Thomas Jefferson, selected to command vessel, 353.
Page, Walter Hines, delivers famous address, 243; deserves full credit for northern philanthopists' interest, 246; mentioned, 235; publishes letters, 236.
Paine, Susan, marries, 485.
Palmer, W. J., named secretary, 5.
"Papers from the Forty-Sixth Annual Session of the State Literary and Historical Association, Raleigh, December 6, 1946," 198-257.
Parker, Harold T., promoted to assistant professor, 126.
Parker, J. S., signs report, 4.
Parrish, E. J., purchases tobacco for resale, 211.
Paschal, George Washington, *A History of Printing in North Carolina: A detailed Account of the Pioneer Printers, 1749-1800, and of the Edwards & Broughton Company*, received, 131; reviewed, 534.
Pate, Lewis, wins in contest, 276.
Patrons of Husbandry, attacks auction sales system, 214.
Patterson, James M., Francis Rose bound to, 448.
Patterson, Mrs. Lindsay, mentioned, 235.
Patton, James W., announces changes in staff members, 555; attends annual convention, 124; gives annual report of secretary-treasurer, 125; teaches in summer school, 418, 555; reviews *Tennessee Old and New, Sesquicentennial Edition, 1796-1946*, 267.
Patton, Sadie Smathers, her book received, 279; reviewed, 540.
Paullin, Charles A., mentioned, 415.
Paxon, Frederic L., mentioned, 415.
Peacock, Dred, mentioned, 235.
Pearsall, Thomas J., delivers address, 558.
Pearson, Clinton D., signs report, 4.
Pearson, Zachary, purchases gunboat, *Victor*, 360.
Peeler, Schuford, delivers sermon, 276.
Pendley, William, gets land grant, 433.
Penland, Milton, appointed commissioner to lay off road, 444.
Penland, M. P., elected chairman of school board, 449.
Pennsylvania Farmer, copies of, purchased for society, 502.
Pensacola region, camp established in, 464.
Pepper, N. E., appointed on Board, 28.
Perkins, Alfred, appointed commissioner to survey road, 443.
Perry, Horatio J., informs Bigelow of Confederate ship in Spanish port, 354.
Perry, Percival, returns to Wake Forest College, 555.
Peruvian government, purchases corvettes, 352.
Peterman, M., breaks secret about Confederate vessels, 346; makes copies of letters and documents for sale, 347; sells evidence of Confederate vessels to Bigelow, 348.
Peter the Great, brief sketch of, 373*n*.
Peters, Richard, probably member of club, 285.
Petersburg Railroad, chartered, 36.
Phillips, John G., appointed commissioner to survey road, 443.
Phillips, Wendell, on committee on arrangements, 154.
Pickering, Timothy, urges Dennie to come to Philadelphia, 284.
Pierce, Benjamin Osgood, identified, 83*n*; mentioned, 83.
Pierce, William, members of society own property in district of, 498.
Pierpont, F. H., advises sale of railroad stock, 479.
Pigeon Roost Creek, mentioned, 425.
Pig Pen Creek, mentioned, 426.

Pillans, James, brief note about, 78*n*; defends opinion, 78.
Pioneer Lawyer and Jurist in Missouri, received, 279.
Playfair, Charles, identified, 83*n*.
Pless, Mrs. J. W., appointed on Board, 20.
P. Lorillard Company, Jordan serves as agent of, 210.
Poe, Clarence, furthers agricultural, educational, and welfare movements, 248; mentioned, 235.
Poindexter, Thomas W., members of society own property in district of, 498.
Polk, James K., withdraws name of James H. Tate, 310.
Pollock, Hugo, changes his name to Hugo Arnot, 285.
Poplar Creek, mentioned, 425.
Population of Negroes in Department of Virginia and North Carolina, 188.
Porter, Duval, gives account of speculating fraternity, 210.
Porter, Jane, popular novelist, 487.
Porter, Maria, popular novelist, 487.
Porter, Sir Robert Ker, calls to see Mrs. Williamson, 488; dies, 493; gives dinner for French Consul, 488; Williamson's hostility for, 487; Williamson turns to in last days, 493.
Port Folio, issued jointly by Dennie and Dickins, 285.
Portsmouth and Roanoke Railroad, chartered, 36.
Posner, , Ernst, teaches summer training course, 278.
Poteat, Edwin McNeill, appointed on Board, 25.
Poteat, William L., leads in academic freedom, 251; mentioned, 235.
Potter, Stephen, members of society own property in district of, 498.
Potter, William, members of society own property in district of, 498.
President of United States, given authority to take possession of railroads, 167.
Preston, William C., essay published at expense of, 62.
Priestley, Joesph, brief note about, 81*n*.
Prioleau, Charles K., agrees to underwrite Bulloch's orders, 320; Liverpool manager of shipbuilding company, 361.
"Progress toward Publication of the Frank C. Brown Collection," subject of report made, 130.
Prohibition in North Carolina, 1715-1945, received, 279.
Provisional Committee, causes uneasiness among Baptists, 140; issues circular, 139.
Provisional Foreign Mission Committee, appointed, 139.
Punishment and Penal Institutions, standing committee on, recommended, 2.
Purcell, Clare, delivers centennial message, 127.

Q

"Quaker Migration to the Western Waters," article published, 127.
Quartermaster Department, purchases clothing and shoes for Negroes, 184.
Quincy, Josiah, identified, 107*n*.
Quintilianus, Marcus Fabius, brief note about, 86*n*.
Quynn, Dorothy M., resigns from the history department, 556; returns to Duke University, 126.

R

Radoff, Morris L., teaches summer training course, 278.
Railroads, number of men employed on, 470.
Railroad convention, held in Richmond, 483.
Ramsey, John F., commands Confederate vessel *Laurel*, 362.
Randaldson, James A., named one of commissioners, 136; delegate to convention, 135.
Randall, J. G., his *Lincoln and the South*, reviewed, 113.
Randall, John Herman, Jr., coauthor of chapter in book, 118.
Randolph, Margaret Harvie, marries, 291.
Randolph, Thomas Mann, daughter marries, 291.
Ransom, Matt W., portrait of, unveiled, 419.
Ray, Amos, elected clerk of county court, 441.
Ray, Joseph B., elected register of deeds, 441.
Reading and Speaking Foreign Languages, entered in contest, 228.
Rebuilding of Old Commonwealths, published, 238.
Recommended Readings on Florida, received, 131; reviewed, 271.
Reconstruction Acts, operate in North Carolina, 1.
Red Carolinians, mentioned, 532.

Reece, Mrs. R. P., elected vice-president, 120, 558.
Reed, Alice K., becomes instructor of history, 557.
Reeves, James E., application for appointment of, 142.
Reid, David S., brief note about, 68*n*; letter from, 67; letter to, 66; Surry County Agricultural Society journal among papers of, 494.
Reid, Dr. James T., appointed to Board, 9; dies, 11.
Reid, S. W., appointed to Board, 11; dies, 13.
Reidsville, developed into a tobacco market, 207.
"Renaissance: A Problem Child for Historians, The," paper read before the Southern Historical Association, 124.
"Renaissance: Concept and Epoch, The," paper read before the Southern Historical Association, 125.
Renfrew, John, member of the twelfth company, 434.
Report of Committee on Punishment, Penal Institutions, and Public Charities, 2.
Republic of Liberia, celebrates anniversary of independence, 278.
Resettlement Administration, applicants certified to, 26.
"Resting Place," mentioned, 430.
Reynolds, Dorothy, joins staff of Department of Archives and History, 417.
Reynolds, R. J., backs Raleigh editor, 217.
Rheim, J. E., has charge of academy, 450.
Rhett, Robert Barnwell, mentioned, 543.
Rhodes, James Ford, condemns Palmerston government, 324; writes about seizing Confederate vessel, 328.
Richardson, E. H., participates in program, 122.
Richmond, developed into tobacco market, 207; Negroes work for government in, 168; railroad convention held in, 483.
Richmond and Danville Railroad, chartered, 468; employs slave labor, 471; extension of line, 472; extended to Greensboro, 473; forms part of system, 467; increases capital stock, 476; number of men employed on, 470; part of the Southern Railroad, 468; report of business done, 482; reports improvements, 474; suffers decline in receipts, 478; total debt of, 477.
Richmond County, agricultural society in, 494.
Richmond, Fredericksburg, and Potomac Railroad, carries freight and passengers for other companies, 44; seeks injunction, 45.
Richmond Manufacturing Company, county historians visit, 121.
Ricks, Pierson, his book received, 560.
Riddle of the Lost Colony, published, 120.
Rights, Douglas L., *The American Indian in North Carolina*, received, 532; directs editorial work, 274; elected editor, 129; elected elder, 123; gives review of books, 129; gives report, 275; his book received, 279; reviews *The Iroquois, A Study in Cultural Evolution*, 270.
Ripley, Christopher, mentioned, 286*n*.
Rippy, J. Fred, reviews *Shirt-Sleeve Diplomat*, 539.
Ritchie, McMurray, participates in program, 123.
Roahe, Kenneth, promoted, 555.
Roaring Creek, mentioned, 425, 430.
Robert, Jona, fined for not attending meeting, 522.
Robert, Joseph C., attends annual convention, 124; granted a sabbatical leave, 550; leads discussion group, 125.
Roberts, Jonathan, member of the society, 503.
Roberts, William P., article, "James Dunwoody Bullock and the Confederate Navy," 315-366.
Robertson, James, leads families into western North Carolina, 429.
Robeson County, agricultural society in, 494.
Robinson, Hilyard R., appointed on committee, 278.
Robinson, Melvin, publishes *Riddle of the Lost Colony*, 120.
Robinson, Moncure, surveys routes for railroad, 37.
Rochester Historical Society Publications Fund Series XXIII: Part I—*The Life and Work of Jane Marsh Parker*, Part II—*Walter Power Documents*, received, 132.
Rock Creek, mentioned, 425.
Rocky Mount, developed into tobacco market, 207.

Rohrer, William, recommended for promotion, 309.
Rondthaler, Howard E., delivers address, 276; directs editorial work, 275; mentioned, 235.
Roosevelt, Franklin D., mentioned, 409.
Roosevelt, Theodore, visits Trinity College, 250.
Ropp, Theodore, granted leave of absence, 557.
Rose, Alfred, his son bound out, 448.
Rose, Francis, bound out, 448.
Rose, Sarah, his son bound out, 448.
Rose's Creek, derivation of name, 436.
Ross, Mrs. Grady, elected recorder of crosses, 120, 558.
Rost, Pierre A., sent to England, 318.
Rothrock, Mary N., her book received, 279.
Rothrock, Mrs. P. S., elected vice-president, 120, 558.
Rowan County, agricultural society in, 494.
Rowe, Gilbert T., delivers sermon, 420.
Rubens, Peter Paul, brief sketch of, 394*n*.
Ruggles, T., predicts cost of transportation, 54.
Rush, Richard, Dickins's new chief, 297; probably member of club, 285.
Russell, Daniel L., elected governor, 218.
Russell, Earl John, detains Confederate vessels, 337; does not allow Confederate vessels to enter ports, 356.
Russell, Phillips, mentioned, 252.
Rutherford, Griffith, serves in Indian war, 432.
Rutherford County, agricultural society in, 494.

S

St. Amond, Mrs. A. T., elected historian, 120, 559.
Salem College, preparing historical sketch, 274.
Salvation on a String, mentioned, 234.
Sandburg, Carl, elected vice-president, 128, 199.
Sanders, B. M., makes formal expression of committee's views, 143.
Santander, Francisco de Paulo, mentioned, 490.
Sass, Herbert Revenel, publishes "The Mystery of Peter Ney," 121.
Saunders, Romulus Mitchell, recommends Williamson, 486.
Sawyer, James P., appointed on Board, 8; resigns from Board, 9.
Sawyer, Thomas, bound to Daniel Carter, 447.
Scales, Alfred M., one of organizers of University of North Carolina press, 537.
Scales, Hamilton, establishes Planter's Warehouse, 211.
Scott, Winfield, consulted about slaves entering Fortress Monroe, 181.
Sears, Barnas, member of select committee, 147.
Seawell, Mrs. Herbert F., appointed to Board, 23.
Secretary of War, authorizes impressment of slaves, 173.
Seddon, James A., letter to, mentioned, 167.
Segars, L. Walter, promoted, 555.
"Semi-Centennial Survey of North Carolina's Intellectual Progress," subject of address, 128, 199.
Semmes, Raphael, selected to command new vessel, 330.
Sevier, John, passes through Toe River Valley, 430.
Shanks, Henry T., edits papers for publication, 420; reviews *The Slave States in the Presidential Election of 1860*, 411.
Sharpe, Bill, his book entered in contest, 232.
Sharpe, William, secures land grant, 432.
Shaw, Albert, cooperates with ideas and financial resources, 246.
"Shelving Rock," mentioned, 430.
Shepherd, Gaylord O., elected secretary-treasurer, 122.
Shepherd, Joseph, appointed commissioner, 440.
Shipp, Margaret Busbee, mentioned, 235.
Shirt-Sleeve Diplomat, received, 279; reviewed, 539.
Shryock, George S., commands the *Florida*, 352.
Shryock, Richard H., on committee, 118.
Silliman, Benjamin, member of Columbian Institute, 293.
Silva, Laurencio, mentioned, 490.
Simkins, Francis B., reviews *Benjamin F. Perry: South Carolina Unionist*, 542; reviews *The Wilson Era: Years of War and After, 1917-1923*, 408; teaches in summer school, 418, 555.

Sims, F. M., placed at head of engineering bureau, 472.
Sims, Marian, her book mentioned, 234.
Sinclair, George T., vessels built under direction of, 339.
Sink Hole Creek, mentioned, 426.
Sink Hole mine, mentioned, 428.
Sioussat, St. George L., mentioned, 414.
Sitterson, J. Carlyle, attends annual convention, 124; reads paper, 124.
Skaggs, M. L., elected vice president, 123; reviews *Memories of an Old Time Tar Heel*, 407; teaches in summer school, 419.
Slade, W., elected secretary, 506, 523; serves as secretary, 508, 511, 513, 514, 516, 518, 521, 522, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531.
Slaveholding, subject of discussion, 141.
Slave labor, changed to free labor, 192.
Slave States in the Presidential Election of 1860, The, received, 132; reviewed, 411.
Sledd, Benjamin F., mentioned, 235.
Slidell, John, consulted about transferring title of ships to French ownership, 335.
Smith, Alphonso C., mentioned, 235.
Smith, Bacchus S., appointed commissioner to survey road, 443.
Smith, Benjamin H., speaks of importance of slave labor in manufacturing salt, 166.
Smith, Charles Lee, biography of, mentioned, 535.
Smith, Charles Lee, Jr., biography of, mentioned, 535.
Smith, Conario Brayton, early Methodist preacher, 455.
Smith, C. Moody, participates in program, 123.
Smith, Henry Louis, his book received, 559.
Smith, H. Shelton, reviews *Carolina Chronicle, The Papers of Commissary Gideon Johnston, 1707-1716*, 116.
Smith, John Spear, brief sketch of, 287*n;* promises position to earlier applicant, 287.
Smith, M., appointed commissioner to lay off road, 444.
Smith, Samuel H., delivers eulogies, 294.
Smith, S. P., elected to convention, 156.
Smith, William Oliver, biography of, mentioned, 535.
Smithwick, D. T., elected president, 121.
Smith and McElroy, purchase herbs, 454.
Snapdragon, mentioned, 440.
Snell, Chester D., one of organizers of University of North Carolina Press, 537.
Snow Creek, mentioned, 425.
"Some Famous North Carolina Lawsuits," subject of address, 420.
"Some Folkways of a Mexican Village," subject of paper, 130.
"Some of the Bundy Family as Pioneers in America," article published, 121.
Sondley, F. A., his opinion about the Spaniards in Western North Carolina, 428.
"Songs of the North Carolina Regulators," subject of paper, 130.
Soublette, Carlos, mentioned, 490.
South, great awakening in agricultural societies in, 494.
Southard, Samuel Lewis, asks for precedents when vice president ceases to act, 311.
South Atlantic Quarterly, established, 249.
South Carolina, supplies obtained in, 453.
South Carolina College, confers honorary degree on Harrisse, 58.
South During Reconstruction, 1865-1877, The, received, 559.
Southern Baptist Convention, delegates to organize, 148; endorsed, 150; formation of, 136; organized, 148.
Southern Baptists admire Francis Wayland, 152; apprehensive of the Triennial Convention, 137; delegates meet in convention, 148; publication society organized, 150; organize Southern Baptist Publication Society, 150; secession does not mean Civil War to, 158.
Southern delegates, meet in convention, 138.
Southern Education Board, develops from conference, 246.
Southern Historical Association, holds annual meeting, 124.
Southern ministers, barred from the pulpits, 137.
Southern states, make no use of Negroes in army, 160.
South Old and New: A History 1820-1947, The, scheduled for publication, 418.
Southside Railroad, chartered, 468; debt of, 477; equipment of,

474; extension of line, 472; extent of line, 474; forms part of system, 467; gross earnings listed, 479; number of men employed on, 470; part of Norfolk and Western, 468; report of business done, 482.
Spaniards, enter western North Carolina, 428.
Sparger, John, subscribes to the society, 503.
Sparks, Jared, member of Columbian Institute, 293.
Speck, F. G., reviews *The American Indian in North Carolina*, 532; *The Iroquois, A Study in Cultural Evolution*, reviewed, 270; *The Iroquois, A Study in Cultural Evolution*, received, 131.
Spence, James, sent to secure loans and sell bonds, 341.
Spraggins, Tinsley Lee, article, "Mobilization of Negro Labor for the Department of Virginia and North Carolina, 1861-1865," 160-197; awarded grant to make study, 274; reviews *The Fourteenth Amendment and the Negro since 1920*, 544.
Sprunt, Mrs. Lawrence, elected vice president, 128, 199.
Squarry, A. F., requests detention of vessel being built for Confederacy, 327.
Squirrel Creek, mentioned, 425.
Stade, William, subscribes to the society, 503.
Stanley, Rickles, appointed commissioner, 440.
Stanton, Edwin, realizes importance of Negro labor, 195; sees in Negroes a potential laboring force, 195.
State Agricultural Society, organized, 494.
State Board of Agriculture, established, 495.
State Board of Public Welfare, name changed to, 31.
State College, host to history teachers, 275.
State Commission for the Blind, established, 27.
State Conference for Social Service, birth of, 17.
State Department of Archives and History, Dorothy Reynolds joins staff of, 417; Eileen Northcutt joins staff of, 130; Frances Harmon joins staff of, 130; host to history teachers, 275; resumes highway marker program, 417.
State Home and Industrial School for Girls, established, 19.
State Literary and Historical Association, holds annual meeting, 127, 198.
State Literary Fund, Yancey County participates in, 448.
State Mental Hygiene Society, founded, 17.
State Recreation Committee, appointed by governor, 31.
State School for the Blind, moves location, 17.
Stephenson, Wendell Holmes, writes history, 277.
Stevens, Harry, becomes instructor in history, 557.
Stewart, Dougald, brief note about, 81*n*; mentioned, 100.
Still, Bayrd, promoted to associate professor, 126; resigns as assistant professor of history, 556; returns to Duke University, 125.
Stillwell, E. H., dies, 554.
Stinespring, W. L., elected to executive committee, 129.
Stock, John Edmonds, probably member of club, 285.
Stokes, J. Lem, Jr., delivers address, 122.
Stokes County, agricultural society in, 494.
Stonewall, new ship to be armed for the Confederacy, 353; sold to Spanish authorities, 355.
Stonewall Jackson Manual Training and Industrial School, established, 14.
Storm before Daybreak, mentioned, 234.
Story, Joseph, identified, 99*n*.
Story of Henderson County, received, 279; reviewed, 540.
Strother, John, acquires title to Blount's land, 435; wills land to John Gray Blount, 435.
Stroupe, H. M., his work mentioned, 535.
Summer, Charles, estimates damage of Confederacy to United States shipping, 365.
Summer Migrations and Resorts of South Carolina Low-Country Planters, published, 554; received, 279.
Surry County, economic conditions in, 497; part of Wilkes County added to, 500; population of, 500; public education in, 497; suffers from domination of the east, 496.
Surry County Agricultural Society, membership centers in small

neighborhood, 498; reasons for organization, 501.
Sutker, Solomon, awarded fellowship, 419.
Sycamore Shoals, mentioned, 430.
Syllabus of the History of Civilization, revised and published, 125.

T

Tait, Charles, letter to, about Dickins, 289; teaches at Cokesbury College, 282.
Talbert, John, member of the society, 503.
Talcott, Charles G., superintendent of transportation on railroad, 470.
Taliaferro, Charles, appointed on committee, 513; member of the society, 503; mentioned, 499; recommended for membership in the society, 512.
Taliaferro, Harden E., declares large proportion of population uneducated, 497.
Taliaferro, John, mentioned, 497; subscribes to the society, 503.
Tansill, Charles Callan, *The Congressional Career of Thomas Francis Bayard, 1865-1885*, reviewed, 546.
Tar on My Heels, entered in contest, 232.
Tate, James H., his name withdrawn by the President, 310.
Tatham, Benjamin, on committee to study wants of Negro refugees, 184.
Taylor, James B., member of select committee, 147.
Taylor, John, his recommendations for reclaiming exhausted farm land, 501.
Taylor, Rosser H., appointed head of department of social sciences, 554.
Taylor, Zachary, gets majority of votes, 460.
Tennessee Old and New, Sesquicentennial Edition, 1796-1946, reviewed, 267.
Theory and Practice in Historical Study: A Report of the Committee on Historiography, reviewed, 118.
Third Creek Presbyterian Church, Ney Memorial Association holds meeting in, 123.
Thomas, May Leath, wins second prize, 130.
Thomas, Mrs. P. P. elected treasurer, 558.
Thompson, Mrs. Albert Lee, elected president, 120, 558.
Thompson, Augusta Mansfield, wife of James J. Dickins, 291.
Thompson, Ronald, writes on selective reading, 119.
Thornton, Mary Lindsay, "North Carolina Bibliography, 1945-1946," 258-265.
Thornwell, James H., Harrisse thinks well of, 58; identified, 111*n*.
Three Mile Creek, mentioned, 445.
Three Score Years and Ten, A Narrative of the First Seventy Years of Eli Lilly and Company, 1876-1946, received, 132; reviewed, 273.
Ticknor, George, brief note about, 82*n*; Harrisse acquainted with ideas of, 59; his book mentioned, 82; identified, 82*n*.
Tilley, Nannie May, article, "Agitation Against the American Tobacco Company in North Carolina, 1890-1911," 207-223; attends annual convention, 124; becomes professor of history, 418; edits "Journal of the Surry County (North Carolina) Agricultural Society," 495-531; elected to executive council, 125; her book received, 559; reads paper, 124, 127, 198.
Tillman, Ben, mentioned, 543.
Tobacco markets, developed in North Carolina, 208.
Tobacco speculators, operate on markets, 208.
Todd, Mary, member of Kentucky family, 114.
Todd, Willie Grier, article, "North Carolina Baptists and Slavery," 135-159.
Toe River, course it flows to ocean, 424; elevation of, 425; Indian legends concerning name of, 437; source of, 425.
Toe River Valley, agricultural crops in, 427; area of, 424; botanical specimens in, 426; derivation of name of, 424; development of, 423; effects of isolated location of, 446; legally opened for settlers, 432; location of, 424; loyal to Democratic party, 460; minerals of, 426; number of square miles contained in, 424; physical features affect its history, 427; towns in, 427.
"Toe River Valley to 1865," article by Jason Basil Deyton, 423-466.
Tompkins, D. A., advocates technical schools, 247.

Tourgee, Albion W., offers resolution, 2.
"Travelers in the English Continental Colonies, 1607-1750," paper read, 124.
Travis, Frances, marries, 489.
Treasury of Southern Literature, mentioned, 242.
"Treaty of Peace," between northern and southern delegation, 139.
Trent, William P., uses Jefferson-Gilmer correspondence, 112.
Triennial Convention, attempts to be neutral, 142; formed, 135-136; its action settles the matter of changing the constitution among Baptists, 142; its action toward abolitionism, 139; J. J. Finch, North Carolina's delegate to, 138; meets in Philadelphia, 140.
Trigg, Harold L., becomes president of St. Augustine's College, 555.
Trinity College, growth of, 252; Theodore Roosevelt visits, 250.
Troubled Century, received, 559.
Trumbull, John, member of Columbian Institute, 293.
Trumbull, Lyman, introduces confiscation act, 192.
Tubman, William V. S., appoints committee, 278.
Tucker, Elisha, member of select committee, 147.
Tuesday Club, formed, 285.
Turkey Cove, mentioned, 431.
Turner, Charles W., article, "Louisa Railroad, 1836-1850," 35-57; article, "The Virginia Southwestern Railroad System at War, 1861-1865," 467-484.
Turrentine, Samuel Bryant, *A Romance of Education*, reviewed, 406.
Twelfth Annual Report of the Archivist of the United States for the Year Ending June 30, 1946, received, 279.
Twitty, T. B., appointed to Board, 11; resigns from Board, 11.
Tyler, John, becomes President, 311.

U

Umstead, William B., delivers address, 419.
Underwood, Joel, members of society in district of, 498.
Union Army, uses railroad ties for firewood, 468.
Union government, received many potential workers, 161.
Union lines, extended in Virginia and North Carolina, 186; number of Negroes in, 186.
Union troops, in Department of Virginia and North Carolina, 189.
United Daughters of the Confederacy, North Carolina Division, holds convention, 120.
United States, against Napoleon's plan in region of Gulf of Mexico, 342; agents in England become more active, 333; free Negroes in, 160; government lists vessels fitted out in England for the Confederacy, 358; makes no provision for using Negroes in army, 160; Negro population in, 160; slave population in, 160; tries to get British government to seize vessel, 324; minister of, opposes the Confederacy in England, 318.
United States Senate, manual on duties of secretary of, 302.
University of Chattanooga: Sixty Years, received, 559.
University of Georgia, Philip J. Green teaches at summer session of, 274.
University of North Carolina, Alderman elected president of, 242; growth of, 252; Harrisse becomes instructor at, 59; letter to board of trustees of, 60.
University of North Carolina Press, celebrates anniversary, 276.

V

Vagts, Alfred, on committee, 118.
Van Buren, Martin, mentioned, 490.
Vance, Rupert B., his book entered in contest, 228; mentioned, 240, 252.
Vance, Zebulon B., requests supplies for North Carolina, 480.
Vance, Zebulon B., papers of, being edited for publication, 421.
Vandiver, Frank E., his book received, 560.
Varser, L. R., appointed on Board, 25.
Vasa, Gustavus, brief sketch of, 367*n*.
Venable, Francis P., mentioned, 235; praised, 252.
Venezuela, constitution drawn for republic of, 489; wins independence, 486.
Vicksburg, Confederacy's outlook darker after, 346.
Virginia, asks Confederate government to refrain from drafting slaves from agricultural areas, 165; appropriates money for deepening James River, 475; attempts to stop slaves escaping, 179;

Board speaks with frankness, 146; first in tobacco manufacturing, 165; governor impresses slaves in, 173; location of trade centers, 35; makes application to Home Mission Board, 143; methods of transportation in, 35; mobilizes Negro workers, 165; passes law protecting labor system, 192; river transportation inadequate in, 35; uses Negro labor in manufacturing salt and in mining, 166.
Virginia and Tennessee Railroad, employs slave labor, 471; equipment of, 474; extension of line, 472; forms part of system, 467; listed debt of, 477; part of the Norfolk and Western Railroad, 468; receipts and earnings, 478; report of business done, 482.
Virginia Central Company, Louisa Railroad name changed to, 45; application for slaves to work, 167.
Virginia Foreign Mission Board, addresses circular to churches of Virginia, 145; calls for convention of Southern Baptists, 146.
Virginians, dislike Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, 36.
"Virginia Southwestern Railroad System at War, 1861-1865," article by Charles W. Turner, 467-484.
Vossius, Gerhard Johann, identified 97*n*.

W

Wachovia Historical Society, report made on materials available in, 275.
Waddell, James I., commands Confederate vessel *Shenandoah*, 362; destroys American whaling vessels, 363; knows nothing of Lee's and Johnston's surrender, 363.
Wadley, W. M., appointed supervisor of railroad, 472.
Wager, Paul W., his book received, 560.
Wake County, agricultural society in, 494.
Wake Forest College, dispenses with Wayland's *Moral Science*, 153.
Wales, Mrs. Duncan Winston, reads paper, 129.
Walker, Dabney, member of society, 503.
Walker, Nathan W., one of the organizers of University of North Carolina Press, 537.
Wallace, Lillian Parker, promoted to associate professor, 125; publishes Syllabus, 125, 555.
Walzer, Zeb V., one of organizers the University of North Carolina Press, 537.
Ward, Marshall, reads paper, 130.
War Department, approves Butler's position, 182.
Washington, Booker T., called greatest man in the South, 249.
Watauga County, formed, 440, 452.
Watson, Richard L., Jr., promoted to assistant professor, 558; returns to Duke University, 125.
Watts, S. W., signs report, 4.
Wayland, Francis, appointed chairman of committee, 147; declines to serve, 147; his action shocks North Carolina Baptists, 152; his report mentioned, 82; identified, 82*n*; publishes *Thoughts on the Present Collegiate System in the United States*, 59.
W. Duke, Sons and Company, organized, 213.
Webb, Greenleaf S., member of select committee, 147.
Web and the Rock, novel, mentioned, 254.
Webster, Noah, member of Columbian Institute, 293.
Weeks, S. B., lists North Carolina imprints, 536.
Weil, Leslie, one of organizers the University of North Carolina Press, 537.
Welker, G. William, chosen president of Board, 5; founds church, 276; named on first Board of Public Charities, 4; signs report as chairman, 4.
Wenhold, Lucy, directs editorial work, 274.
Wesley, Charles, quoted, 166.
Western North Carolina Annual Methodist Conference, unveils marker, 123.
"Westward Ho," name of locomotive, 52.
Wharton, Thomas I., probably member of club, 285.
Wharton, Vernon Lane, his book received, 559.
Whately, Richard, brief note about, 81*n*.
Wheaton, Henry, brief sketch of, 384*n*.
Whig Party, strength of, in Surry County, 501.
White, Newton I., elected vice presi-

dent, 130; makes report, 130; mentioned as writer, 252.
White, William Allen, mentioned, 535.
Whitener, Daniel Jay, his book received, 279; reviews *The Story of Henderson County*, 540.
Whitlock, John, elected president, 506, 523; presides at meeting, 506, 508, 511, 514, 516, 518, 519, 521, 522, 523, 525, 526, 528, 530, 531; serves as first president, 502; subscribes to the society, 503.
Whitman, Walt, mentioned, 254.
Wilder, C. B., reports number of Negroes in district, 180.
Wiley, Calvin H., his reports, 449.
Wilkerson, Marcus M., reviews *Books from Chapel Hill: A Complete Catalogue, 1923-1945*, 536.
Wilkes, Charles, searches for the *Alabama*, 365.
Wilkes, Mrs. Preston J., reelected, 123.
William Rainey Harper Fellowship, awarded, 274.
Williams, Cratis D., elected vice president, 130.
Williams, Harry B., quotation from writings of, 532.
Williams, Horace, mentioned, 549.
Williams, M. R., Jr., makes talk, 124.
Williams, Mrs. Van Wyke, serves on committee, 277.
Williamson, Fanny, goes to Venezuela, 490.
Williamson, James, accumulates large fortune, 485; children of, 485*n*; settles in Person County, 485.
Williamson, Mrs. James, dies, 485.
Williamson, John Gustavus Adolphus, advanced money to start career, 485; applies for position, 486; appointed consul, 486; attends University of North Carolina, 486; birth of, 485; buried "in a foreign situation," 493; defeated for Congress, 489; dies, 490, 493; enters business in New York, 486; marries, 489; returns to Philadelphia, 492; returns to United States, 489; returns to Venezuela, 489; serves in General Assembly, 486; unhappy in Caracas, 491; writes about events and conditions, 491; writes about Sir Robert Ker Porter, 488.
Wilson, Isaac C., appointed commissioner to lay off road, 443.
Wilson, Jesse, appointed commissioner to lay off road, 443.
Wilson, John, member of tenth company, 434.
Wilson, Louis R., his book received, 559; mentioned, 235, 252; one of organizers of University of North Carolina Press, 537; responsible for success of University of North Carolina Press, 537; studies reading habits of southern people, 239.
Wilson, Sam, member of tenth company, 434.
Wilson, Thomas J., III, resigns, 276.
Wilson, Woodrow, address on, 242; mentioned, 408.
Wilson, developed into tobacco market, 207.
Wilson Era: Years of War and After, 1917-1923, entered in contest, 227; reviewed, 408.
Wilson Primitive Baptist Church, Wilson, N. C., pamphlet, published, 556.
Wilson: The Road to the White House, received, 279.
Winchester and Potomac Railroad, chartered, 36.
"Winslow Homer," subject of lecture, 129.
Winston, Ellen, appointed commissioner, 31.
Winston, Francis D., mentioned, 203.
Winston, Robert W., mentioned, 235.
Winston-Salem, developed into tobacco market, 207.
Wiseman, Aden, serves as sheriff, 457.
Wiseman, Thomas, member of tenth company, 434.
Wiseman, William, appointed first magistrate, 433; gets land grant, 433; member of tenth company, 434.
Wolfe, Thomas, his novels mentioned, 253.
Wolf Fellowship, awarded, 274.
Woodall, J. B., resigns to resume graduate work, 556.
Woodcock, Mrs. Elizabeth, buried in snow, 487.
Woodward, Mrs. Walter F., appointed on Board, 18.
Woody, Robert H., gives report, 275; granted sabbatical leave, 126; reviews *Zachary Taylor*, 269.
Wool, John E., in command of Department, 188.
Wooten, Richard, member of secession convention, 157.
Works Progress Administration, applicants certified to, 26.

Worth, Mrs. Hal M., elected secretary-treasurer, 121.
Wright, Louis B., *An Essay Upon the Government of the English Plantations on the continent of America, 1701*, reviewed, 413, his book received. 559.
Wright, Richard, purchases *Sea King*, 361; sells *Sea King* to the Confederacy, 362.

Y

Yale University, mentioned, 83.
Yancey, Bartlett, recommends Williamson, 486.
Yancey, Elizabeth, marries, 282.
Yancey, William Lowden, sent to England, 318.
Yancey County, agricultural development of, 450; annual value of timber in, 427; area larger than Toe River Valley, 439; citizens represented in Confederate army, 461; farm products of, 452; first county court held in, 441; information about schools in, 448; laws passed for roads in, 442; majority of people Baptists, 455; Methodists established in, 455; named for Bartlett Yancey, 440; need for creation of, 439; part of Toe River Valley, 424; participates in State Literary Fund, 448; poverty in, 464; public education in, 447; tax rate in, 462.
Yancey Rangers, organized, 460.
Yearns, W. B., continues as instructor in history, 555.
Yellow Mountain, mentioned, 430.
You Can't Go Home Again, novel, mentioned, 254.
Young, Joshua, member of tenth company, 434.
Young, Reuben, elected coroner, 441.
Young, Stark, his book mentioned, 242.
Young, Thomas, member of tenth company, 434.
Younge, Clarence R., accompanies Butcher on vessel, 327; deserts the Confederacy, 333.

Z

Zachary, John, his account of restoration of land by stopping washes, 501; member of the society, 503; members of society own property in district of, 498.
Zachary Taylor, received, 132; reviewed, 269.
Zavala, Silvia, designated president, 420.

STATE LIBRARY OF NORTH CAROLINA
3 3091 00748 3977